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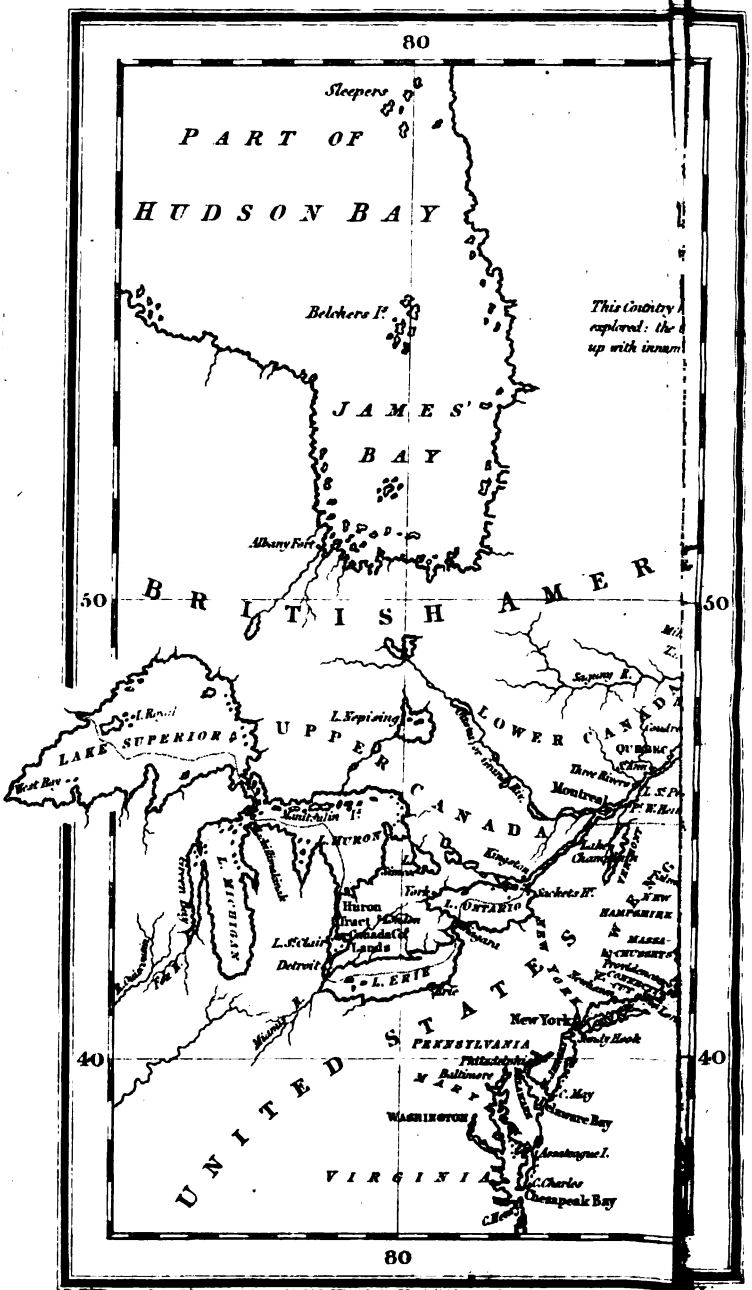
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BRITISH AMERICA.

By JOHN M'GREGOR, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH; AND
T. CADELL, STRAND, LONDON.

MDCCCXXXII.

Checked May 1913

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TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY having been the only British Monarch who ever visited that interesting portion of the Empire which I have attempted to describe, I was emboldened to solicit your Majesty's Patronage for my Work. For the gracious manner in which permission was granted me to dedicate my humble labours to your Majesty, I beg to offer my very grateful and respectful thanks.

I have the honour to be,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's

Very dutiful, and very loyal Subject,

JOHN M'GREGOR.

BOTANIC VIEW, NEAR LIVERPOOL,
2d January, 1832.

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PREFACE.

THE materials of the following Sketches were principally collected during my travels, and while residing for several years in America. My pursuits afforded me the most favourable opportunities of becoming acquainted with the regions least known in these kingdoms; and I have zealously endeavoured to describe whatever came under my own observation, and to form conclusions according to the information communicated to me by others, without any bias.

Every thing convinced me that the British Empire in North America was imperfectly known; and, consequently, that the just value of that vast territory was not understood. I was also convinced that nearly all the errors committed in treating with foreign powers concerning his Majesty's colonies, as well as all the blunders which have occurred in our colonial policy, have been the results of the *meagre* information possessed by our government, and not, according to a prevalent opinion, the effects of intentional neglect on the part of his Majesty's ministers.

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In order to give a general, historical, and descriptive view of British America, I have briefly noticed the early settlement, advancement, and the causes that led to the independence, of the old colonies; and also the constitution, policy, military and naval force, and the public institutions of the United States. I have, at the same time, endeavoured to exhibit impartially the general characteristics of society in that extraordinary Republic; in which, although there may be much to condemn, there is assuredly much more to admire: particularly among those who, from their education, superior abilities, and wealth, naturally give a tone to public manners, and, at the same time, openly or silently govern the people.

If, in my reflections on the advantages which American negotiators have obtained from the British government, either in respect to commercial privileges, or the boundaries of territory, my remarks appear too severe, they must be attributed to the necessity of showing the impolicy of yielding them, unnecessarily, commercial privileges to the prejudice of British trade, and a greater extent of territory than they have any right to.

The descriptive parts of the work are principally from personal observation; or, when I was prevented from visiting any of the places that I have described, I have had recourse to the best resident authorities; whose statements and accounts I have carefully ex-

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amined and compared, before introducing their substance into this work.

The materials of the historical sketches I have taken from various old records, particularly those of Massachusetts Bay, relative to the early settlement of our colonies; from Hakluyt; the *Lex Mercatoria;* Anderson on Commerce; Lescarbot, Charlevoix; Raynal; La Hontan; Pepperal's Journal; Journal of the Jesuits; and various manuscript records and letters, which I collected in America.

To many gentlemen of high standing in the colonies, I have gratefully to acknowledge the obligations I owe them, not only for personal civilities, but for the excellent information which they have afforded me. For a great portion of the facts I required, in drawing up statements relative to the trade of the colonies, I am indebted to the Chamber of Commerce of Halifax, the best repository of commercial information in America; and the benefits of which were extended to me by the courtesy of the gentlemen who form its members having resolved, at a general meeting, when I was last at Halifax, "that the books in which their transactions were registered should be sent me, with liberty to make such extracts as I thought proper."

In whatever I have read on emigration, there appeared to me either a prejudice or an interested bias

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for or against the question. The information collected for the Emigration Committee, and the observations founded on that information, by the Right Honourable Wilmot Horton, as far as regards emigration on a grand scale, afford, it is true, correct details; but they are not within the reach of general readers, nor to be obtained by persons in humble life, who emigrate at their own expense. The valuable work of the late Lord Selkirk would form another exception to the above observation, if it detailed as fully the difficulties that attended, as it does, the causes that, in Scotland, led to emigration. It is no *common-day business*, but a most serious consideration, for a man with his family to remove from the place in which he was born and brought up, and from occupations to which he has been trained and habituated from his childhood, to a country far distant, and, in many respects, different from his own, and in which he must assume pursuits, and acquire ideas, to which he is a perfect stranger. I have therefore endeavoured to point out, occasionally in the descriptive pages, and concisely in the Sixth Book of the first volume, the advantages and the difficulties which may be expected to attend emigrating from the United Kingdom and settling in America.

The establishing of steam-vessels between the United Kingdom and British America, touching at

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the points marked in the general chart, would not only connect both countries much more intimately than at present, but the resources of each would be greatly augmented in value, and the importance of the British colonies would also be much better appreciated. I may observe, that the province of Nova Scotia alone, if possessed by the United States, would render that Republic independent of all Europe; and, in the event of another war, when steam-ships will become terrible to all others, the Americans would be enabled, by possessing the exhaustless coal and iron mines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, to defy the united naval force of all Europe on the shores of the western world.*

At present the Americans have no coal within themselves that we know of, except the remarkably *slow kindling anthracite*, which is useless for the immediate fire required in the furnaces of steam-engines, while Great Britain now possesses the most valuable treasures of the most useful of all minerals, coal and iron, in the parts most convenient for immediate use, both in her home and colonial dominions.

The British North American colonies are, comparatively speaking, still in their infancy. To be convinced of this, we have only to compare what the old

* See the first chapter of the last Book of this volume.

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colonies now forming the United States were when they declared their independence, with their present condition, and then draw a parallel between their condition at that time, and the present state of the British North American colonies.

In 1772, the European population of the old colonies was little more than 2,000,000. At present, the population of the United States is about 13,000,000. In 1783, all the European inhabitants of the present British North American possessions only amounted to 193,000. They now contain a population of 1,350,000. When we therefore consider that these colonies, by cultivation and improvement, are capable of supporting at least 30,000,000 of inhabitants; and including the countries west of the great lakes, probably more than 50,000,000, and that the soil of those countries will produce all the crops that ripen in England, with Indian corn, and other productions, in a climate equally salubrious as that of Britain, we will have little difficulty in concluding, that the men who plant themselves in those regions must rapidly increase their numbers; and becoming, from interest and inclination, attached to the land of their adoption, they, and their offspring, will for ever maintain possession of vast and valuable territory, which, from well known causes, will give the power that holds dominion over it the umpirage of the Western World.

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It has been urged, as an argument in support of the inutility of our colonies, that the United States of America have taken more British manufactured goods since, than before their independence. Never was there a more false inference made by men who commit blunders from not examining facts. The increased consumption of British goods in the American republic, is the natural consequence of a rapidly increased population; for that the people of the United States have not augmented the demand for British fabrics, in the same ratio as their numbers have multiplied, is satisfactorily proved by various unexceptionable authorities.*

This arises in consequence of the political bond between the United Kingdom and the United States being severed, having turned the attention of the republican legislators to home manufactures; and, in order to foster them, to impose heavy restrictions by an obnoxious tariff on the importation of goods, as a measure which they consider politically wise. Vast quantities of French, and other continental manufac-

* See the excellent pamphlet of Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, Baronet, On the Value and Importance of the British North American Colonies, p. 7. See Mr Cambreleng's Report, p. 28. See Reports of Congress, 1825 and 1827. See Watterton's American Statistics. See three intelligent pamphlets, by Henry Bliss, Esq. barrister, on Colonial Policy. See also Recapitulation of Trade and Population, in the last chapter of the second volume of this work.

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tures, as well as Asiatic fabrics, have also been annually consumed in the United States since they became independent; while the present British North America and West Indian colonies receive nearly all their manufactured supplies from the United Kingdom.

There are, we know, men who have (either from ignorance, interest, or, more frequently, in order to support some *fondling theory*, and sometimes for the purpose of attracting a share of public notice) clamoured against the retention of her colonies by England. But let us only consider, that if Great Britain lose her present possessions in North America, they must either merge into the government of the United States, or, if they be left independently to themselves, interest and safety would induce them to form a league, offensive and defensive, with at least the Northern States; and should such a separation, and such a compact ever be formed, who can say that the splendid magnificence of England will not be tarnished—that her naval glory will not decline—and that her political consequence among the nations of the earth, will not diminish, along with the loss of the colonies of the West?

Admitting, on the ground of argument, that the colonies are to be abandoned by Great Britain, will they be conquered by the Americans? Certainly not.

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During the last war, the progress the latter made towards conquering Canada, was little more than trifling desultory attacks, although the defence of the country depended chiefly on the bravery of the Canadian militia. The British colonies can now raise an effective militia of at least 150,000 men, equally brave and well disciplined as any troops the Americans can bring against them; and if ever the American Republic and the British North American colonies unite under one government, it must be by mutual consent, and from considerations of mutual benefit and protection. In respect to Lower Canada, however, if relinquished by Great Britain, it is much more likely that the inhabitants of that province would, from motives that will ever influence the human race, cleave to France, and not to America. We have already re-established the French, by treaty, at the entrance of the St Lawrence; and it must not be forgotten, that the Canadian seigneurs, clergy, and peasantry, are the descendants of the noblesse and peasantry who adored the Bourbons and the Cardinal de Richelieu; that they would have the same church, now richly provided for, to defend, if separated from Britain, and left to themselves; that the seigneurs and the clergy do not, as is often stated, want either education, talent, or wealth; and that, as knowledge and wealth constitute power,

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the physical strength of the colony will always be under the direction of the gentry and clergy; the latter would, assuredly, owing to the mighty privileges, in respect to religion, and the feudal rights which they now enjoy, rather throw themselves under the protection of the French than of a republican government. What the consequence would be to Great Britain, if the French banners again waved over the citadel of Cape Diamond, I leave the theorists to unravel. Practical men require no explanation.

The retention of our colonies is, however, an object of such vital importance to the power and prosperity—to the trade, manufactures, and safety of the United Kingdom—that the very idea of abandoning them cannot be for one moment defended, either on just or political grounds. Wanting colonies, and, consequently, a commercial navy, the manufactures and military navy of France began to languish from the day that the battle which Wolfe fought on the plains of Abraham, destroyed the power of France in America. Had England wanted her colonies during last war, her importance in the scale of nations would be very different from the magnificent and powerful state which she has maintained amidst all the eventful changes of that period.

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SKETCHES

OF

BRITISH AMERICA.

BOOK I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, INTRODUCTORY TO THE WHOLE.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery and Settlement of North America.

THE history of the world does not afford an epoch so glorious and important as the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492.

It formed, as is well known, an era that gave a new and adventurous direction to the views of European nations; and, while the passion of enterprise sent bold and resolute spirits to the vast regions of the New World, fresh discoveries enriched the sciences, and geography, astronomy, and navigation, became more satisfactorily known.

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Half a world, with all the climates under heaven, abounding in fertile soils, precious minerals, forests of the most valuable timber, and innumerable tribes of wild animals, was to be explored, the natives exterminated or subdued, and the countries discovered to be added to the possessions of the European nations that sent forth men to discover and conquer them.

Of all the various principles on which right of soil has been founded, there is none superior to immemorial occupancy. The right of the Indians to the country they inhabited was founded in nature. The tenure by which they held it was the free and bounteous gift of Heaven, and such as no man had a right to question, or any nation either a legal or equitable pretence to destroy.

The dark superstition of the times regarded the Deity as the partial God of Christians. The Spaniards made this doctrine, under the sanction of the pope, their measure of right, in wresting the rich countries of South America, and the Island of Cuba, from the natives. Even our Queen Elizabeth and King James, although they denied the authority of the pope, yet, from the principle of avarice, and the passion of ambition, they adopted the fanciful distinction of Christian and heathen right, so far as to make it the measure of justice by which they claimed the countries discovered by their subjects.

Europeans at first subdued with little difficulty the uncivilized Indians, who were ignorant of the use of fire-arms, or scientific warfare, and who re-

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garded their invaders as supernatural spirits sent down by the gods of thunder.

Before they discovered the fatal delusion, the critical period for defending their country had passed away; and they did not ascertain that white men were vulnerable until they became their conquerors.

The cruelty and treachery of the Spaniards, until they completely subjugated the natives, and became masters of their fine and rich country, admit of no parallel in the annals of civilized nations, and afford a powerful argument to redeem the savage state of man from being considered more cruel, base, and unprincipled, than that of refined society.

The Spaniards having thus, by priority of discovery, and by force, injustice, cruelty, and treachery, possessed themselves of the richest territories, the English, and other European nations, had either to make farther discoveries, or be content with their dominions in the Old World. The ambition and pride of England would not, however, allow her to remain inactive, while the Portuguese succeeded in finding a new way on the ocean to the East Indies, and while Spain made the glorious discovery of a new hemisphere.

Henry VII., accordingly, in 1496, granted to John Cabot, or Gabotta, a Venetian, a commission to navigate all parts of the ocean, for the purpose of discovering islands, countries, and provinces, either of *Gentiles* or *infidels*, which had been hitherto unknown to all Christian people, with power to set up

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his standard, and take possession of the same, as vassals of the crown of England.

Thus began the history of English discoveries; and Cabot this year, with two ships, reached the coast of Labrador. He made a voyage the following year, and, on the 24th of June, discovered Bonavista, in Newfoundland. He then, with his son Sebastian, traversed the coast of America from Davis' Straits to Cape Florida.*

In 1502 Sebastian Cabot, under English auspices, arrived at Newfoundland, and was the first European who entered the Gulf of St Lawrence. He explored part of its coasts, and carried from St John's Island, (now Prince Edward's,) which he discovered, three natives to England.

It was twenty-one years after Sebastian Cabot discovered the Gulf of St Lawrence, that Francis I. of France dispatched Verazani, who coasted the shores of America from 28° to 50° north latitude. This adventurous navigator was shipwrecked, and perished, on his third voyage.

Jacques Cartier of St Maloes, in 1534, sailed from France on a voyage of discovery, and entered the Gulf of St Lawrence on the festival of that saint, to which it owes its name.

The following year, he sailed up the great *Hoshlaga*, which he called the St Lawrence, and wintered in Canada, which he named New France.

* There appears some uncertainty as to whether Sebastian alone, or accompanied by his father, made the two latter voyages.

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The first attempt at settlement made by the English was in 1579, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth to plant Newfoundland, in which he was unsuccessful, and returned home after losing one of his ships. France discovered Carolina in 1562, which the discoverer, Renie Laudenier, so called, in honour of Charles IX.

Florida had been discovered in 1513; and the whole of that part of America, and the coast to an indefinite distance northward, was known by that name until 1584, when Sir Walter Raleigh and Adrian Gilbert obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, by virtue of which they took possession of Virginia.* This was long the name by which the English designated all North America.

During the following year, Sir Walter Raleigh stationed one hundred people at Roanoke, in Virginia, who endured the most incredible hardships. Many of them perished, and the remainder were carried back to England by Sir Francis Drake.

Sir Richard Grenville, however, a fortnight after the departure of Sir Francis Drake, arrived with a fresh colony, and left fifty men to establish a settlement; and in 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh, by no means discouraged by his former failure, sent another company to Virginia under Governor White.

On the arrival of Governor White, he found that all the old company had either perished by famine,

* So called by the courtly Raleigh, in honour of the Virgin Queen of England.

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or were exterminated by the savages. Notwithstanding this deplorable circumstance, he determined on planting a third colony, and left 115 people at the settlement. On the 13th of August this year, Manteo, the first Indian who became a Christian in Virginia, was baptized; and on the 18th of the same month, Mrs Dare was delivered of a daughter, whom she called Virginia. This was the first child born of English parents in America. What this colony suffered must have been truly distressing; for, when Governor White returned in 1590 with necessary supplies for them, not an individual was to be found. They must either have perished for want of food, or they were more probably put to death, under the most horrible tortures, by the Indians.

Hitherto, every attempt made by any European nation to settle America, proved unsuccessful, except no the part of Spain; and in 1602, there was not an European in all North America. Two years afterwards, De Monts succeeded in forming a settlement in Nova Scotia, which was the first that became permanent. Companies were formed in London and Plymouth, under patent from King James I., to plant colonies in America; and Mr Percy, brother of the then Duke of Northumberland, went out to Virginia, in 1606, and discovered James's River. In the following year, the London Company sent to Virginia three vessels under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, who gave the name of Cape Henry to the most southerly point, and began a settlement at James's River.

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This was the first permanent settlement, named James's Town, made by the English in America; and Captain Newport left 104 persons there, with Edward Wingfield as president. The Plymouth Company, also, sent two ships, under Admiral Gilbert, to North Virginia, with 100 planters, 45 only of whom remained; and during this year a few huts were built on the north bank of the St Lawrence, by a colony sent from Dieppe and St Maloes, at the expense of a company of French merchants.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the English to settle America, their attempts were on the point of utter ruin in 1610. Sir George Somers, this year, on his way to Virginia, was wrecked on the islands of Bermuda, where he wintered; and on arriving the following spring in Virginia, he found the colony reduced from 500 to 60, who embarked with him for England, and broke up the settlement. Fortunately, they were met, the day after they sailed, by Lord De la Warre, who was appointed, under a new patent, governor of South Virginia. He persuaded them to return; and from this period we may date the settlement of North America by England.

In 1614, the Dutch settled New York; and New Jersey was settled in 1620 by the Puritans, part of Mr Robinson's congregation; and New Hampshire, in 1623, at Pisquataqua River, by a small English colony. A colony of Swedes and Fins made a purchase from the Indians of the lands between Cape Henlopen and the falls of the Delaware, which they

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called Swedeland, and on which they made settlements, and built forts.

The first settlement in Massachusetts Bay was formed in 1628, by Captain John Endicot, who settled there with his wife. Plymouth, which was annexed in 1691, was previously a separate colony. Lord Baltimore, who established a colony at Newfoundland some time before, commenced settling Maryland in 1633. Settlements were also formed in North Carolina in 1628; in Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1635; in New Jersey (part of New Netherlands) and in Vermont about 1664.

In the year 1669, plantations were made in South Carolina; and the celebrated Mr Locke drew up a system of laws for its government.

A regular, just, and prudent plan of colonization was commenced by William Penn, in 1682, under the right of a royal charter.

He purchased the land from the Indians, whose attachment he secured; and his colony, which he named Pennsylvania, prospered more rapidly, and with more certain security of success, than any previously attempted. His measures were wise and just, and his character and example will ever be regarded with esteem and admiration.*

From this period the settlement of America proceeded with astonishing rapidity. Multitudes of men, stimulated by the spirit of adventure, expatriated themselves in order to find in distant countries those

* Note A.

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things, or those enjoyments, which they either wanted in reality, or of which they fancied themselves destitute; and, from the first permanent settlement of those parts of America now forming the United States, the stream of emigration continued to flow into them with little interruption. For, according as men were driven from England, Scotland, or Ireland, either by the pressure of poverty, or by disabilities on account of their religious scruples, or whether they were allured from home by the golden visions of gain, it was natural, or at least common, for them to remove to those parts of America, where some of their friends or acquaintances had previously gone. Urged by these motives, and to escape also from the oppressive tyranny of the times, thousands emigrated annually to those colonies.

The dread of arbitrary power, either in a political or religious form, was, certainly, the predominant cause of the emigrations that peopled North America. Its settlement was occasioned as much by religious intolerance, which drove thousands of Puritans from England, as by the enterprising passion of adventure, or the more powerful motives which urge men to escape from the evils of poverty. Those very Puritans, however, were no sooner established in the New England States, than they in their turn persecuted the Quakers with all the rage of spiritual fanaticism.*

* Note B.

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CHAPTER II.

Slow progress of the Settlements and Countries which Great Britain acquired by the Conquest of Louisburg and Quebec — Extraordinary Sufferings endured by the early Settlers — Prosperity of the New England and Southern States—Character of the Inhabitants—Favourable condition in which England placed her Colonies, ensured their Prosperity.

IT was not until after the reduction of Cape Breton and the conquest of Canada, which added nearly the whole of North America to the British empire, that adventurers, stimulated by the spirit of enterprise, left the mother countries, and established themselves in the newly conquered territories. These were generally persons in trade. Farmers or others, who expected to derive their subsistence from cultivating the soil, directed their course to that part of America now forming the United States.

The American revolutionary war, it is true, arrested the spirit of emigration; but no sooner was the independence of the American Republic acknowledged by England, than the majority of those who left Great Britain and Ireland for America, were, as formerly, fascinated into the United States. This arose, in a great measure, from the mighty resources of the British possessions being nearly altogether unknown in the United Kingdom.

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Some Scotch, and a few Irish families, together with a few German and Swiss Protestants, found their way before this time to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island (then called St John's.) A few Highlanders, also, many of whom were disbanded soldiers, settled at Glengarry, and other places above Montreal. It was not, however, until after the American revolutionary war that emigration to our colonies, of any great consequence, took place. From that period to the present time, notwithstanding the vast swarms that have continued annually to flock to the United States, not less than from eight to eighteen thousand settlers have arrived yearly in British America from England, Scotland, and Ireland, while their departure from the United Kingdom has scarcely been observed.

From the best authenticated accounts, the privations which the early colonists endured, and the hardships to which circumstances, connected with a wilderness country, subjected them, were severe in a degree of which those who now plant themselves in America have scarcely a conception. They had not only to suffer the miseries of hunger, and the want of almost every convenience to which they had been accustomed, but they could scarcely enjoy even that relief from toil which sleep usually affords, from the dread of being burnt in their habitations by the Indians, or of becoming victims to the murderous tomahawk or scalping knife of those savages.*

* Before the surrender of Louisburg, rewards were given by the French to the Indians for every English scalp they produced, in much the same way as premiums are at present paid by some of the

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In the countries which now form British America, with the exception of Nova Scotia, the colonists were not so often doomed to experience the vengeance of the bloody spirit of the Indian tribes; yet the hardships they had to encounter and overcome in other shapes were almost incredible. The winters were either much more severe than at present, or the sufferings of the first settlers made them describe the frosts as more intense, the snows deeper, and the duration of cold longer.

The non-existence of roads, the want of boats, or even for some time of canoes, and the emigrants' entire ignorance of managing the latter, rendered it a business of great difficulty to pass from one part to another of a country covered with thick forests, and intersected with rivers, lakes, and branches of the ocean. The use of the axe also, or the art of chopping, is an acquirement quite indispensable in a wooded country, with which most new settlers are unacquainted. With this tool, a gun, one or two hoes, and a pot, an American back-woods-man will make his way through, or plant himself and family in the midst of, a most dreary forest, and secure, at the same time, the means of subsistence.

Innumerable, indeed, were the miseries which the emigrants had to reconcile themselves to for several

colonial governments for the snouts of bears, to encourage the destruction of those animals. The terrible ferocity of the savages was also most wickedly encouraged during the American war; and it was disgraceful to the British authorities at the time to encourage and reward such cruelties.—See article *Indians*.

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years after the early settlements of our colonies; and it certainly required in them more than ordinary resolution and fortitude to establish themselves, in defiance of not only real but imaginary difficulties.

Natural obstructions have in all countries been only removed by the industry and fearless intrepidity of man. Such formidable obstacles to settlement and cultivation as the New World at first presented, and which still characterise the remote districts, existed at one period in Britain, and in all the kingdoms of Europe; and in the same progressive ratio as the settlement and cultivation of any wilderness country proceeds, do natural obstacles disappear: those, therefore, of the most disheartening character to men accustomed to plough the long cultivated lands of Britain and Ireland, are vanishing gradually in North America. Leading roads are opened through the different provinces; by-roads lead to the settlements; the communication between different places, by means of craft of various descriptions, is attended with but little inconvenience; the necessaries, and even the luxuries of life, are to be obtained in abundance at moderate prices, and at no great distance from the most remote settlement.

Although the British possessions in America were, in some respects, naturally inferior to those of the other Europeans, yet the security of property, and liberal treatment on the part of government, advanced their prosperity on a more solid foundation.

The majority of the first settlers consisted of hardy yeomen, and men of education, rank, and enterprise,

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who, in leaving England, forsook their homes, and those comforts that are only found in long settled countries, and also those attachments that are most dear to the human bosom. But these circumstances alone are not sufficient to do justice to their courage and magnanimity. The victories they obtained over all the complicated hardships that can assail the heart, and stagger the fortitude, of man, raised their character in the estimation of those who value facts, rather than military splendour, to a level with the bravest people recorded in history.

They carried with them to America resolute hearts and intelligent understandings, and that unconquerable spirit of perseverance which surmounts the numberless difficulties that await all great undertakings.

The success attending the actions of such men astonished Europe. Their industry and indefatigable activity ensured their prosperity; their improvements in all the useful arts did honour to their ingenuity; and it must not be forgotten, that, notwithstanding their peculiar circumstances, and the occupations they followed, from the first foundation of their settlements, they were particularly careful to provide for the education of their children.

Their position was favourable to commerce; and their natural turn and temper, ever aiming at new discoveries, and incessantly employed in the search of whatever might better their circumstances, carried them into every quarter from whence profit could be obtained. There was hardly a port or spot in the American hemisphere, in which business could be

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transacted, where they were not to be found. Without living in European luxury, they secured all the substantial and comfortable enjoyments of life, with many of its elegancies and refinements.

They in reality became a rich and flourishing people; and if ever any country might have been considered the seat of human felicity, British North America, previously to the sad story of colonial oppression, must unquestionably have deserved the appellation.

England fostered and protected her colonies with parental solicitude, and only secured in return the exclusive right of their trade. Spain and Portugal not only claimed the commerce of their colonies, but, governing them with despotic tyranny, seized the greatest share of their riches for the benefit of the crown, or for the purpose of upholding the splendour of a church, whose terrible power, aided by the superstition of the age, kept the human mind in servile degradation, and the personal liberty of man under rigorous control.

Holland and France sold the commercial property of their colonies to trading companies; who, in order to make the most of their privileges, took all the advantages that the spirit of monopoly could devise. They not only fixed the value of the articles they sold to the colonists, but they also established the lowest prices for the produce of their lands, and prevented them from growing any more than could be disposed of at an unreasonable profit in Europe.

The British colonies did not experience such un-

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gracious and illiberal treatment. Satisfied with the general profits of their commerce, England left it open to every individual in her dominions; and did not either confine it to particular ports, like Spain and Portugal, nor sell it, as France and Holland did, to a company of traders.

With the exceptions of the northern climes of Europe and the East Indies, the British colonists were permitted to trade with all parts, in a variety of articles. In all the American hemisphere, in Africa, along all the coasts of the Mediterranean, Portugal, and Spain, the vessels of British America enjoyed a lucrative commerce; and they had the amplest liberty of trading with the English West India islands. Rum, sugar, with the produce of their fisheries, they were allowed to carry to all the markets to which they traded; so that, although a number of articles were exclusively appropriated to an importation to Great Britain, yet there was enough left for the colonies, particularly when we consider that the countries they possessed gave them so much occupation at home.

England, on planting the American colonies, granted them the full privilege of governing themselves, and the right of forming such laws as the wisdom of their respective legislatures should consider necessary; and, in giving them such ample powers to provide for their interest and prosperity, only reserved the political connexion under the same sovereign, with the general benefit resulting to the empire from their trade.

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In short, the conduct of Great Britain in her colonial management, from their first settlement to the year 1755, exhibits a lesson of wisdom to those powers who either possess, or who are disposed to plant colonies.

But after that period, those who wish for the partition of great empires, will learn useful instruction by studying the history of the measures that led to the independence of the United States.

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CHAPTER III.

Causes of Discontent in America—Restrictions on Trade—Prohibition of the Illicit Trade with Spanish America—Licentiousness of the *Guarda Costas*—Failure of Remittances for British Manufactures in consequence—Of Peace 1763—Measures which led to the Stamp Act—Complaints of the Colonists—Their extraordinary Proceedings—Resist the Tea Act, and throw overboard the Cargoes of the Company's Ships—Repeal of the Stamp Act—Conduct of the Ministry.

AMONG the first causes of discontent and complaint in the British colonies, were the restrictions which discouraged manufactures, by confining every province to the use of its own, and prohibiting the reciprocal importation of their respective fabrications. To prevent a whole people from following any branch of industry, is certainly a measure which human nature cannot bear with tame submission; and the severity of the regulation cannot be denied, even on the ground that the articles prohibited could be imported cheaper from England. The injury felt by the prohibition was not, at the time, of much consequence; but the regulation was in itself considered a kind of insult to the understanding, more intolerable than pecuniary oppression.

The discontent arising from this restriction would, in all probability, have passed away, had it not been succeeded by a deprivation of a most serious nature

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to the colonies, and equally injurious to the interests of England.

For more than a century, a very lucrative branch of trade had been carried on between the British West Indies and the Spanish settlements in South America. For many years the North American colonies engrossed, also, a great share of this advantageous commerce. To the British, it was a pursuit of clear gain, and prodigious value. It consisted of an exchange of vast quantities of all kinds of British commodities for the precious metals, which were all remitted to England. The Spanish monarchy, sensible that the trade was ruinous to them, and that the immense advantages of it were on the side of Britain, stationed *guarda costas* to scour the coasts, and to seize every vessel that approached near them. The indiscriminate license with which they executed their orders, provoked the war of 1739, between Great Britain and Spain.

Although it was by no means the business of England to prevent this trade, yet a system was adopted, and pursued, as if a convention had been entered into for the purpose. The British cruizers, as if they had received their commissions and their pay from Spain, acted so effectually, that in a short period they completely destroyed the trade.

In the year 1755, these measures, with some others which restricted the importation of foreign goods, as formerly, free of duty, from Great Britain to North America, produced loud discontent, both in England and America.

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The annihilation of the trade with Spanish America was, however, the most grievous. It was from it that the colonists drew the supplies of gold and silver, that enabled them to make such large remittances to England, and to provide a circulating specie for the internal use of the colonies. The prohibition of so profitable a commerce shook the vitals of American prosperity, and distressed the manufacturers and merchants of England. The servile complaisance of Great Britain to Spain, and the unwise policy of oppressing its own subjects to oblige foreigners, were complained of by the people of England, as well as by the Americans, but not listened to by ministers.

The peace of 1763 terminated a war which was both advantageous and glorious to Great Britain. The treaty of Paris, besides ceding to her several islands in the West Indies, and establishing her power in the East, gave her the sovereignty of the vast continent of America from the Mississippi to the Arctic Sea. The expense of the war, however, was immense, and severely felt in Britain. Resolutions were soon after taken by ministers to tax the colonies, in order to pay, in a direct and explicit manner, a share of the public burdens.

Their ability was not doubted, and it was considered equitable that they should contribute largely for the advantages they possessed. The colonies were however fully persuaded, whatever might be the necessities of the mother country, that, exclusive of the restrictions laid, during late years, on their commerce,

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the sole enjoyment of their trade was a tax in itself more in proportion than all that were levied on the people of Britain.

The right of taxing them, without their being represented in the British Parliament, they denied, as resolutely as their ancestors did the payment of ship money to Charles I.; while they claimed also the privilege of being represented, as their undoubted birthright.

Ministers expressed astonishment on hearing such language from the colonists, and charged them with ingratitude and disloyalty, and with being solicitous only to profit by the generosity of the mother country. The Americans repelled this unfounded charge with indignation. They gloried in calling Britain their mother country; they never disgraced the title; they always obeyed her just and lawful commands; and they submitted to heavy burdens to ease her. During the last war, they raised twenty thousand men, and maintained them at their own expense; and they fitted out the expedition that took Louisburg in 1745. Antecedent to which, they supplied the British expeditions, against Spanish America, with several thousands of their best men, and exerted themselves with equal bravery against the French in North America.

They assured the king in their petition, that, notwithstanding their sufferings, they retained too high a regard for the kingdom from which they derived their origin, to request any thing that might be inconsistent with its dignity or welfare. "These," said they, "related as we are to her, honour and duty,

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as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance." "At the conclusion of the last war," they go on to observe, in one of their addresses to the king and people of Great Britain, "the Genius of England, and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of her sons, withdrew from the British councils, and left the nation a prey to a race of ministers, with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell." "They did not complain of Parliament, for it had done them no wrong, but solely of the measures of ministers."

The complaints of the colonists have always been acknowledged temperate and well founded, until the conduct of ministers convinced them that nothing but passive obedience to any measure of taxation, would be satisfactory.* That they afterwards, at their countless popular assemblies, but more especially in their public prints, used language both violent and licentious, can neither be denied nor defended; and the outrageous conduct of the populace was not only unjustifiable, but often highly indecorous. Their bitter invectives against the British people, who long wished them success in *resisting* acts which were solely those of ministers, cannot easily be forgotten.

In all countries, however, we meet with frequent examples of such violent conduct among the populace, and in none more frequently than in England. It is, therefore, unjust to stigmatize a whole people, by

* Note C.

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charging them with what should only be considered the clamours of turbulent individuals.

The editors of their public prints were too often guilty of writing that which could only be intended to keep alive the passions of the vulgar and ignorant herd of the people; and such language as filled the greater portions of the American newspapers, must certainly have disgusted such men as Washington and Franklin. Violent commotions always attend the measures that entirely change the constitution of a country; but the excesses of the American populace resembled, throughout, the uproar of those who, with Oliver Cromwell, subverted the government of England; and the colonists were altogether guiltless of such atrocities as disgraced the French Revolution.

In 1764, a bill was framed, laying heavy duties, payable into the British treasury, in specie, on all articles imported into the colonies from the French and other islands in the West Indies. Another act followed, restraining the currency of paper money. The injustice and absurdity of these laws excited fresh murmurs.

How could they pay duties in specie, when deprived of the means of obtaining it? Then followed the famous Stamp Act, which was the prelude to the most tremendous and destructive quarrel which had befallen Britain in the course of ages. This act was styled, the "Folly of England, and ruin of America."

The colonists were now completely roused; but they, at the same time, conducted their measures with great wisdom, perseverance, and resolution. They

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united in a general opposition to the views of ministers, who disregarded their petitions and the statements of their agents; and although some acts favourable to the commerce of the colonies were passed, the people became suspicious, and placed no reliance on the good-will of the British ministers. Meetings were held, and resolutions were taken to make no farther importations from Great Britain; and they, at the same time, encouraged to the utmost their own manufactures. So far did they persevere in this object, that they laid aside the use of elegances, and even abstained from eating lamb, in order to increase the growth of wool.

In England, this measure excited the general indignation of the manufacturers against the ministry.

The suspension of the trade with America some time after, was followed by a resolution of the colonists not to allow the exportation of provisions; which was seriously injurious to our West India islands, and of severe consequence to the fisheries of Newfoundland.

The opposition to the Tea Act, and the resistance to the landing, and the throwing overboard, of the cargoes of the East India Company's ships, was another alarming proof of resolute determination on the part of the colonists. They then urged, that, until the Stamp Act was repealed, no remittances should be made to England, nor any suit for debt allowed on the part of a resident of Great Britain. It was also threatened that the exportation of tobacco should be stopped; which, if carried into effect, must have cut

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off the immense revenue derived from its consumption in Great Britain, and the vast benefits gained by its re-exportation to other parts of Europe.

The Americans, in fact, could not possibly have persevered in measures to render the ruling powers of England more obnoxious to the people of Great Britain, or to attract the attention of all Europe more effectually, than those they adopted.

The remonstrances made by the colonies against taxation, were listened to by the ruling powers only with anger and indignation; and ministers were equally chagrined and astonished to find that a great portion of the nation espoused the cause of America. But the ministry were proof against all opposition in Parliament, the remonstrances of the colonists, and the numerous petitions from the principal towns in Britain, and madly proceeded in the prosecution of their schemes, as if regardless of consequences. The fame and grandeur of Great Britain were, indeed, such at this period, that it was never imagined the colonies would presume to dispute any measure dictated by ministers. The splendid triumphs of the British nation in all parts of the world, had extended her power to such greatness as excited the jealousy of all Europe; and the idea of the colonies risking a trial of prowess with those armies and fleets which had defeated the combined strength of France and Spain, was considered presumptuous and visionary. It was, therefore, matter of astonishment to learn the extraordinary and resolute conduct of the Americans, in opposing the restrictions on their commerce, and the

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operation of the Stamp Act. The British government were, however, struck with alarm at their behaviour, and determined to subdue them by force.

"The British colonies," it was contended, "had advantages which those of no other nation ever had." This was certainly true; and the liberality they had so long experienced, rendered the attempts at taxation, and the restrictions on their trade, the more obnoxious. Tithes and poor-rates were unknown; protection they always received; and they enjoyed another advantage which they could only derive from England. This was the constant course of credit given them, without which they never could have risen to that extraordinary opulence which excited the admiration of Europe. "Would they relinquish these solid advantages, by increasing the displeasure of England, and disclaiming the authority of the parent state, and stand against the consequent peril?" It was also considered, "that the people of America, unacquainted with the intrigues that agitated the courts of Europe, and ignorant of the secret designs that were lurking in the cabinets of ministers, were incompetent to the business of preventing or conquering difficulties, or shunning danger." That no opinion could have been more egregiously wrong than this, was too truly exemplified in the talents of the great men who acted so conspicuous a part, during the revolutionary war, and in all their negotiations.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Court of France intrigues with the Colonists to bring about a Separation from Great Britain—Character of the Colonists who conducted the Revolution—Remonstrances to the King and People of England—Conciliatory Plan of Earl Chatham—Mr Burke's Motion in Parliament—Independence of the United States, &c.

It was a fact well known, that from the time France lost Canada, secret intrigues were put in operation by that government, for the purpose of shaking the allegiance of the British American colonists. That they aided in effecting and carrying on the revolutionary war, is certain; but other causes, more powerful than all the address and assistance of France could bring about, governed the colonies, and enabled them finally to establish their independence.

The inhabitants of the four New England provinces were principally the descendants of those stubborn republicans who fled from England to enjoy their own ideas of politics and religion. They retained the hatred of their ancestors to kingly authority, and the strongest aversion to the Church of England. These people were the life and prime support of that opposition, which did not abate until America was lost to Great Britain.

The inhabitants of the other colonies, though numbers of them were of foreign extraction, were more

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moderate, but not less regardless of their privileges. Many of them, it is true, particularly the descendants of the felons sent from England, were men of a licentious, audacious spirit, which was not to be awed by the deference due to civil authority; but a great number also, especially in Virginia and Maryland, were men of respectable rank and character, hitherto of a loyal turn, and warmly attached to the mother country.

In fact, the colonies were chiefly peopled with spirited, intelligent, and enterprising individuals, of all denominations, who, at the peace of 1763, were flushed with uncommon prosperity in their commercial pursuits, and by the brilliancy of their military transactions.* Their disposition prepared them for great undertakings; and it was difficult to limit their hopes and expectations. It must, at the same time, be remembered, that they used all the means that ingenuity, guided by interest, could suggest, in their remonstrances to the ruling powers, and in their petitions to the king and Parliament, before they assumed the language of defiance, or set up the standard of revolt.

But ministers disregarded their representations, and treated their petitions with disdain; and a reconciliation was only at last seriously attempted, when the colonists had gained such extraordinary advantages as ensured their independence.

The debates in both Houses of Parliament on the

* Note D.

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state of America, during the war, will probably never be excelled in splendid diction, powerful arguments, or persuasive eloquence. The language of the colonists, in their petitions to the king, in their appeals to the people of Britain, and in their speeches in Congress and in their separate assemblies, as well as in the pulpit orations of their preachers, was equally remarkable. They certainly did not, for a long time, wish for any thing more than a redress of grievances. The thoughts of independence were foreign to their feelings and their wishes.* "Place us," said they, "in the same situation that we were in at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

On the shutting up of the port of Boston, which they considered as a prelude to the destruction of the commerce of other towns, they state, "we will endeavour, therefore, to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility of our soil, which will afford us all the necessaries and some of the conveniences of life."

One of their delegates to the Continental Congress, in a *famous* speech, urging the necessity of their taking up arms, which was repeated all over America, and published in Europe, exhibited a strong specimen of the animation and force which governed the resolutions of the colonists. "The great God," said he, "who is the searcher of all things, will witness for me, that I have spoken from the bottom and purity of my

* Note E.

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heart. It is an arduous consideration we are now upon; and surely we have considered it earnestly. I may think of every gentleman here as I know of myself. For seven years past this question has filled the day with anxious thoughts, and the night with care. The God to whom we appeal must judge us. If the grievances of which we complain did not come upon us unprovoked and unexpected, when our hearts were filled with respectful affection for our parent state, and with loyalty to our king, let slavery, the worst of human evils, be our portion. Nothing less than seven years of insulted complaints and reiterated wrongs could have shaken such rooted sentiments. Unhappily for us, submission and slavery are the same; and we have only the melancholy alternative left of resistance or of ruin.

"The last petition of the Congress to the king contained all that our unhappy situation could suggest. It represented our grievances, implored redress, and professed our readiness to contribute, for the general wants, to the utmost of our abilities, when constitutionally required." After adverting to the unfortunate fate of that petition, and stating the necessity of taking up arms, he concluded in the following words:—"Our sufferings have been great—our endurance long; every effort of complaint and patience has been exhausted. Let us, therefore, consult only how we shall defend our liberties with dignity and success. Our parent state will then think us worthy of her, when she sees that, together with her liberty, we inherit her rigid resolution of main-

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taining it against all invaders. She calls us her children; let us, by the spiritedness of our behaviour, give her reason to pride herself in the relationship."

Every appeal and remonstrance being disregarded, the evil star of Britain gained the ascendency, and ministers involved the country in a war that shook the vitals of both hemispheres.

The details of this eventful period, which has already filled many volumes, it is not the object of this work to dwell upon. From the commencement of hostilities to the peace which acknowledged the independence of the United States, the energy, perseverance, and wisdom of the republican leaders, and the strange mixture of obstinacy, weakness, vacillation, and folly of the British councils, which lost the nation the fairest portion of the empire, are equally extraordinary.*

Of all the measures of ministers, the employing of the Indians during this unnatural war was the most objectionable, or at least the most unwise, and revolting to humanity. The atrocity and cruelty of the savages exasperated the colonists beyond any former sense of injury, and thousands flocked in consequence to the standard of the States, who now declared themselves free and independent, and abjured their allegiance to Great Britain.

It is the opinion of many, that the conciliatory plan

* It would almost seem reasonable to conclude, that the ministry were governed by feelings similar to those expressed by Dr Johnson, when he said, "Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them short of hanging."

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proposed by the Earl of Chatham would have saved America; but the famous bill, which he framed for this great purpose, was overthrown by a formidable ministerial majority. They went even so far, in order to give it a most marked and decided rejection, as not to let it remain even on the table. This must have been a severe mortification to such a giant in legislation and government—a man whose abilities had raised the nation to such unexampled grandeur,—who had made such a splendid figure as a statesman,—who had directed the measures that wrested Louisburg and Quebec from France, and whose opinion and judgment had once been considered the oracle of the country.

The celebrated plan of Mr Burke, supported by his eloquent and sound arguments, together with the appeals of the people, were equally disregarded; and New England, with all the southern states, effected their independence.

The revolutionary war in America produced men, or rather brought their great talents into action, who may justly be classed with the celebrated heroes and statesmen of ancient and modern times. They gave life and strength to the war; directed the councils of the country with wisdom and firmness; organized armies, and raised funds to support them; planned a system of finance, and formed a constitution for the government of the people.

They received, it is true, assistance from France, and they were countenanced by thousands in every part of Europe. These circumstances may be readily

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accounted for. Liberty, although not generally understood, is so truly the just right of mankind, that even they who neither have enjoyed its blessings, nor even expect to possess them, still appreciate its value. The idea of public freedom also, is so gratifying to the human mind, that whoever takes up arms either to recover or defend it, is not only certain of the approbation of those who dare to declare their opinions, but also the secret good wishes of all those upon whom arbitrary power enjoins silence.

The assistance, however, afforded the Americans by France, was from far different motives. Any attempt to abridge the supremacy of an European government over her colonies, was any thing but agreeable to the ideas always entertained at the court of Versailles. On this occasion, their grand policy was to humble the power of Great Britain. The consequence, however mortifying to England, was disastrous and terrible to France; and laid the train which exploded in all the horrors of the Revolution, and opened a theatre for the splendid victories, and finally the downfall of Napoleon.

The officers sent to America by France, carried back high revolutionary principles and feelings, which were ingrafted on the philosophy of Voltaire and the *Academy*. These materials soon unfolded themselves, by subverting the whole royal government and constitution, accompanied by outrages and calamities which shocked and disquieted all the nations of Europe and America.

England, on the contrary, was still in a glorious

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and powerful condition. Her arms were triumphant in all parts of the world except on the continent of America; and although the treaty by which England acknowledged the independence of the United States, was at that time considered the termination of British grandeur, this prophecy has happily proved false. Great Britain, notwithstanding the unexampled expenses of two long wars, possessed greater resources than any power on earth; and the ministers who lost America, were supplanted in the royal councils by men of ability and spirit. England, it was true, had lost many of her American colonies, but she still retained others, probably the most important to her as a nation. An impartial and correct account of these, is the principal object of this work. I shall previously, however, in the following chapter, take a brief view of the condition of the United States.

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CHAPTER V.

Condition of the United States at the Peace of 1783—Washington—Constitution and Laws—Resources—Characteristics of the People, &c.

At the general peace of 1783, the condition of the United States of America, and the durability of the constitution which they adopted, formed a subject which gave rise to a multiplicity of speculative opinions, most of which experience has since proved erroneous.

It was contended, that when the colonies became independent, they would lose the respect of foreign nations; that when left to themselves, and not controlled by the mother-country, or awed by foreign powers, their energies would relax; and that civil dissensions would divide them, and subvert a constitution, which, according to its form, and the experience of mankind in all ages, must inevitably fall.

The condition of America was, however, very different from all the republics that had previously existed, either in ancient or modern times. The people were generally intelligent; and the great men who conducted their assemblies possessed abilities, solid rather than brilliant, practical rather than theoretical; and they had the good sense and discrimination to adopt the constitution and laws of the most

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free government on earth, as the groundwork of theirs: making a royal and hereditary chief magistrate, a nobility, and a national church, the exceptions of any consequence. Their immense territory, extending along a vast length of sea-coast, abounding with numerous harbours, rivers, woods, fisheries, minerals, rich soils, and almost every climate under heaven, placed all natural advantages in their immediate possession. They enjoyed, also, the benefit of all the knowledge and literature of England, without the labour of translating the language, or paying for the copyright of books; and they had the first advantage of our discoveries in the arts, without restrictions as to the right of patents. They had, in short, the knowledge and experience of all ages and countries to guide them, without being shackled by hereditary rights or established usages.

With such extraordinary advantages, as no other people ever possessed, they were enabled to avoid most of the blunders committed by nations, whose constitutions grew up with them; and they had, besides, the peculiar good fortune, at that period, of being governed by honest men.

Of these personages, the greatest was George Washington. He was appointed to the chief command of the army, solely on account of his personal merit and military abilities. He had served as an officer, in the former war against France, with much well-earned distinction. At the peace, he retired to his patrimonial estate, where he lived as a respectable private gentleman, endeared to all who knew him,

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by his amiable character, and unostentatious hospitality, until called on to take the supreme command of the army. During the war, his whole heart and talents were honourably devoted to the great charge which he undertook; and, when he was afterwards elected President of the United States, his policy was disinterested, liberal, just, and moderate. Truth and utility were the great objects which he had always in view. The powers of his understanding were solid, but not brilliant; and sound judgment was his best distinction. In his deliberations, neither passion, prejudice, party spirit, nor interest, had any weight; and his decisions, influenced by a good heart and wise head, were always sound and judicious. On many great occasions, which involved the fate of the country and the army, his judgment alone saved both.

In private life he appeared as amiable and good, as he was great and sublime in the exercise of sovereign power or military command. He was, besides, a respectable gentleman of the old school, and retained all the observances and dignity at his levees which he witnessed in early life under the British Government. Mr Jefferson once talked to him on this subject, and Washington replied with his usual candour, "I see we must one day or other come to a form of government approaching to that of England, and I wish to prepare the minds of the people for it." The high example of his own character, particularly in private life, certainly gave a different tone to public manners, from that which appeared during the

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administrations of the presidents who succeeded him.*

We must not, however, forget, that all his successors are considered to rank among good men, and some of them, particularly Mr Jefferson, as great men; but it must, at the same time, be admitted, that they committed many egregious blunders in their commercial policy; and that the last war with this country was not only rash, but impolitic and unprovoked.

It has been popular, and even fashionable, in Europe, to think lightly of the Americans. Both French and English travellers, influenced by early associations and customs, have seldom done justice either to the people or to the country. To form a just estimation of both, we must search into the great national resources of that vast region, and examine the intellectual and physical energies of the people;—we must ask, what have the Americans done since they became an independent nation? and not measure their capabilities, or stamp their character, by frivolous peculiarities of language, or habits that have differed from ours merely through the agency of local circumstances. These may afford materials to a strolling comedian to excite vulgar merriment; but it is certainly unworthy the attention, and beneath the dignity of a respectable traveller, to fill his journals with the *cant* language and provincialisms of individuals whom he may accidentally meet with in a stage-coach

* An exception appears in Mr Madison. He was at heart fond of grandeur, and the effect which splendour gives to a court.

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or at an inn. No gentleman, who is commonly polite, will meet with any thing but kind hospitality and treatment in America; and as to the peculiarities of their tongue, I need only observe, that I have never met with an American, however humble, whose language was not perfectly plain and intelligible to me; while I can scarcely understand half of what the country people say, within a few miles of me, in Lancashire. It is also common to believe, that the Americans cherish a bitter hatred to the people of England. Many circumstances have certainly planted sentiments of dislike to England, or more properly to the government, pretty generally among the citizens of the United States; but they are, notwithstanding, more kind to Englishmen individually, than to the people of any other country. I may also observe further, that there is much truth in a reply made to me by a member of the legislature of Maine, when conversing with him on this subject: "Sir," he said, "if I were to punish men for abusing countries, I would first knock down the person who stigmatized my own, and immediately after, the one that abused yours; and you may depend upon it, sir, that this feeling is more general among us than even we ourselves think." The truth is, that their literature, their language, and even their history, except for the last sixty years, are all so purely English, that they cling unconsciously, by association and habits, more closely to England and Englishmen, than to any other country or people.

A fertile and principal excuse of any hatred felt by

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the Americans against England, arises out of the writings of English travellers, many of whom, even by their own admission, received the most disinterested attentions and kindness from the people of America. These courtesies they have repaid, by publishing all the foibles they could discover; ridiculing the oratory of the public men; and speaking contemptuously of their government and institutions.

The democratic form of the American government arose, perhaps, as much from necessity, as from any predilection which the leading men of the time cherished for it. There was no one who could assume a claim to sovereign right, and the wealth of the country was too equally divided to give any one person an overwhelming share of power. Washington, Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, indeed all the distinguished men and heroes of the revolution, were well aware of this circumstance, and they were all too honest and patriotic, to allow ambition, or the love of power, to interfere with the real interests of the nation.

The constitution and laws were, however, as nearly accommodated as possible to the former mode of administering the government.

The different States retained their respective representative governments, much the same as before the revolution, with the power of passing laws for their internal administration; but all the States were united under one general federal government.* This

* Note F.

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head was divided into three estates or branches, consisting of the President, Senate, and House of Representatives.

The last consists now of 118 members, or about one for 40,000 inhabitants. They sit two years, when another general election takes place by universal suffrage. The State legislatures have no share, except by party influence, in the general elections. They, however, have each the privilege of sending a member to Congress, where he is entitled to sit and speak, but not to vote.

The Senate, again, is elected by the legislatures of the respective States; each sending two members, which now make forty-eight. The members of the Senate, which may be considered the aristocratic body, must be thirty years old; they sit for six years, but a third are changed every two years.

The president is elected by a body of distinct electors, chosen from within each State. These votes are sent under seal to Congress, who have the right of electing the president, if the candidate has not more than half the number of votes in his favour.

The powers of the president are very extensive. He has the supreme command of the military and naval forces; and, with the approbation of two-thirds of the Senate, the patronage of, and appointments to, all civil and military offices. He cannot give a negative to a law, but he can suspend its operations, until it be again presented to him, with the votes of two-thirds of both houses in its favour. He is elected for four years, and may then be re-elected.

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The powers vested in the central government extend to all negotiations with foreign nations; maintaining and organizing the naval and military forces; the sole regulation of foreign trade; and all matters connected with the general revenue and finances.

The *Judiciary* of the United States, or the Supreme Court of Judicature, controls the whole government, so far as to have the power of declaring not only the legislative acts of any particular State, but even those of Congress, unconstitutional, and consequently invalid. For, the people of the republic having declared the constitution to be the supreme law of the land, it is, therefore, considered entitled to implicit and general acknowledgment throughout the Union.

The Supreme Court of the republic, in which a chief-justice and six associate justices preside, holds one annual term only at the seat of government; but the whole country is divided into seven great districts or circuits, in each of which two courts are held during the year; one of the assistant judges from the Supreme Court, and the particular justices of the districts, presiding.

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court extends to all matters in law and equity arising within the Union; to the treaties, regulations, as well as general and particular laws of the republic; to questions affecting public ministers and consuls; to all cases of maritime or admiralty pleas; to controversies between one State and another, or the individuals of different States; to pleas between citizens and foreign subjects; and to all controversies where the United States are

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generally interested. Each State having superior and inferior courts, appeals are made from these to the Supreme Federal Court, from which there is no appeal.

The Judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the president, with the concurrence of the Senate, and hold their offices during good behaviour. In the several States the judges are appointed, in some by the governor, in others by the governor and council, and in the rest by the legislature.

Chancery Courts are established in some States; but in others the Supreme Courts are empowered with the jurisdiction to make decrees agreeable to Chancery practice.

The particular laws of the respective States, passed to answer local objects, frequently differ from those of neighbouring States, and create, in consequence, much confusion, which is not easily adjusted, except by the Supreme Court. The common law of England was adopted by the republic after the revolution; and although it has been much altered and modified since that period, it may still be considered the text-book of the American lawyer.

The people of the United States are accused of being litigious—they certainly are so; and the same charge applies with equal truth to the inhabitants of all British America. The reason is obvious. The people, inveigled by low attorneys, or excited by private jealousies or quarrels, fly to litigation on the most trivial occasions. Law is nominally cheap; and the dignity of the courts destroyed by admitting,

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with little scruple, as an attorney or barrister, any one who has served a few years' apprenticeship to any enrolled attorney.

By this system, a mere amanuensis is placed on a par with gentlemen of extensive legal learning and experience. Next to the cheapness of ardent spirits, what is called "law," is the bane of all North America, applying with equal truth to the United States and the British colonies.

At the bar of the courts there is, however, much splendid talent. The Supreme Court, in particular, is the great school of oratory, in which most of their statesmen have been trained. There is, both in the United States and British America, a great superabundance of lawyers. One-third the number, which would probably include all those who have any pretensions to ability, would be quite sufficient for every legal and necessary purpose. By their having a fair share of business, the profession would be more generally respectable; trifling cases would be rejected, and the country gradually purged of a ruinous system of litigation.

The fees of the lawyers are by no means high; they are, on the contrary, rather low, even on the principle that "the labourer is worthy of his hire;" and this *cheap law* is itself a great evil, inasmuch as it encourages many to litigate that otherwise would not, and who do not take the value of their time into account.

The judges of all the courts are generally grave,

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honest, and impartial men; and their opinions and decisions are usually upright and just.

The salaries of those who administer the government, and preside in the courts, are generally thought disproportionate to their services and responsibility. In many cases they appear to be so, even to meanness; but they seem, however, to do very well with the allowances granted them; and the competition for public appointments is unequalled in any other country.

The president is far from being respectably provided for. His salary is only 25,000 dollars, about L.4000 sterling. He is expected out of this to give dinners twice a-week to the members of Congress, eminent foreigners, all public officers, and also to open a building, called the "Whitehouse," once a-fortnight, to receive all classes, and often to associate with the lowest of the *profanum vulgus*.

The vice-president receives 5000 dollars, about L. 1000. The chief-justice, about L.4000. Inferior judges, about L.1000. Other officers at the heads of departments, about L.1100. Ministers of foreign courts, about L.800; which last is certainly too little. How can they be properly respected, when compelled to live so meanly? The Americans, however, pay the officers of their navy much better than our government does.

The general revenue of the United States is about 20,000,000 dollars, about L.4,000,000. This amount is chiefly derived from the customs, and very little from the sale of lands, as has been supposed; the

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expense of the last absorbing nearly the amount that lands sell for.

The public expenditure is, about 2,000,000 dollars to pay the whole civil list,—4,000,000 to maintain the military,—3,700,000 to support the naval establishments. Three millions dollars of the revenue go to pay the interest of the public debt, and the remaining seven millions are made a sinking fund of, to reduce the debt.

These sums, to conduct the affairs of so great a country, are astonishingly small; but we must not forget that each of the States have their separate and respective public departments, revenues, and expenditures, the maintaining of which altogether requires great sums.

The military force of America consists chiefly of the militia, which now amount to 800,000 men capable of bearing arms, who would, no doubt, defend their property and country with great bravery; but they would, from want of training and subordination, form a most awkward and unmanageable army. In skirmishing, or in small parties, however, the general use of firelocks makes them deadly marksmen. The government has lately established military schools; from which great improvement in the discipline and training of the militia is expected.

There is also a regular force of about 10,000 infantry. These men are by no means trained like European soldiers; and consist chiefly of the most worthless, indolent, and spiritless people in the country, who, being too lazy to cultivate the soil,

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or work among the farmers, enlist, for a subsistence, in the army.

The condition of the navy is, however, far different; the regulation and discipline of which, can only be equalled by that of England. The beauty of their ships, distinguished for solid construction, excellent and convenient arrangements, have astonished us, after being accustomed to hear their *fir-built* vessels despised, and talked of with sneering contempt. They have as durable wood in their "live oak," as we can find in England, and let us beware of treating them with indifference.*

The present naval power of the United States consists of twelve heavy ships of the line, one sixty gun frigate, twelve frigates of forty-four guns, three frigates of thirty guns, several smaller vessels, and others on the stocks. At the commencement of the last war, they had only seven frigates.

Their commercial ships are the most beautiful vessels in the world; and in durability and number, can be equalled by no power on earth but by England.

There is no national church in the United States; much is argued for and against this circumstance, and many regret the want of a church, countenanced, as a standard of faith, by the constitution; but in all matters where the conscience of man should alone control his belief, we must admit, that the government of that country act wisely in not interfering

* Note G.

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with religious matters. There is, however, no want of religion, of churches, or of places of worship; although too great a portion of the preachers are raving enthusiasts, the heroes of camp-meetings, and the most prolific cause of nervous complaints among delicate women, whom they frighten into *hysteria*, by their unmerciful and unreasonable extravagances.

Unitarianism is the most prevailing denomination of Christians; then follow the Congregationalists, who have the service of the Church of England, cleared of the parts obnoxious to Puritans; Quakers, Catholics, Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, &c., indeed all Christian sects that we know of, are met with in the United States. Government recognise none; nor are any liable to political disabilities on the score of religion.

There is more general knowledge diffused among the people of the United States, than in any kingdom in Europe. Yet there is not among them the same proportion of men celebrated in literature and science, as in many other countries. The Americans are a young, active, and enterprising people. General knowledge, and a practical education, are absolutely necessary for them, in order to follow their adventurous pursuits; but they seldom have leisure to apply themselves to the tedious labours of literature and science. A few, however, have entered the avenues of literature, and the labyrinths of science and art, of whom America may most justly boast.

Franklin, Jefferson, West, Silliman, Irving, Cooper, Leslie, Martin, Turnbull, and some others, must

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rank high in their respective departments, as philosophers, authors, and artists.

The colleges, and other seminaries of learning in the United States, are respectable and numerous; and the diffusion of knowledge extensive and liberal.*

The Americans are certainly a reading people, particularly of ephemeral productions. There are upwards of eight hundred newspapers circulated throughout the United States, besides reviews, and a vast number of magazines. Nearly all the popular works published in this country, and some imported from France and Germany, are reprinted with astonishing celerity, and dispersed all over the republic.

The public works of the United States, among which we may notice Erie canal as the greatest, (being in length, with that branching from it to Lake Champlain, above four hundred miles,) have all been conducted with spirit; and from the rapid advances which the republic has made since the revolution, we are only the more deeply involved in conjecture, the more we enquire into the probable height of its splendour, before it reach the acme of its power and grandeur. Those vast regions beyond the Alleghany mountains, the most extensive, fertile, and most eminently blessed with a natural inland navigation, of any country in the world, were scarcely known before the revolution. That country now possesses a great population, and all the rudiments

* Note H.

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of a mighty empire. The population of the republic has already increased to twelve millions, or more. The city of New York, in 1790, had only 30,000, it has now more than 200,000. Philadelphia, and many other towns, have, since then, more than quadrupled the number of inhabitants.

The institutions of the republic, the state prisons in particular, are deserving of much attention; but that which distinguishes the Americans from most other people, is their restless spirit of enterprise. To every part of their own country where any gain can be acquired, and, in their ships, to every part of the habitable globe, do they resort. This character of them as a nation has been the great cause of their prosperity, both before and since the revolution; and according to all probability and experience, it will continue until their gigantic territory has a superabundant population, or until great individual wealth, and consequent luxury, produce the usual effects caused by indolence, voluptuousness, and degeneracy.

The cool indifference, but calculating determination, with which an American moves from the seaboard, or the Old States, to the back countries, where he can secure plenty of land for his children to settle around him, is remarkable. Nothing, however, is more common. A whole colony sometimes depart together; and, on arriving at the spot in the wilderness that answers their views, immediately commence the operations of cutting down the trees, and erecting houses; and a town, with its streets, and all the component parts of an American embryo settlement,

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such as a meeting-house, blacksmith's forge, saw-mill, corn-mill, shops, and taverns, appear on the banks of a river, where a forest occupied the ground a few months before.

It is remarked by almost all travellers, that the Americans are perpetually boasting of the excellence of their constitution. This is certainly the case, and Englishmen do not like generally to hear it. Yet we boast of ours, and why not let the citizens of the United States, if they find themselves happy and blessed under their republican form of government, enjoy its full benefit, whether real or imaginary? At farthest, we can only make it a charge of very pardonable national vanity, which we ought to esteem rather than blame them for.

As to the state of society and the manners of the people of America, we must not, although there are no titles, believe that there is no distinction of ranks, and that the people live on a perfect footing of equality. There is, in fact, a more nice discrimination of classes created by the people themselves, than the lines of demarcation marked out by the hereditary *titles* of our English aristocracy. Wealth and knowledge, which, together, form power in all countries, constitute what, in a moral point, may be termed the aristocratic rights of America. These people consist of the respectable families of the talented men who figured in the revolutionary war; the leading men of Congress, and of public departments; gentlemen of the learned professions; merchants of education and property; and all others of

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wealth and respectable talents. These people, all over the United States, naturally associate with each other, and as naturally avoid mixing with the next class, which consists of tradesmen, small shopkeepers, tavern-keepers, and others of much the same standing. These, again, shun those beneath them, as the *canaille* of society. Exceptions to this general observation are, however, not infrequent.

As to the manners of the Americans, no one can detail justly their characteristics. The materials are as heterogeneous as can be well imagined, but, at the same time, greatly modified by circumstances. In general, but especially in the New England States, the men are graver, and, as respects language and carriage, more decorous than in the United Kingdom. The Virginians have been compared to country squires in England. The American ladies are more formal than with us—this arises from an idea of propriety, and not from a natural coldness, as is often supposed. Assemblies and private parties are as frequent as with us. At the first, the ladies are certainly more reserved; and, although this arises from the fear of doing or saying any thing indecorous, or rather unfashionable, it deprives not only themselves, but the gentlemen, of the pleasurable chit-chat which we enjoy at our balls in this country. The large assemblies are certainly cold and formal enough, but their private parties are by no means so; and a stranger, after a little acquaintance, finds himself both easy and comfortable. Both ladies and gentlemen dress fashionably, somewhat between the English

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and French styles. Among the ladies, particularly in the Northern States, we observe some of the most beautiful women on earth, and as great a proportion of handsome women as in England; but they lose their bloom soon; and those which have the most charming complexions, and most fascinating countenances and graceful figures, become too frequently the early victims of consumption. An Englishman cannot for some time know the American ladies sufficiently well to appreciate justly their kind, affectionate, and amiable virtues. These they assuredly possess in a high degree; but being of more retired habits—which they may blame the American gentlemen for—"they often bloom unseen," and their excellences are only known to their friends, or to those strangers whose merit obtains them admittance, as *enfants de la maison*, with the family.

The United States, peopled at first by persons who left these kingdoms when the state of public manners was very different from what they now are, and by the adventurous of all classes from other parts of Europe, must retain much of their original habits and education. Time alone will amalgamate these materials, and create a standard which will eventually give a more marked tone to public and private society. The country people of America are blunt, but certainly civil, although often accused of rudeness. I feel safe in considering them not so rude, and certainly not so ignorant, as the peasantry of England. They are never obsequious, it is true, and this arises from their being usually independent in their circumstances.

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They are, in short, neither polite nor rude, but always civil, unless we assume an authoritative tone. If we do, as some Englishmen are accustomed to through habit, without meaning any assumption, the Americans will, certainly, neither comply with our requests, nor reply to us in any thing like gentleness of spirit.

The impertinent curiosity with which the people of America are branded, must be considered only applicable to the lower classes in the remote settlements.

In the large towns, the hotels are splendid, and the attendance good, but the waiters are far from being as polite or obsequious as in England. This is certainly a drawback on our ideas of comfort, as we, in this country, consider a hotel, or an inn on the road, much in the same light, for the time being, as we do our own house, and the waiters as our servants. At the inns also on the road in America, we have not much attention shown us as travellers, but we generally find abundance of good things to eat and drink.

Many people object to the table d'hôte, which is customary at all the hotels in the United States and British America; but I have always found them very agreeable, and I consider them the very best places for travellers to dine at.

The residents who dine at these tables, always rise, and fly to their business, immediately after dinner; but there are generally intelligent strangers who remain, whose conversation is agreeable, and from whom much information may be obtained. It is also very wrong to say, as some writers have, that "a guest

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cannot have a collation, ever so slight, when he wishes for it, but must wait the regular hour of the table d'hôte." A gentleman at any of the hotels may not only have any thing to eat and drink when he wishes, but he may, if he chooses, have a room to himself, and dine when he pleases, though, certainly, by paying higher. It is seldom, however, that any one thinks of leaving the table d'hôte; and doing so would be considered an affectation of greatness, that would gain no additional attendance from the servants, nor any respect from others. The public post and other carriages in America, are by no means so comfortable as ours, but the inland navigation of the country, and the splendid accommodations of their steam-vessels, are far superior to any thing of the kind in Europe.

The public amusements are principally theatrical entertainments, which were at last established, after some violent struggles to repeal the absurd legislative enactment that prohibited them. The managers of the principal theatres, and the public patronage, have been sufficiently liberal to induce many of our best actors to visit that country; and they have also some native actors of very fair talents.

Balls, pic-nic parties, water excursions, resorting to the fashionable springs of Saratoga and Balston, are other sources of pleasure. Horse-racing is, however, perhaps the amusement that excites the greatest interest all over the United States.

They have also some barbarous diversions, one of which, "Gander-pulling," is considered peculiar to

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them; but it was long ago a vulgar amusement in England and Scotland.

In the remote countries, and among the raftsmen and lumberers, drinking, fighting, swearing, and gambling, are common vices. The brutal operation of gouging is not, at least at present, often known, although some travellers have most falsely stated, that every fifth man in Kentucky was deprived of an eye in consequence.

It is rather surprising that, in a republic like America, duels should be more frequent than in Europe; but such most certainly is the case.

Among the blemishes which blot the constitution, and affect the national character of the Americans, the frequency of elections is the most prominent. Every second year, the whole country is agitated with politics and the intrigues of party. The indecent licentiousness of the press, in particular, seems to have no bounds; and their newspapers are at these periods truly disgusting. A fair representation is a great blessing, and a mighty bulwark to uphold the liberty of a nation; but the evils of unlimited universal suffrage are pregnant with formidable dangers to the constitution of the United States. Slavery may be considered another evil which may lead to the subversion of the government; but in this case, the only remedy must be gradual emancipation. No measure could be more cruel to the negroes themselves than granting them immediate liberty. It would, in fact, be depriving them of subsistence, by

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casting them loose, without the capacity or means to provide the primary necessaries of life.

As to the constitution itself, or the administration of the government, it would be presumptuous indeed to say that either were faultless, even if the constitution and laws were in themselves perfect, while the passions of men, in republican as well as monarchical governments, influence their public conduct.

The impolicy of the late tariff, intended to force manufactures at the expense of all other branches of industry, is a blunder only equalled in this age by the embargo which the federal government formerly laid on the exportation of the fruits of the soil. The Americans complain of our government prohibiting their intercourse with the West Indies, and our North American colonies; but their own illiberality, in the burdens imposed on our ships, led to this measure in the British councils.

It is, however, the interest, and ought to be the natural desire, of both countries, that Great Britain and the United States should regard each other with liberal and amicable feelings, free from jealousy, or the recollections of former aggravations, which should *now be* forgotten as mere family quarrels.

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NOTES TO BOOK I.

Note A, page 8.

Of all those that planted colonies, the fame of William Penn shines the brightest, whether we view him as negotiating with the Indians, or giving a constitution to Pennsylvania. On the latter occasion he says—"Whatever be the form of a government, the people always are free when they share in the legislative power, and are governed only by the laws."

It is alleged against him, that the value of what he gave to the Indians was trifling in proportion to the vast territory he received from them. This may be true, but it must not be forgotten, that the bargain was fair and amicably entered into; that the use of those articles given by Penn to the Indians, was to them of immense importance; that the lands, on the other hand, were of no value to them but for hunting grounds; and that a large tract of country was thus obtained with the free consent and good-will of the original possessors. His conciliatory treaties with the Indians, and the measures he adopted to secure their confidence, were so satisfactory to them, that they never have "lifted the tomahawk against the race of William Penn."

Mr Duncan found a paper in the United States, containing what was said to be Penn's treaty. It stated, "that for all the land between the two rivers, as far as a man could ride in two days with a horse," Penn was to give the Indians "20 guns, 20 fathoms matchcoal, 20 fathoms stroudwater, 20 blankets, 20 kettles, 20 pounds powder, 100 bars lead, 40 tomahawks, 100 knives, 40 pairs stockings, 1 barrel beer, 20 pounds red lead, 100 fathoms wampum,

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30 glass bottles, 30 pewter spoons, 100 awl blades, 300 tobacco pipes, 100 pounds tobacco, 20 tobacco tongs, 20 steels, 300 flints, 30 pairs scissars, 30 combs, 60 looking-glasses, 200 needles, 1 skepple salt, 30 pounds sugar, 5 gallons molasses, 20 tobacco boxes, 100 Jew's harps, 20 hoes, 30 gimblets, 30 wooden screw-boxes, 100 strings of beads."

Note B, page 9.

The extravagances into which fanaticism will lead or drive the human passions, were never more conspicuous than in New England. The laws of this colony punished witchcraft, blasphemy, worshipping of images, &c., with death. The Quakers were first imprisoned, then most cruelly and severely whipped, and afterwards banished.

So far did those fanatical Puritans, men who would "hang a cat on Monday, for killing a mouse on Sunday," go, that for men to wear their hair long was considered not only indecent and anti-scriptural, but a most offensive abomination to the Deity. A proclamation exists among the records of Massachusetts, which declares, that "We, the magistrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, expressly condemn the impious custom of letting the hair grow, as indecent, *dishonest*, and horrible to sober-minded persons, inasmuch as it corrupts good manners, and as a custom introduced into England by the Papists, in *sacrilegious* contempt of God, who declares in his holy word, that it is a shameful practice for any man, who has the least care for his soul, to wear long hair. We, therefore, being justly incensed against this scandalous custom, do desire, advise, and earnestly request, all elders of our continent, zealously to show their aversion from this odious practice, and to exert their utmost powers to put a stop to it, and especially to take care that the members of their church be not infected with it."

A Mrs Hutchison, the heroine of the female fanatical society of Boston, and at whose house meetings for theological disputes were held nightly, declared in her preachings that a "*radical change*" in the worship of God was absolutely necessary before the colony could expect the smallest blessing, or the least favour, from the Deity.

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She maintained, that the doctrine of good works was rather an impediment, than necessary to obtain salvation; and that "the covenant of works is a mere broken reed, which is useless and dangerous, and must be expelled by the impression of the Spirit." These were the darling themes of this fair Antinomian.

Her enemies hatched a story against her which travelled rapidly over the country, and which enabled them to expel her from the colony. It asserted, that she had at one birth brought forth thirty monsters, answering in hideousness and number to the abominable errors she had promulgated.

She was accordingly banished to Rhode Island. This unfortunate woman, driven from her house during an inclement season, miscarried, and suffered great misery on the occasion. The pressure of poverty or ill treatment drove her afterwards to a Dutch settlement in the state of New York, where she was, with all her family, butchered by the Indians.

During this religious calamity, the ladies were pretty anxious to establish the right of absolute rule in theological discussions. The wives, in fact, influenced their husbands, and the young women their lovers, so completely, that they generally maintained the claim they arrogated.

The excesses which the belief in witchcraft produced were, if possible, still more extraordinary. This horrible superstition first appeared in the house of a minister at Salem. He had two daughters, who, after the ages of twelve years, were afflicted with hysterical convulsions. The father thought them bewitched; and, fixing his suspicions on an Indian woman, who lived in the house, by the severest whipping he extorted from her the confession of being a witch.

This poor savage was accordingly hanged, and her body exposed to birds of prey. Other women, seduced by the pride of exciting public attention, immediately brought themselves to believe that *hysteria*, which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, was owing to the influence of infernal agency. Three persons were consequently suspected by them of sorcery, and most speedily imprisoned, condemned, hanged, and their bodies, agreeably to the law of the colony, exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. Fifteen

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or sixteen others, with the lawyer who refused to plead against them, were hanged a few days after.

There was, in short, no possible security for a time against the infatuated suspicions of persons influenced by wild visionary delusions. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of, and the respect due to age, the most dignified employments, virgin modesty, virtue itself, afforded no protection against the mad bigots who figure among the annals of Massachusetts.

Children of ten years of age were put to death. Girls were denuded, and the signs of witchcraft searched for with most indecent curiosity. Spots, which appear as the effect of scurvy on aged men, were considered undeniable signs of infernal power. If the public functionaries refused to punish, they were consequently guilty of the infernal crime of sorcery. The most active accusers, however lamentable the circumstance, were the very ministers of religion. Dreams, apparitions, and fear, increased these prodigies of folly and wickedness. Fanaticism seized its victims at pleasure, and by the most cruel tortures extorted confessions. The colony, in short, was likely to be destroyed, when this terrible malady ceased, almost suddenly, and the consequent remorse and repentance for the wicked and horrible crimes of which the people were now sensible of having been guilty, were manifested by a solemn and general fast.

Note C, page 22.

At the beginning of the troubles of 1775, the united colonies offered to maintain their own civil list, and to give a clear contribution of one hundred thousand pounds per annum for one hundred years, in aid of a sinking fund to pay the national debt of the mother country, with a proviso only of being treated like the other parts of the empire. The contumelious treatment, however, shown to the colonial agents by the ministry, prevented this liberal proposal from being formally made. The state papers, still on record, and drawn by Congress, is distinctly expressive of their sentiment to the above effect.—Franklin's Miscellaneous Pieces, p. 257. See also Jefferson's Correspondence.

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Note D, page 28.

There existed among the first circles in America, at the period immediately before the revolutionary war, a fashionable grandeur in the state of society and manners, which the revolution has certainly extinguished. The manners of the present day, it is true, are very different, both in America and Europe, from those which prevailed sixty years ago. In both hemispheres there is less dignity, but more brilliancy, than formerly; yet the splendour of the "mischianza," or fête, which was prepared and conducted with such extraordinary magnificence at Philadelphia, on the departure of General Howe, and part of the British army and fleet, would certainly dazzle and astonish us, even at the present period.

The following account of it, which was first, and yet only, printed in the Colonial Herald, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, may be considered a "curiosity." I copy it, with the editor's introductory remarks:

"As our summer amusements are approaching, it may not be uninteresting to our readers to glance over the details of the most splendid spectacle that has ever been exhibited in any of the British colonies on this continent, and which are given with great apparent accuracy in the following letter, written to a friend in England, by a person connected with the army under General Howe. It has never before appeared in print, and we publish it as a curiosity. It would have given us more pride had the letter borne evidence of the watchfulness, hardihood, and prudence of the officers who commanded the British forces during that momentous period, had it shown the correctness of their acquaintance with the people, and the country against which they were to act, instead of exhibiting a scene of mere parade and extravagance, however splendid and imposing. The general to whom the fête was given, was perhaps as brave a man as ever went into the field, and certainly beat the enemy on almost every occasion in which he met them; but he was rash and dissipated, and rashness and dissipation were unfortunately but too general among our forces during the whole of the American war, and often rendered of little avail the valour which would have been resistless, if tempered with prudence and discretion.

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"*Philadelphia, May* 23, 1778.

"That our sentiments might be the more universally known, it was resolved amongst us, that we should give General Howe as splendid an entertainment as the shortness of the time and our situation would allow us. For the expenses the whole army would have most cheerfully contributed; but it was requisite to draw a line somewhere, and twenty-two field-officers joined in a subscription adequate to the plan they meant to adopt. I know your curiosity will be raised on this occasion, and I shall therefore give you as particular an account of our 'mischianza' as I have been able to collect. From the name, you will observe it was made up of a variety of entertainments; four of the gentlemen subscribers were appointed managers,—Sir John Wrottesley, Colonel O'Hara, Major Gardiner, and Montressor, the chief engineer. On the tickets of admission, which they gave for Monday 18th, was engraved in a shield a view of the sea, and on a wreath the words, 'Luce discedens, aucto splendore resurgam.' At top was the general's crest, with 'Vive vale!' All round the shield ran a vignette; and various military trophies filled up the ground. A grand regatta began the entertainment. It consisted of three divisions; the first was the Ferret galley, having on board several general-officers, and a number of ladies. In the centre was the Hussar galley, with Sir William and Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, the officers of their suite, and some ladies. The Cornwallis galley brought up the rear, having on board General Knypthausen and his suite, three British generals, and a party of ladies. On each quarter of the galleys, and forming their division, were five boats lined with green cloth, and filled with ladies and gentlemen. In front of the whole were three boats, with a band of music in each; six barges rowed about each flank, to keep off the swarms of boats that covered the river from side to side. The galleys were dressed out in a variety of colours and streamers, and in each boat was displayed the flag of its own division. In the stream, opposite the centre of the city, the Fanny man-of-war, magnificently decorated, was placed at anchor, and at some distance a-head lay his majesty's ship Roebuck, with the admiral's flag at the fore-topmast head. The transport ships, extending in a line the whole length of the town, appeared with colours flying, and crowded with spectators, as were also the open-

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ings of the several streets on the shores, exhibiting the most picturesque and enlivening scenes the eye could desire.

"The rendezvous was at Knight's wharf, at the northern extremity of the city. By half after four, the whole company were embarked; and the signal being made by the Vigilant's manning ship, the three divisions rowed slowly down, preserving their proper intervals, and keeping time to the music that led the fleet. On arriving between the Fanny and the Market wharf, a signal was made from one of the boats a-head, and the whole lay upon their oars, while the music played 'God Save the King,' and then three cheers given from the vessels, were returned by the multitude on shore.

"By this time, the flood-tide became too rapid for the galleys to advance; they were, therefore, quitted, and the company disposed of in the different barges. This alteration broke in upon the order of procession, but it was necessary to give sufficient time for displaying the entertainment that was prepared on shore. The landing-place was at the old fort, a little to the south of the town, fronting the building prepared for the reception of the company, about a hundred yards from the water, by a gentle ascent.

"As soon as the general's barge was seen to push for the shore, a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the Roebuck, and, after some interval, the same number from the Vigilant. The company, as they disembarked, arranged themselves into a line of procession, and advanced through an avenue formed by two lines of grenadiers, and a line of light horse supporting each file. This avenue led to a square lawn of 150 yards on each side, lined with troops, and properly prepared for the exhibition of tilt and tournament, according to the customs and ordinances of ancient chivalry. We proceeded through the centre of the square; the music, consisting of all the bands of the army, moved in front; the managers, with favours of blue and white ribands in their breasts, followed next in order. The general, admiral, &c., and the rest of the company, succeeded promiscuously.

"In front appeared the building, bounding the view through a vista formed by two triumphal arches erected at proper intervals, in a line with the landing-place. Two pavilions, with rows of benches rising one above another, and serving as the advanced wings of the

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first triumphal arch, received the ladies; while the gentlemen ranged themselves in convenient order on each side. On the front seat of each pavilion were placed seven of the principal young ladies of the country, dressed in Turkish habits, and wearing in their turbans the favours with which they meant to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honour. These arrangements were scarce made, when the sound of trumpets was heard at a distance, and a band of knights, dressed in ancient habits of white and red silk, and mounted on grey horses, richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colours, entered the lists, attended by their esquires on foot, in suitable apparel, in the following order:—

"Four trumpeters, properly habited, their trumpets decorated with small pendant banners. A herald in his robes of ceremony; on his tunic was the device of his band, two roses entertwined, with the motto, 'We droop when separated.'

"Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted on a managed horse, appeared as chief of these knights; two young black slaves, with sashes and drawers of blue and white silk, wearing large silver clasps round their necks and arms, and their breasts and shoulders bare, held his stirrups. On his right, walked Captain Hazard, on his left, Captain Brownlow, his two esquires; one bearing his lance, the other his shield. His device was, Cupid riding on a lion, with the motto, 'Surmounted by love.' His lordship appeared in honour of Miss Auchmutty.

"Then came, in order, the knights of his band, each attended by his squire, bearing his lance and shield.

"First knight, honourable Captain Cathcart, in honour of Miss N. White. Squire, Captain Peters; device, a heart and sword; motto, 'Love and Honour.'

"Second knight, Lieutenant Bygrove, in honour of Miss Craig. Squire, Lieutenant Nichols; device, Cupid tracing a circle; motto, 'Without end.'

"Third knight, Captain André, (afterwards the unfortunate Major André,) in honour of Miss D. Chew. Squire, Lieutenant Andrew; device, two game-cocks fighting; motto, 'No rival.'

"Fourth knight, Captain Horneck, in honour of Miss N. Redman.

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Squire, Lieutenant Talbot; device, a burning heart; motto, 'Absence cannot extinguish.'

"Fifth knight, Captain Mathews, in honour of Miss Bond. Squire, Lieutenant Hamilton; device, a winged heart; motto, 'Each Fair by Turn.'

"Sixth knight, Lieutenant Sloper, in honour of Miss S. Sheppen. Squire, Lieutenant Brown; device, a heart and sword; motto, 'Honour and the Fair.'

"After they had made the circuit of the square, and saluted the ladies as they passed before the pavilion, they ranged themselves in a line with that in which were the ladies of their device; and their herald advancing into the centre of the square, after a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed the following challenge:—'The Knights of the Blended Rose, by me, their herald, proclaim and assert, that the ladies of the Blended Rose excel in wit, beauty, and every accomplishment, those of the whole world; and should any knight, or knights, be so hardy as to dispute or deny it, they are ready to enter the lists with them, and maintain their assertions by deeds of arms, according to the laws of ancient chivalry.' At the third repetition of the challenge, the sound of trumpets was heard from the opposite side of the square; and another herald, with four trumpeters dressed in black and orange, galloped into the lists. He was met by the herald of the Blended Rose; and, after a short parley, they both advanced in front of the pavilions, when the black herald ordered his trumpets to sound, and then proclaimed defiance to the challenge in the following words:—'The Knights of the Burning Mountains present themselves here, not to contest by words, but to disprove by deeds, the vainglorious assertions of the Knights of the Blended Rose, and enter these lists to maintain that the ladies of the Burning Mountains are not excelled in beauty, virtue, or accomplishments, by any in the universe.'

"He then returned to the port of the barrier through which he had entered; and shortly after the Black Knights, attended by their squires, rode into the lists in the following order:—Four trumpeters preceding the herald, on whose tunic was represented a mountain sending forth flames, motto, 'I burn for ever.' Captain Watson of the Guards, as chief, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk, and mounted on a black managed horse, with trappings

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of the colours of his own dress, appeared in honour of Miss Franks, and attended in the same manner as Lord Cathcart; device, a heart, with a wreath of flowers; motto, 'Love and Glory.' Six knights in the same order, with appropriate devices and mottoes, as those of Lord Cathcart. After they rode round the lists and made their obeisance to the ladies, they drew up opposite the White Knights; and the chief of these having thrown down his gauntlet, the Chief of the Black Knights directed his squire to take it up. The knights then received their lances from their squires, fixed their shields on their arms, and making a general salute to each other, by a very graceful movement of their lances, turned round to take their career, and, encountering in full gallop, shivered their spears. In the second and third encounter they discharged their pistols. In the fourth, they fought with their swords. At length, the two chiefs, spurring forward into the centre, engaged furiously in single combat, till the marshal of the field (Major Gwynne) rushed in between them, and declared that the fair damsels of the Blended Rose and Burning Mountains were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love, and the signal feats of valour, given by their respective knights; and commanded them, as they prized the future favours of their mistresses, that they would instantly desist from further combat. Obedience being paid by the chiefs to this order, they joined their respective bands. The White Knights and their attendants filed off to the left: the Black Knights to the right. And, after passing each other at the lower side of the quadrangle, moved up alternately, till they approached the pavilions of the ladies, when they gave a general salute.

"A passage being now opened between the two pavilions, the knights, preceded by their squires and bands of music, rode through the first triumphal arch, and arranged themselves to the right and left. This arch was erected in honour of Lord Howe. It presented two fronts in the Tuscan order; the pediment was adorned with various naval trophies, and at the top was the figure of Neptune, with a trident in his right hand; in a niche on each side, stood a sailor with a drawn cutlass.

"Three plumes of feathers were placed on the summit of each wing, and in the entablature was this inscription, 'Laus illi debetur et alma gratia major.' The intervals between the two arches was an

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avenue of 300 feet long, and 34 broad. It was lined at each side with a file of troops; and the colours of all the army, planted at proper distances, had a beautiful effect in diversifying the scene. Between these colours the knights and squires took their stations. The bands played several pieces of martial music, while the company moved forward in procession, with the ladies dressed in Turkish habits in front. As they passed, they were saluted by their knights, who then dismounted and joined them. In this order, we were all conducted into a garden that fronted the house, through the second triumphal arch dedicated to the general. This arch was also built in the Tuscan order.

"On the interior of the pediment was planted a plume of feathers, and various military trophies. At the top stood the figure of Fame, and in the entablature this device,—'I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocet, I pede fausto.' On the right hand was placed a bomb-shell, on the left a flaming heart. The front next was adorned with preparations for a firework.

From the garden we ascended a flight of steps, covered with carpets, which led into a spacious hall, the panels of which were painted in imitation of Sienna marble, enclosing festoons of white marble, with the surbase and all below black. In this hall, and in the adjoining apartments, were prepared tea, lemonade, and other cooling liquors, to which the company seated themselves; during which time the knights came in, and, kneeling, received their favours from their respective ladies.

"One of these rooms was afterwards appropriated for the use of the pharoh table. As you entered it, you saw, on a panel over the chimney, a cornucopia exuberantly filled with flowers of the richest colours. Over the door as you went out, another presented itself, shrunk, reversed, and emptied. From these apartments we were conducted to a ball-room, decorated in a light, elegant style of painting. The ground was a pale blue, panelled with a small gold bead; the interior filled with dropping festoons of flowers in natural colours. Below the surbase, the ground was of rose-pink, with drapery festooned in blue. These decorations were decorated with eighty-five mirrors, decked with rose-pink silk ribands, and artificial flowers; and in the intermediate spaces were thirty-four branches with wax-lights, ornamented in a similar manner.

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On the same floor, were four drawing-rooms, with side-boards of refreshments, decorated and lighted in the same style and taste as the ball-room.

"The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies; and the dances continued till ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open, and a magnificent boquet of rockets began the fireworks. These were planned by Captain Montressor, the chief engineer, and consisted of twenty different exhibitions, displayed under his direction, with the happiest success, and in the highest style of beauty. Towards the conclusion, the interior part of the triumphal arch was illuminated amidst an uninterrupted flight of rockets and bursting balloons. The military trophies on each side assumed a variety of transparent colours. The shell and flaming heart on the wings, sent forth Chinese fountains, succeeded by fire-pots. Fame appeared at top, spangled with stars, and from her trumpet blowing the following device in letters of light,—'Les lumières sont immortel.' A *sauter* of rockets bursting from the pediment, concluded the *feu d'artifice*.

"At twelve o'clock, supper was announced; and forged folding doors, hitherto artfully concealed, being suddenly thrown open, discovered a magnificent saloon of 210 feet by 40, and 22 in height, with three alcoves on each side, which served for sideboards. The ceiling formed the segment of a circle, and the sides were painted a light straw colour, with leaves and festoon flowers, some in a bright, some in a darkish green. Fifty-six large pier-glasses, ornamented with green silk, artificial flowers, and ribands. One hundred branches, with three lights in each, trimmed in the same manner as the mirrors. Eighteen lustres, each with twenty-four lights, suspended from the ceiling, and ornamented as branches. Three hundred wax tapers were disposed along the table, on which were 430 covers, and 1200 dishes. Forty-four black slaves, in Oriental dresses, with collars and bracelets, were ranged in two lines, bending to the ground as the general and admiral approached the saloon. All these formed together the most brilliant assemblage of gay objects, appearing at once, as we entered by an easy ascent, and exhibiting a coup d'œil beyond description magnificent.

"Towards the end of supper, the herald of the Blended Rose, in his habit of ceremony, attended by his trumpeters, entered the

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saloon, and proclaimed the king's health, the health of the queen, and of the royal family; then the army and navy, with their respective commanders, the knights, and the ladies in general. Each of these toasts was followed by a flourish of music; and after supper we returned to the ball-room, where we continued to dance till four in the morning.

"Such, my dear friend, is the description, though a very faint one, of the splendid entertainment given by our army to their general."

Note E, page 29.

When the crisis at length arrived which brought the Americans to abjure their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, it is well known, that many who were most vigorously opposed to the measures of ministers, experienced the strongest feelings of affection for the country of their ancestors, when the sense of duty to the cause they engaged in, and to the land they lived in and obtained their subsistence from, influenced them to act contrary to the inclination of their hearts.

Note F, page 40.

It is usually believed, that the first Congress which assembled in America, was on occasion of the troubles that brought on the war of independence. A Congress was, however, held half a century before, and occasionally afterwards, for the purpose chiefly of planning measures to defend the frontiers against the Indians. In 1754, a Congress met, under the suggestion made by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in order to consider the best means of defending the colonies against the French.

Note G, page 47.

We have, by conceding a participation in our valuable fisheries to the Americans, given them the most effectual means of increasing

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their naval power.—See Account of the British American Fisheries, book iii. chap. vii.

Note H, page 49.

The following is a general statistical summary of the colleges in the United States:—

Whole number of colleges in the United States	48
Instructors in 32 colleges	217
Whole number of alumni in 28 colleges	20,520
Alumni living in 23 colleges	11,866
Alumni, ministers of 20 colleges	4,335
Ministers living in 19 colleges	2,814
Graduates in 30 colleges, in 1828	632
Under-graduates in 33 colleges, 1828-9	
Seniors 670, Juniors 646 / Soph 660, Freshmen 533	2,509
Students professing religion in 22 colleges	587
Students assisted by college funds in 15 colleges	321
Students ditto by Education Society in 14 colleges	148
Medical students in 7 colleges	590
Law students in 3 colleges	23
Volumes in 80 college libraries	121,118
Volumes in 25 students' libraries	66,780

The number of theological seminaries is 18; of which 3 are Congregational; 4 are Presbyterian; 2 are Baptist; 1 is Unitarian; 2 are Episcopal; 2 are Evangelical; 3 Lutheran, and 1 is German Reformed. Since the commencement of their operations they have educated 1526 students. Of these 140 have been aided by the funds of the seminaries, and 151 by education societies. The whole number of volumes in the libraries of the seminaries is 35,960; besides which, there are 3720 volumes in the libraries of various societies belonging to these institutions. The residences of the students now at the seminaries are as follows:

Maine	15
New Hampshire	35
Vermont	48

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Massachusetts	76
Rhode Island	3
Connecticut	68
New York	94
New Jersey	9
Pennsylvania	55
Maryland	12
Delaware	2
Virginia	17
District of Columbia	2
North Carolina	18
South Carolina	8
Georgia	4
Alabama	2
Mississippi	1
Tennessee	6
Kentucky	8
Ohio	11
Indiana	1
Michigan Territory	5
Foreign Countries	9

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BOOK II.

VIEW OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES AND NATURAL HISTORY OF BRITISH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

General View of British America—Configuration—Physical Aspect, &c.

THE British possessions in North America, are, the islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and Anticosti; the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas; the region of Labrador, and the territory west of Hudson's Bay.

By the treaty of 1783 with the republic of the United States, the construction of which is involved in much ambiguity, the river St Croix, on the sea-coast, and a line due north from a monument erected at its source, to the highlands, (evidently Mars Hill,) and from thence, dividing the waters of the rivers which fall into the St Lawrence, from those that fall into the Atlantic, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence, down the middle of that river, to the 45th degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due west, until it strike the river Iroquois, and thence, down to the St Lawrence,

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following the middle of that river, and the great lakes to the head of Lake Superior, &c., leaving all the lands north of this line to the Crown of Great Britain.

The commissioners appointed on the part of Great Britain, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent, seem to have been most unaccountably ignorant of the natural configuration of America, and they do not even appear to know which river was, in reality, meant for the St Croix, but took for granted the one named by the American agents.

If we examine a map of the country lying between the Atlantic and the St Lawrence, we will have little difficulty in concluding, that the Penobscot was the St Croix understood at the treaty of 1783. It is also well known, that the general name of St Croix was given to all the rivers falling into the Atlantic, from Massachusetts Bay to the river St John, from the French having, on first frequenting the country, erected crosses along the coast, which, from this circumstance, long obtained the name of Terre du St Croix, or Country of the Holy Cross.

As the country claimed by the United States is of vast importance to the power that may possess it, the final adjustment of the boundary line is an object that will likely be attended with considerable difficulty.*

The physical aspect of British America presents, along the Atlantic coasts, with but few exceptions,

* Note A.

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a broken, rugged configuration; in some parts thickly wooded to the water's edge, or to the utmost verge of the most perpendicular cliffs; in others, as along the greater part of Newfoundland, the south-eastern shores of Nova Scotia, and the whole of Labrador, rocks, with dwarfish trees growing thinly among them, predominate. Within the Bay of Fundy, the coast, that of Nova Scotia in particular, is fertile and beautiful; and the features of Prince Edward Island, and the greater part of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, situated within the Gulf of St Lawrence, are soft, luxuriant, and picturesque, with trees growing almost uninterrupted, along the coasts and over the country.

Along the river St Lawrence, from the Bay de Chaleur to Quebec, and for some miles upwards, the country is of a bold mountainous character, and covered with dense forests. After passing the high lands above Quebec, the lands on each side of the St Lawrence are low, fertile, and in most parts of alluvial formation. The country, with few interruptions, maintains this appearance until we reach Queenstone Heights, close to the falls of Niagara; above which, again, along the lakes, a flat country prevails. Wherever cataracts occur, the surface of the adjoining country is unequal. We observe this at Niagara, and at all the falls and rapids of the St Lawrence, and other rivers. The districts lying intermediate between cataracts, are usually flat, and of alluvial formation.

The geological structure and mineralogy of the

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North American regions, are, as yet, but very imperfectly known.* A great chain of mountains, known by the general name of the Alleghanies, rises abruptly out of the Gulf of St Lawrence, at Percé, between Bay de Chaleur and Gaspe, and following nearly the course of the river St Lawrence, until opposite Quebec, bends to the southward, and entering the United States, divides the Atlantic coast from the basin of the Ohio. The mountains of North America are generally covered to their summits with trees. They have also a greater continuity in their ridges, and more regularity of outline, than those of Europe. They are, besides, far from being so high as those of Europe, Asia, or South America.

The loftiest part of the Alleghanies is but 2958 feet above the level of the sea. Kellington Peak, Vermont, 3866 feet. The Kaatskill Mountain, 3550. The White Mountains, in New Hampshire, 6800 feet Neither the Algonquin, nor any other mountain north of the St Lawrence, is considered much above 2000 feet high.

The nucleus of the Alleghany chain appears, and

* I regret being unable to give a more satisfactory account than will be found in this work, of the geology and mineralogy of America; my knowledge of these interesting subjects being chiefly confined to what I have observed on the banks of rivers and lakes, on the faces of cliffs, and on the shores of the sea. Although America affords to the naturalist a rich field for enquiry, yet it is a task of no ordinary difficulty to surmount the obstacles common to a wilderness country, rendered almost impassable by dense forests, fallen trees, swamps, rocks, mountains, and water-courses.

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is generally considered to be, granite, which extends from those mountains, and forms the prevailing basis, with some exceptions, however, of all the countries lying between them and the Atlantic, and north of the river Hudson. These territories are also considered to have been frequently convulsed by earthquakes, while those west of the Alleghanies have remained undisturbed.

Limestone, generally in horizontal strata, prevails to the westward of the Alleghany chain, as far as the St Lawrence and the lakes. On the north of the St Lawrence, and throughout Labrador, granite predominates; and Sir Alexander M'Kenzie remarks, in his travels, that the great lakes of North America are in a line of contact between vast chains of granite and limestone.

Volney observes, that the granitic range of the Alleghany chain may be said to terminate southward, (or, more properly, loses itself to observation,) at West Point, river Hudson, on the opposite side of which sandstone commences, and prevails from the Kaatskill Mountains to the angle of Georgia.

Those vast inland seas, the great lakes, form, with the St Lawrence and other magnificent rivers, most gigantic features in the geography of North America; to which we may also add the Gulf of St Lawrence—a Mediterranean—bounded by our territories; the Bay of Fundy, with its extraordinary tides; and the icy bay of Hudson, which divides rocky, inhospitable Labrador from the north-western, or frozen regions of the transatlantic hemisphere.

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The surface of the extensive countries of British America, with the exception of the sterile parts of the north, the savannahs, and where towns and settlements have been formed along the sea-coasts, and on the banks of rivers, is still covered with dense and almost limitless forests, which commence at the sea-coast, and extend to the banks and lakes of the St Lawrence; beyond which they are succeeded by others of equally gigantic growth, that terminate, with the occasional interruption of a buffalo prairie, only at the shores of the Pacific.

In many of the most extensive districts, we still discover no signs of civilization, nor any marks of the progress of improvement; and the scenery, in its primeval wildness and natural luxuriance, exhibits what the whole of North America was about two centuries ago, when none but the Indian tribes traversed its woods, and the bark canoe of the savage alone navigated the waters of its Atlantic shores, or those of its rivers and inland seas.

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CHAPTER II.

Forests—Principal Trees, &c.

THE magnificent splendour of the forests of North America, is peculiar to that division of the Western World.

In Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and even in South America, the primeval trees, how much soever their magnitude may arrest admiration, do not grow in the promiscuous style that prevails in the great general character of the North American woods.

Many varieties of the pine, intermingled with birch, maple, beech, oak, and numerous other tribes, branch luxuriantly over the banks of lakes and rivers, extend in stately grandeur along the plains, and stretch proudly up to the very summits of the mountains.

It is impossible to exaggerate the autumnal beauty of these forests: nothing under heaven can be compared to its effulgent grandeur.

Two or three frosty nights in the decline of autumn, transform the boundless verdure of a whole empire into every possible tint of brilliant scarlet, rich violet, every shade of blue and brown, vivid crimson, and glittering yellow. The stern, inexorable fir tribes alone maintain their eternal sombre green,

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All others, in mountains or in valleys, burst into the most glorious vegetable beauty, and exhibit the most splendid and most enchanting panorama on earth.*

The forest trees in North America are exceedingly numerous, but in this work it will only be possible to describe briefly the principal timber-trees; among which, those of the pine family claim the first rank.

Michaux describes fourteen species of pine, and there are probably more varieties. Pines do not often grow on fertile soils, at least not in groves; low, sandy, and poor, but not stony lands, are most congenial to their growth.

The yellow long-leaved pine (pinus strobus) is the most generally useful; and the great bulk of the timber of commerce exported from America, is of this kind. It grows in great abundance in Canada and New Brunswick, and was formerly in great plenty in the other colonies. It is a magnificent tree, frequently fifteen feet in circumference near the ground, free of branches for seventy or eighty feet, and often more than one hundred and twenty feet in height. Some trees, after being hewn square, and the limbs, with twenty to thirty feet of the top cut off, have measured eight to nine tons, of forty solid feet each.

The pitch pine (pinus Australis), also long leaved, and valuable on account of its durability, but more so from its producing principally the turpentine and tar of America. It delights in higher ground than

* I consider that these metamorphoses are caused by the action of frost at this period, on the acids contained in the leaves.

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the yellow pine, and seldom exceeds six feet in circumference.

The red pine (pinus sylvestris) is often a tall tree, but seldom more than four or five feet in girth. It is the same in kind and quality as the fir imported into the United Kingdom from Norway, in square logs. Until this tree be sufficiently matured, or if it be in a situation where it grows rapidly, it contains a great proportion of *sap wood*, and it is only when this part is hewn away, that the red pine is durable. It is much used in ship-building, and many other purposes, but it is much more rare than any of the other pines.

Hemlock spruce (abies Canadensis.) There are two varieties of the hemlock, the red and white; both are very durable. The lath-wood, imported in billets from America, is principally hemlock. The red is apt to split too freely, and is remarkably full of cracks, or, as the Americans term it, *shakey*. The white is often apt to splinter, but it is close-grained, hard, holds nails or *tree nails* well, and it is now much used in ship-building. Its bark is used very generally in America for tanning. There is no wood better adapted for mining purposes or piles; and it is remarkable that iron driven into it will not corrode, either in or out of water. Hemlock-trees generally grow in dry hollows, in groves, and from two to three feet in diameter, and sixty to eighty feet high.

Five varieties of the spruce fir are abundant in all except the northernmost regions; and the dwarf spruce creeps as far north as any tree. The black, grey,

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white, and red spruce firs, called so from the colour of their respective barks, are the same as those of Norway imported into England for masts, yards, &c. These trees grow to a great height. The black spruce (pinus abies) is frequently observed in the distance like a black minaret or spire, towering twenty or thirty feet above all other forest trees. The spruce firs of rapid growth are not durable, but those growing in bleak situations, or near the sea-coast, are hard and lasting. The wood of all the species is white.

The American silver fir (abies balsamiferæ) is that from which the transparent resin, known as Canada balsam, is procured. This balsam is the best possible application to fresh wounds. The Indians use it also as a remedy for several internal complaints. The timber of this tree is seldom used in America except for fencing rails.

The celebrated essence of spruce, is extracted from the black spruce. When the branches are used to make the beer, so common in America, merely by boiling them in water, and adding a few hops and a certain portion of molasses, those of the dwarf trees are preferred.

The hacmatack, or larch, (pinus larix,) called also in America, tamarac, and juniper, is considered the most durable of the pine family. In some parts, but not generally, it is very plentiful. It attains frequently a great height, but rarely more than two feet in thickness. Its wood is heavy, tough, and becomes hard by seasoning. It burns with difficulty,

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and does not readily absorb water. In these respects, hemlock resembles it most.

Both red cedar (juniperas Virginiana) and white cedar (cupressus thyoides) are met with in British America, but not in abundance. The former is found only in Upper Canada, the latter grows in the lower provinces. The largest trees that I have seen, about three feet in diameter, were on the banks of Bonaventure river, in the district of Gaspe, at which place the Acadian French use the white cedar, in preference to other wood, for house and ship-building.

The common juniper, which yields the berry used in the arts, and which takes two years in ripening, is found in most cold situations, where other trees seldom grow. A creeping variety of fir, called, in America, ground spruce, producing a delicious red berry, and on which cattle delight to browse, grows in many places in great plenty. It differs in its nature from all other varieties of firs, inasmuch as it thrives only in fertile soils.

The oak in England claims the precedence of all other trees; but not so in America. The people of the United States boast much, it is true, of the durability and excellence of their white oak (quercus alba.) It is certainly a tough, durable wood, and probably equal to the greater part of the oak now cut down annually in Great Britain; but no more in firmness and durability to be compared to the "unwedgeable and gnarled oak of England," than sandstone is to granite. The wood growing in the south-

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ern parts, which they term "live oak," is, however, very firm, and remarkably durable.

The grey, or more properly, white oak of Canada, is a tolerably close-grained and lasting wood, and much used in ship-building. It is the same, or differs very little from that of the United States: and it resembles very closely the *quercus pedunculata* of the continent of Europe, and is probably as durable.

The quercitron oak (quercus tinctora) is considered, in the United States, of very lasting quality. The bark also contains a great portion of tannin, but imparts a yellow colour to the leather, and is therefore objected to.

The red oak of America is the most plentiful, but of very porous and indifferent quality. It is, however, frequently made into staves, and its bark is valuable for tanning.

The beech-tree (fagus sylvatica) thrives abundantly, but always on fertile soils. It is, in America, usually a beautiful, majestic tree, and sometimes three feet in diameter. It is useful for the same purposes to which it is applied in England; under water it is remarkably durable, and it affords a great quantity of potashes. Its bark contains a fair portion of tannin, and it produces, every second year, heavy crops of *mast*, or nuts, which are pleasant to the taste, and on which partridges, squirrels, mice, &c., feed; the hogs of the settlers ramble through the woods as soon as the beech-nuts begin to fall, and fatten so rapidly on them, that they acquire one to three inches

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in thickness of additional fat—not very firm, it is true—in a few weeks.

Two or three varieties of the elm (ulmus campestris) are met with in America. It attains much about the same size as the beech-tree, and its quality is fully equal to the best that grows in England. Elm, however, is not abundant in America.

Ash (fraxinus.) Of this tree there are many varieties, but the common grey ash only, generally called white ash in America, is durable or useful.

The mountain ash (pyrus aricuparia) grows in all parts of North America. It is not, however, of the ash, but rather of the birch tribe. It is, in fact, Sir Walter Scott's "rowan-tree." Its foliage and berries make it a pretty ornamental tree.

Of the birch tribe (betula) we met with eight, or probably more varieties, known in America by the names of black, white, yellow, grey birches, &c.

The common white birch (betula alba) is the most hardy tree that we know. The dwarf white birch grows farther north than any other tree; and, where the rigour of the climate prevents its growing upright, it creeps along the ground, affording food and shelter to birds that resort in summer to high latitudes.

Between the latitudes of forty and forty-eight, we find, in valleys, or where it grows among other timber, the white birch, a fine majestic tree, fifty to sixty feet in height, often two feet in diameter, and for twenty or thirty feet without branches. When growing in this manner, it is known to naturalists as *betula papyracea*, which, however, although differ-

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ing in appearance, is by no means a different variety from the common white birch, which merely assumes a tall, spreading, or dwarfish character, according to the situation and soil in which it grows.

The white birch, although the wood, except under water, be not durable, is still a most valuable tree. It is clean, close-grained, easily worked, and useful for common turners' work. Its fibres are split open, and worked by the Indian women into baskets, ropes, brooms, &c. Its inner bark contains excellent tannin, and of the outer bark of the large trees are made the *canoes* used by the savages and Canadian voyageurs.

The yellow birch differs only from the white in its outer bark, which is yellowish, being too thin for any useful purpose, and its wood being somewhat tougher; neither will it grow in exposed situations, nor on barren soils. The grey birch seldom attains more than eight or nine inches in diameter. It is hardy, and differs only from the dwarf white birch in the colour and texture of the outer bark.

The black birch of America (betula nigra) is a magnificent tree, often fifteen to eighteen feet in circumference; its outer bark is rough and dark, the inner bark thick, and full of tannin. The wood is finely shaded and variegated, susceptible of as high a polish as mahogany, and furniture made of choice trees is equally beautiful. It is imported in large square logs from America, and used in this country for many purposes. It makes excellent planks for ships' bottoms; but if exposed to the weather, it is not dura-

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ble. This might not probably be the case if it were first well seasoned.

The sap drained in March and April, by incision, from all the varieties of birch, makes excellent vinegar, and a pleasant weak wine may be obtained from it by boiling and fermentation.

The Russia leather, used for binding books, is prepared with the empyreumatic oil obtained from the outer bark of the white birch. This bark is very inflammable, and used for torches or flambeaux by the Indians and others, when fishing for eels, salmon, &c. at night.

There are many varieties of the maple (acer.) Those generally known in America are—

The white maple, which is straight and close in its fibres, elastic, and slow in burning. The waved maple, which resembles Zebra-wood, is exceedingly beautiful, admits of a very fine polish, and is the same as that generally used for the backs of violins.

The great maple (acer pseudo platanas), generally known in America by the different names of rock maple, from its being hard and tough; bird's eye maple, from its being frequently beautifully mottled like birds' eyes; curled maple, from its being generally curled in the fibres, and richly shaded. It takes a high polish; and beautiful specimens of this wood may be seen in the ornamental work of the cabins of the American packets that come to Liverpool.

The sugar maple (acer saccharinum) differs from the great maple in its fibres being generally straight and coarser, its wood not being so hard or compact,

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and its sap granulating more perfectly. From its juice, principally, is made the maple sugar, although all the varieties of maple that we know of, if we class them agreeably to the saccharine matter contained in their saps, might be called sugar maples.

The process of obtaining sugar from the sap of the maple is simple. In the early part of March, at which time sharp frosty nights are usually followed by bright sun-shining days, the sap begins to run.

A small notch or incision, making an angle across the grain, is cut in the tree, out of which the juice oozes, and is conveyed by a thin slip of wood, let in at the lower end of the cut, to a wooden trough or dish, made of bark, placed below on the ground.

The quantity of sap thus obtained from each tree varies from one pint to two gallons per day. Those who follow the business, fix on a spot where maple-trees are most numerous, and erect a temporary camp or lodging. When they have as many trees tapped as can be attended to, the sap is collected once or twice a day, and carried to a large pot or boiler hung over a wood fire near the camp. It is then reduced by boiling until it granulates; and the sugar thus obtained is rich and pleasant to the taste. An agreeable sirup is also made of maple sap.

The maple ground occupied by a party is termed a "sugarie;" and those who first commence tapping the trees, consider that possession for one year constitutes right for those years that follow. They often receive, without having any tenure themselves

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of these lands from the crown, a consideration from others for the right of possession.

There are three or four varieties of poplar, which delight, as in Europe, to grow in low soils. A dwarfish kind abounds where the original wood has been destroyed.

The white walnut, or hickory, (juglans alba,) generally called butternut-tree in America, is common on intervale or alluvial land, and grows to a considerable size. The nut is edible, and contains about the same proportion of oil as the common walnut.

Besides these trees, which, on account of their appearance or usefulness, are the most generally known, many other varieties abound, among which it will be sufficient to name the alder, wild cherry, Indian pear-tree, dog-wood, horn-beam, or iron-wood, and white and black thorn. The very great variety of smaller trees, shrubs, and herbs which abound in North America, must be left for the professed naturalist to class.

Sarsaparilla, ginseng, as well as many other medicinal plants, are very plentiful, the virtues of which are as yet but imperfectly known. The Indians have vegetable specifics for all the diseases, except those introduced by Europeans, to which they are liable.*

* The nuns and catholic clergy prepare a vegetable plaster, which never fails to cure inveterate cancer. The secret they will not divulge. The author is acquainted with several persons who have been perfectly cured by them, after being considered past recovery by very able physicians.

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The vine, generally called in America maiden hair, (adianthum capillus veneris: Linn.) is abundant, growing usually along the sides of dry hollows, or among old fallen trees, but always in the shade. The leaves of it are infused as tea ; its berry affords a delicious jelly, from which the once celebrated " sirop de capillaire" took its name.

A root, called, from its colour, blood-root, and from its taste, chocolate root, is boiled in water, and the decoction used by the Indians as a certain remedy for the most violent attack of cholic. It is also taken by them to remove dysentery, &c.; and it alleviates acute pain as readily as opium, without possessing the pernicious qualities of that drug.

A variety of herbs and roots are used by the inhabitants instead of tea, and many of them are grateful to the taste, and probably as conducive to health as the Oriental shrub.

Many varieties of wild fruits abound in North America. Vines are discovered growing indigenous in Canada and Nova Scotia. Cranberries are plentiful, uncommonly fine, and as large as cherries in England. Raspberries and strawberries grow naturally in astonishing abundance ; also, whortleberries and blueberries. Black and red currants, gooseberries, and two or three descriptions of cherries, grow wild. The fruit called Indian pear, is of the most delicious flavour. Juniper-berries, in many places, are very abundant. Hazel-nuts grow wild. There are many kinds of grasses indigenous to the

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soil of North America; white clover springs spontaneously wherever the land is cleared of the woods.

It seems an extraordinary fact in natural history, that, wherever the original forest is destroyed in America, and the land left uncultivated, trees of a different species should spring up. This is always observed where lands have been laid waste by fire. The first year, tall weeds, and raspberry and bramble bushes, shoot up; then cherry-trees, white birch, silver firs, and white poplars, appear; but seldom any tree of the genus previously growing on the space laid open by the devouring element. *

The great trees of the fir, maple, black birch, and beech tribes, when once destroyed, do not seem ever to be succeeded in the ground they occupied by trees of the same kind.

* Sir Alexander Mackenzie observes, that on the banks of the Slave Lake, land, formerly covered wholly with spruce, fir, and birch, having been laid waste by fire, produced subsequently nothing but poplars.

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CHAPTER III.

Wild Animals—Birds—Reptiles—Insects—Fishes, &c.

Of the quadrupeds of British America, it will be sufficient, for the purpose of general information, to notice the most remarkable.

The bears of the American forest are of a jet black colour, and are extremely mischievous and annoying to the inhabitants of the remote settlements, destroying black cattle, sheep, and hogs. During winter they retire to some sequestered part of the forest, and select a den, which they prepare by closing it nearly over with branches and sticks, and making a bed within it of moss. During three or four months they live in these dens without food, and, according to the accounts of the Indians and others who sometimes discover them, in a state of torpor, from which, however, they are easily roused.

It is said that a bear, on leaving his den, is nearly as fat as at any period of the year; this is neither probable nor true. The vulgar but absurd belief is, that they live during winter by sucking their paws. Although bears are carnivorous animals, they feed indiscriminately on berries, or any thing in the shape of food. In summer they go prowling about, living

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on berries; or, if in the neighbourhood of settlers, watch, and come on the cattle, sheep, or pigs in the evening, or during night. They are particularly fond of ant-hills, of all kinds of insects, and are dexterous in catching smelts, a species of small fish that swarm in the brooks. A great deal is related about the sagacity of bears, and there appear to be but few animals that possess a higher degree of instinct.

Their strength and dexterity are astonishing, and the largest and most spirited bull is soon vanquished and killed by a full-grown bear. They seldom attack a horse; and, unless provoked, will rarely encounter a man. It is said that a bear, on hearing the human voice, will always run off, unless accompanied by its young. They are frequently caught in strong wooden traps, contrived so, that a heavy log, pressed down by several others, falls across the animal's back, and crushes it to death. Indians and others commonly lie in wait to shoot them near the remains of some large animal killed by a bear the preceding night, to which it generally returns, either to devour it, or carry it off. Spring guns are sometimes set, with a string from the trigger to a bait, which, as soon as a bear lays hold of it, fires the gun. If a bear kill or catch either a calf, sheep, or pig, it carries it at once to some distance. An ox or cow seems too heavy a burden, and a part is devoured where it is killed. The fur of the bear, if killed in season, is very valuable, but not now so fashionable as formerly.

The polar, or white bear, is common only on the sea-coast of the cold northern regions of Labrador,

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Hudson's Bay, and the north-west territory. They are seldom found on the land during winter, but go out on the ice. The females that are pregnant, however, seek shelter at the skirts of the nearest woods; these animals, when full grown, are heavier than most oxen, yet their young are not larger than hares. The female has only two teats, placed between the forelegs. This immense and powerful animal is very shy, and afraid of coming near man; yet, when closely pressed in the water, they will attack a boat, and wrest the oars from the strongest man; but the crew, being always provided with fire-arms, shoot them as they are attempting to get into the boat. The Esquimaux prefer the skin to any other kind of clothing. They dress it by scraping off the fat, and rubbing it while frozen in winter, and soon make the pelt as beautifully white as the hair is. The flesh is strong, but the people in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company consider it very palatable.

Foxes are numerous, and seem to possess all the cunning usually attributed to the species. They do not, however, kill sheep or lambs, nor do they often destroy poultry, as they generally procure sufficient food at less risk in the woods, or along the shores. They are caught in traps, or inveigled by a bait to a particular place, where they are shot by a person lying in wait, during the clear winter nights; at which time the ice and snow deprive them in a great measure of their usual means of subsistence. The fur is much finer than that of the English fox; its prevailing colour is red. Some foxes are jet black, others

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patched, and a few are of a beautiful silver grey colour. In the polar regions they are generally white, and, when destitute of food, will prey on each other. It is said that American foxes, crossed with those of this country, afford the very best sport to the huntsman.

Wolves are found in Labrador, and in the territory west of Hudson's Bay; but they are not numerous. Those most generally killed by the Esquimaux are of a dirty white colour. Although large,* they are not courageous, not even when pressed with hunger.

Wolvereens are common in the northern territories. They are slow in pace, but strong, acute, and courageous. They will often take a deer from a wolf without any resistance. Their scent is very keen, which enables them readily to find out whatever can be come at to satisfy their voracious appetites.

The marten is a beautiful animal, about eighteen inches long, and of a brownish colour, with a patch of orange under the neck. Its fur is valuable; and if not finer, is certainly equal to the Siberian sable, which this animal so nearly resembles, as to be often considered the same. Muffs and tippets of marten skins are at present very fashionable.

Hares are in great abundance, and turn white in winter as in Norway. Their flesh is very fine, at least equal to that of the English hare. They are caught in snares, or running nooses, set, during winter,

* I had a Newfoundland wolf-skin, given me by Mr Cormack, that was six feet long from the snout to the point of the tail.

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in narrow openings, left at about twenty yards from each other, in a brushwood fence. The noose is attached to a pole, or to a young pliant tree, that springs up on being sprung; and along the line of fence, on a winter's morning, several are found hung up and strangled.

The beaver (castor), whose fur is so valuable, is an animal of astonishing industry, and prudent foresight. In order to secure lodgings and provisions during winter, they live in a state of society, which resembles the civil compact of man, rather than the mere instinctive gregarious habits of other animals. As they must live near water, and frequently in it, they build dams across running brooks, to create an artificial lake; and in order to accomplish so great an object, they are obliged to labour in concert. The ingenuity with which they construct their dams, and build apartments or lodgings, is truly astonishing. If the water of the river or creek have little motion, they build their dams straight across; but if the current be rapid, they make them with a considerable and regular curve against the stream. All the parts are of equal strength and consistency, and constructed of drift wood, green willows, birch, poplars, mud, and stones. These dams, by constant repairing, often become a solid bank, on which trees soon grow. The beavers sometimes build their houses on lakes, and other standing waters, without dams; but the advantage of a current, to carry down wood and other necessaries to their habitations, seems to counterbalance the labour of building a dam.

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They construct their houses at a convenient distance from the dam, of the same materials; and the principal objects appear to be, having a dry bed to lie on, and security. The walls, and particularly the roof, are often more than five feet thick; and they never give them the last coat of mud-plaster until the frost sets in, which freezes it so hard, that the wolvereen, the greatest enemy of the species, cannot easily break through. Some of the large houses have several apartments; but it appears that each is occupied by a whole family. There is no passage into them from the land side; and they have vaults on the banks of the rivers to retreat to, when they apprehend danger. They drag pieces of wood with their teeth; the mud and small stones they carry between their fore-paws and their throat. They execute their work wholly in the night. When the increase of their numbers makes it necessary to erect additional apartments, or when they shift to another situation, they begin to cut down the wood requisite early in summer, and commence building in August; but do not complete their work until cold weather sets in. They feed on the bark of trees, preferring that of the poplar and willow, and float down wood, that they cut in summer, to their habitations, for winter provision; but their principal article of food is a thick root that grows in the bottom of rivers and lakes. In summer, they feed on various herbs, berries, &c.

As soon as the ice breaks up in the spring, they leave their houses, and ramble about during summer; and, if they do not fix on a more desirable situation,

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return to their old residences, in autumn, to provide the store of wood necessary for winter. The beaver is cleanly in its habits, always leaving its apartments to evacuate its dung or urine in the water, or, in winter, on the ice. They are easily tamed—become fond of human society—are readily taught to eat animal food—always retain their cleanly habits—and are fond of being caressed. They bring forth from two to five at a birth.

The flesh of the beaver is considered very delicious, both by the fur traders and the Indians. The value of the fur is well known; it forms an important and principal article of commercial profit to the Hudson's Bay Company.

The colour of the beaver is a very dark glossy brown; accidental, but very rare, differences occur. Some travellers mention that the white beaver is a distinct species; but Mr Hearne believes that there is but one kind of beaver, and, during twenty years' residence at Hudson's Bay, he never saw but one white beaver skin; and the beautiful glossy black beaver skins are also merely accidental variations.

Those who hunt beavers in winter, must, to succeed, be well acquainted with their manner of life. When any injury is offered to their houses, they retreat, under water, to their holes in the banks. The Indians often find it necessary to stake the river across, to prevent them from crossing; after which, they endeavour to discover their vaults, or holes, which requires much patience, and is effected by striking the ice along the banks with an ice chisel

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fastened to a pole. By experience they know, from the sound produced, where the beaver vaults are, and cut, opposite, a hole large enough to admit an old beaver. While the men are thus employed, the women, and those less experienced, are employed in breaking open the houses; and the beavers, finding their residence violated, and not being able to remain long under water, are constrained to retreat and remain in their vaults, where they are secured and taken by the Indians.

The moose, or moose deer, is a large animal, generally six feet high, and often exceeding the size of a tall English horse. It has enormous horns, very short neck, long head and ears, a short tail, and awkward appearance. Its head and hoofs resemble a camel's; its upper lip is much larger than the under, and esteemed a delicacy. The nostrils are very wide; they have no teeth in their upper jaw, and their legs are so long and their neck so short, that they cannot graze on the level ground like other animals, but browse on the tops of plants, and the leaves and twigs of trees and shrubs. The males are much larger than the females; the hair of the former is long and soft, nearly black at the points, grey a little under the surface, and white at the roots. The female has no horns; its hair is of a sandy brown, and under the belly and throat nearly white. It goes eight months with young, and brings forth from one to three at a time. The horns of the male are very different from those of the common deer, palmated at the point, from which a few short branches shoot

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to nearly the breadth of a common shovel; they shed them annually, yet their texture is very hard, and their thickness at the root as large as a man's wrist. Their flesh is esteemed a great delicacy; the fat of the intestines hard, that of the outside soft. In this respect they differ from the common deer, whose external fat is hard; neither are they gregarious, like the rest of the deer species. Their livers are never sound, nor have they any gall. Their pace is an awkward trot, which the length of their legs enables them to perform with considerable swiftness; but in a country free of wood, they would soon be overtaken by horsemen. They may soon be domesticated, and they will become more tame than sheep. In summer they frequent the banks of rivers and lakes, in order probably to get into the water occasionally, to avoid the multitudes of mosquitoes and other flies that annoy them. They are often killed by the Indians in the water, and, when pursued in this manner, they make no resistance; and the young ones are so simple as to allow an Indian to paddle his canoe alongside of them, and take hold of their heads, the poor harmless animal swimming along to the shore, apparently as contented as if at the side of its dam. The common deer are much more dangerous. The hide of the moose is dressed into a very beautiful and soft skin, by the Indians.

The common deer are numerous in the western and northern territories. Towards, and within, the arctic regions, they are much smaller than to the southward, but their flesh is more delicate. Their

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fur is reddish in winter, and light grey in summer. The bucks shed their horns, which are very long and branched, annually, in November. The does have also horns, but much smaller, and they shed them in summer. They are never known to have more than one young at a time; and yet the destruction of these animals by the Indians seems incredible, when we consider how numerous they still are. Of their skins, which require ten to make a complete suit, the Indians principally make their clothing. For this purpose they should be killed in August or September. The Indians also dress deer-skins, without the hair, for light summer clothing, moccasins, thongs to make netting for their snow-shoes, strings for their sledges,—in fact, for most purposes where strings or laces are required.

In October, after rutting time, the bucks generally separate from the does.—The flesh of the common deer of America is excellent, that of the small northern deer is, however, considered the most delicious.

The carriboo is a variety of the deer kind, much smaller than the moose, and the horns less and rounder, with brow antlers.

The carriboo is not so awkward an animal in appearance as the moose, and it is amazingly swift. The flesh is tender, and the skin, when dressed, soft and useful. The net-work of Indian snow-shoes is made of thongs cut out of the skin, which the Indians use also for moccasins, and various other purposes.

The elk of North America is now rarely met with.

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It has often been confounded with the moose, but it is quite a different animal. The horns of the elk are not palmated, and are longer than those of any other quadruped. Probably not one of these immense animals is now to be met with east of Lake Superior or the Mississippi.

The species of deer called by the Indians we-waskish, has been confounded, even by Mr Pennant, with the moose deer, and by others with the carriboo. Its horns are, in appearance, something like those of the common deer, with fewer branches, and standing more upright. Its head is unlike that of the moose, having small lips, and the nose pointed like that of a sheep. They generally keep in large herds, are the most stupid of the deer kind, and make a shrill braying noise, that often betrays them. Their hair is of a sandy red, and they are usually called red deer by the English fur traders. The flesh is tolerable eating, but the fat is as hard as tallow, and disagreeable to eat, as it hardens immediately in the mouth, even if eaten as hot as possible. Their skins, when dressed, are thinner than those of moose deer, and will wash and dry afterwards as pliable and soft as before, while none of the other leather dressed by the Indians will dry without shrivelling, or becoming hard, unless great care be taken to keep constantly rubbing it while drying.

The buffalo (bison) delights in wide, open savannas, and abounds, in vast herds, west of the great lakes. They are generally larger, or at least heavier, than the oxen of England. The horns are short,

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black, nearly straight, and thick at the roots. The skin, particularly about the neck, is very thick. The heads of the bulls are of such immense size, that a man can scarcely lift one from the ground; the heads of the cows are much smaller. The hair is soft, and curled, approaching to wool, of a sandy brown colour, and of an equal thickness over the body. The Indians, after reducing the skins, as they do all other skins, to an equal thickness, dress them in the hair for clothing, which is soft and durable. The flesh of the cows is tender, and much like beef; that of the bulls coarse and tough, but not unpleasant to the taste. The hunch on the back is a mere extension of the bones of the withers, surrounded, it is true, with flesh, but not a large fleshy lump, as is generally supposed. They are amazingly strong, will often bend down trees as thick as a man's arm, when rushing through the woods, and plunge along snow four or five feet deep with incredible swiftness; they are not shy, and are easily shot.

The musk ox, although it somewhat resembles, and has been confounded with, the buffalo, is a very different animal. They are generally met with in high latitudes, within the arctic circle, and occasionally, but not in great herds, far south of Hudson's Bay. They are fond of mountainous, barren ground, but are seldom found at any great distance from the woods. In size they are, when full grown, as large as the common run of English cattle, but their legs are shorter, the hunch on their shoulder in proportion small, and their tail short. Though heavy, and apparently

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of unwieldy structure, they climb over rocks with nearly the ease and agility of goats. Their hair is very long, particularly on the belly, sides, and under the neck. It is of this that the Esquimaux make their mosquito wigs. In winter they are provided with a fine thick woolly fur, growing at the root of the hair, to protect them against the severe cold to which they are exposed. As the summer advances, this fur loosens, and gradually works off. They feed on moss, shrubs, grass and on the tops of fir or willows. The flesh is not at all like that of the buffalo, and it smells so strong of musk as to be exceedingly disagreeable. That of the calves and young heifers, however, is tolerably delicate. The skins are not of much value. During the rutting season, the bulls are furiously jealous of the cows, and will run madly at any beast or man who may approach them. The Indians attribute the fact of not more than two or three bulls being found in a herd of above a hundred cattle, to the bulls killing each other in combating for the females.

Porcupines are met with, though scarce, over all the wooded continent of North America. The porcupine is a slow, stupid animal; its flesh is very delicate, and the quills are made into a variety of ornaments by the Indian women.

The loup cervier, commonly called the wild cat, is of the genus *felinum*, and nearly the height of a greyhound. It has scarcely any tail, and is of a grey colour; the fur is not very valuable. The flesh is white, and considered very delicate. These animals

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are rather numerous, and are said to have the treacherous disposition of the tiger. Numbers of sheep are destroyed by them; and one will kill several of these unresisting creatures during a night, as they suck the blood only, leaving the flesh untouched. They are far more courageous than the wolf, and have not unfrequently driven that animal from its prey.

The musquash, or musk rat, is a black animal, about twice the size of a large rat. It has some resemblance to the beaver in its habits, and is also a gregarious animal. In winter, when the ponds are frozen over, a whole family build a hut on the ice, with sticks, rushes, and mud. They keep a hole open under this building, for the purpose of getting into the water for fish or other food.

Otters are of the same species as in Europe, but the fur is rather finer. The lesser otter of Canada is the same as the jackash.

The mink is a small black animal, with fine fur. It resembles the otter, and lives in the same manner.

There are four varieties of squirrels—the striped, the brown, the grey, and the flying squirrels. The fur of these beautiful, graceful animals is made into muffs and tippets, and used also for caps and hats by the hatters. They lay up a store of provisions for winter, principally of beech nuts; and if corn-fields be near the woods, these industrious little creatures will assuredly have a share. It is amusing enough to see them running off, with their mouths full of corn, to some hollow tree; and wicked boys consider

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the finding out of a squirrel's store by no means an invaluable discovery.

Weasels and ermines are natives of America, as well as of Europe, but they are not numerous.

A great variety of mice are met with.

Bats, but of an inferior size, are common during summer.

The walrus (frequently, but unmeaningly, called sea-horse and sea-cow) formerly resorted to the shores of the Gulf of St Lawrence, but is now rarely seen except on the northern coast of Labrador and Hudson's Bay; occasionally it is yet seen at the Magdalen Islands, and near the Straits of Belle Isle. From all the information to be had, they are fond of being in herds, and their affection for each other is very apparent. The form of the body, and of the head, with the exception of the nose being broader, and having two tusks from fifteen inches to two feet long in the upper jaw, is not very unlike that of the seal. A full-grown walrus will weigh at least 4000 lbs. The skins are valuable, being about an inch in thickness, astonishingly tough, and the Acadian French used to cut them into strips for traces and other purposes. The tusks are excellent ivory. The flesh is hard, tough, and greasy, and not much relished even by the Esquimaux. They are said to feed on shellfish and marine plants. They will attack a small boat, merely through wantonness; and, as they generally attempt to stave it, are extremely dangerous. Their blazing eyes, and their tusks, give them a formidable appearance; but, unless wounded, or any

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of their number be killed, they do not seem ever to intend hurting the men. About forty years ago a crew of Acadian Frenchmen, in a schooner from Prince Edward's Island, caught and killed a young walrus, in the Gulf of St Lawrence. A little time after, as one of the men was skinning it in the boat alongside the vessel, an old walrus rose up, and got hold of the man between the tusks and fore-fins, or flippers, and plunged down under water with him, and afterwards showed itself three or four times with the unfortunate man in the same position, before it disappeared altogether.* They have been known at times to enter some distance into the woods; and persons acquainted with the manner of killing them, have got between them and the sea, and urged them on with a sharp-pointed pole, until they got the whole drove a sufficient distance from the water, when they fell to and killed these immense animals, incapable of resistance out of their element. It is said, that on being attacked in this manner, and finding themselves unable to escape, they have set up a most piteous howl and cry.

There are apparently five or six varieties of seals that frequent the coasts of America, but, with the exception of the harbour seal (phoca vitulina), which does not seem to be migratory, it is probable that age and accident produce the difference in size, shape, and colour, that has occasioned their being classed in

* This circumstance is well known, and was related to me several times by the ill-fated man's brother, who was, at the time of the melancholy circumstance, on board the schooner.

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varieties, as they all come down on the ice from the hyperborean regions in immense herds. They leave the polar seas with the ice, on which they appear to bring forth their young. On the ice dissolving, they return again to the north. Five kinds are named in the Greenland seas, and these come down to the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland, and to the Gulf of St Lawrence: the harp seal (phoca Groenlandica), the hooded seal (phoca leonina), and three other varieties, the square flipper, the blue seal, and the jar seal.

Herds of these, many leagues in extent on the ice, seem to have no means of subsistence. Caplin, and other substances, are, it is true, occasionally found in their stomachs; but, from the impossibility of their being able often for a week to get off the ice into the water, it is wonderful that both old and young are exceedingly fat. The flesh is very unpalatable. Many of these seals are beautifully speckled black and white, others grey, and some blue. As the blubber and skins of seals form important articles of commerce, an account of the fitting out vessels for, and the enterprising business of, hunting these animals, will be given in another part of this work.

Of the birds which are peculiar to, or that frequent or breed in, America, probably not half the different species have yet been classed, or are even distinctly known by naturalists.

The industry of Pennant, Wilson, and some other men of observation and research, has added valuable stores to American ornithology; yet, notwith-

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standing all we can expect from the enquiries and perseverance of late travellers, we may safely presume that much is still to be learned.

There is more difference between the feathered tribes of America and those of Europe, than is generally known,—the plumage of the former being more rich and splendid; the language or music of the latter more distinctly varied, more rapturous and harmonious.

The birds most generally known in America, according to their common names, are—

Four or five kinds of owls; the crow and raven, which are the same in kind and habits as those of Europe; woodpeckers, of which there are five or more kinds; snow-bird, red-hooded winter-bird, cat-bird, partridge, or grouse, ptarmigan, blue jay, king's fisher, &c., which remain during the year; and those that migrate to other countries, or that disappear during winter, among which are—the bald eagle, large brown hawk, musquito hawk, falcon, whip-poor-will, tomtit, yellowbird, magpie, brown eagle, common hawk, martin, wild pigeon, bob-lincoln, bluebird, spring-bird, blackbird, robin, or American thrush; snipe, plover, and spotted godwait, or yellow-legs, and beachbird of the plover species; white gull, grey gull, herring gull, besides more varieties of the gull kind; crane, two descriptions; bittern, wild goose, eight or ten varieties; brent, wild grey duck, black duck, sea-duck, dipper, widgeon, sea pigeon, or black gullemot, teal, sheldrake, or goosander; loon, or northern driver,

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three varieties; shag, gannet, penguin; swan, two kinds; dunter goose, or eider duck, very plentiful.

The red-crested woodpecker is in shape and plumage perhaps the most beautiful bird in North America. Its body is shielded by close feathers of black jet, shaded with greenish gold, and its head proudly crested with brilliant scarlet.

The yellow-speckled woodpecker, which is the same as the golden-winged bird of Mr Pennant, is also a beautiful bird.

Of owls, the large speckled, the grey, and cat-faced, are best known; their murmuring, screaming, screeching notes are peculiarly disagreeable, and forcibly impressive in the solitude of dark fir forests, which are their favourite abodes.

Wild pigeons migrate north during summer, in flocks of incredible numbers. They have been known to darken the sky for miles; we do not, however, meet with them in the maritime colonies in such vast multitudes, although very abundant in Upper Canada; and in parts of Lower Canada, they are astonishingly numerous, and very destructive to corn-fields. They have a beautiful blue plumage, tinged with shades of green, red, and gold, and a long tail. They are excellent eating, and their price in the Quebec and Montreal markets, in consequence of their plentiful numbers, is less than the same weight of any other animal food

The birds called indiscriminately partridges, in America, are different from the partridges of England.

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The birch partridge is a large variety of grouse. It is in fact the ruffed grouse. Its colour is beautifully variegated with brown, white, and black. Its handsome tail, which it spreads like a fan, is prettily crossed with stripes of black, light chocolate, and white; they have a beautiful glossy rich purple ruff round the neck, which they can erect at will. They are larger than an English partridge, and equally delicious. They lay ten to fourteen eggs, making their nests on the ground. A peculiarity of this bird is, the noise, resembling distant thunder, which it makes by clapping its wings. When doing so, it generally sits on a fallen withered pine or hemlock-tree, and it is probable that the sound is partly produced by flapping its wings against the wood.

The spruce partridge resembles the partridge of Europe more than the other; but its flesh is different, and it feeds principally on the branches of spruce fir.

The white partridge of Newfoundland is a species of ptarmigan. All the kinds of partridges are easily shot; sometimes a whole bevy perch on a tree, and remain until shot, one by one, apparently stultified by the first fire. There are no game-laws in North America, unless the provincial laws, which prohibit the shooting or destroying partridges between the 1st of April and the 1st of September, be considered such.

Of the wild goose there are several varieties, some of them probably accidental. The common wild goose, of a dark greyish colour, with a large white spot under the neck, is best known, and most

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abundant—the Canadian goose only differs from it in size. In the more northerly parts, as at Hudson's Bay, the white and snow geese are most abundant.

Wild geese generally appear in Nova Scotia and Canada about the middle of March, and, after remaining five or six weeks, proceed to the north to breed, from whence they return in September, and leave for the south about the end of November. They fly in flocks, and in two regular files, following a leader, from which both lines diverge, so as to form a figure like the two sides of a triangle. They hatch their young in the northern and inland parts of Newfoundland, on the continent of Labrador, and the countries north of Canada. In size, the common wild goose is larger than the domestic goose, and many consider it finer eating. They are decoyed and shot in a variety of ways. They come forward towards the call, that resembles their note while flying. The Indians and others, who conceal themselves within small houses made of ice, and who have wooden decoys close by, in shape, colour, and size like these birds, bring them within half a gun-shot, by imitating their note, and often at one shot kill several out of a flock.

The brent goose is about half the size of the common wild goose, and nearly of the same colour. It also comes from the south in flocks, flying fast, and often irregularly. They arrive in May, and proceed north, for the purpose of breeding, and return again in September. Their flesh is excellent, but they are shy, and difficult to shoot.

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Both black and grey wild ducks are delicious eating. The snipe is considered by epicures equal to the finest in Europe. The large, or Esquimaux curlew, is a fine bird, and excellent eating. It abounds along the sea-coast, generally near the water's edge, and, on the wing, requires a good marksman to bring it down. The other species of curlew is much smaller, and found among rocks or barren countries.

Pelicans are only met with in the interior and western parts.

Penguins were formerly abundant within the Gulf of St Lawrence, where they are now seldom seen, having retired to more northerly latitudes.

All the varieties of plover are shy, and difficult to shoot; but are always sufficiently fat and luscious to make the greatest epicurean rejoice at their appearance, well dressed, before him.

Eider ducks are very plentiful on the coast of Labrador and Hudson's Bay.

Swans are rarely met with on the sea-coast. In the remote interior country, on waters and lakes not much frequented by man, they are very abundant. The large and the small species breed on small islands in lakes. The eggs of the former are so large, that one of them is a sufficient meal even for a hungry Indian. The large swan usually weighs upwards of thirty pounds, and the smaller about twenty. Their plumage is perfectly white, with black bill and legs.

The reptiles of North America are not very numerous; among the number are a variety of snakes, a

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few of which only are considered venomous;—the rattlesnake is the most so of any of the serpent kind; but nature has attached to it a singularly constructed continuation of joints, which make a rattling noise whenever the animal moves, and thus put man on his guard. They are not met with in Lower Canada, nor in the maritime colonies. Lizards, red vipers, toads, frogs, &c., abound.

When the spring opens, frogs of different kinds are heard, on fine evenings, singing in various tones. Some sing in a rough, low key, others a pitch higher, and some pipe a treble, or shrill, perpetually; the combination forming what has been termed "a frog concert."

The principal insects are butterflies, of which there are a number of beautiful varieties; locusts, grasshoppers, and crickets; the horned-beetle, bug, adder-fly, black-fly, horse-fly, and sand-fly; mosquito, ant, hornet, wasp, bumble-bee, fire-fly, and a numerous variety of spiders.

The sting of either the wild bee, hornet, or wasp, occasions, for some time, a severe pain, accompanied with slight inflammation. These industrious little animals display great ingenuity in the construction of their nests and combs. The wild-bees commonly build their nests under ground; the wasps and hornets suspend them to the branch of a tree, and both build them of a substance resembling, when put together, light grey paper.

Mosquitoes and sand-flies are exceedingly annoying during the heat of summer, in the neighbourhood of

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marshes, and in the woods; where the lands are cleared to any extent, they are seldom troublesome.

During the beautiful summer nights, one observes, in different directions, lights flashing and moving about, which are occasioned by fire-flies fluttering their wings, from under which a vivid sparkling is emitted.

The varieties of shell-fish are oysters, clams, mussels, razor shell-fish, wilkes, lobsters, crabs, shrimps, &c., and equally delicious as those taken on the English shores.

There are two or three varieties of oysters, the largest of which is from six to twelve inches long, and as fine flavoured as those taken on the British coasts.

The descriptions of fish that swarm round the shores, or that abound on the different fishing banks on the coasts of British America, are very numerous. The following are those most commonly known:—hump-back whale, and two or three other kinds; porpoise, horse-mackarel, shark, dog-fish, sturgeon, cod, eel, haddock, ling, hake, salmon, herring, alewife, mackarel, bass, shad, pond-perch, sea-perch, sculpion, trout, scale-fish, tom-cod, hallibut, flounder, smelt, caplin, and cuttle-fish, or squid.

The quality of the different varieties of fish may be considered nearly similar to that of the same species caught in the British seas. Some, however, think that the cod, spring herring, and haddock, are, when fresh, inferior to those in the English market. The herring caught in spring, at which time they enter the bays to spawn, are certainly not so fat; but those

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taken in autumn are equally as fine. The mackarel is a very delicious fish, and of much finer flavour than those caught on the shores of Europe.

Epicures consider the eels of the very best description. During summer and autumn, the Indians spear them in calm nights by torch-light. The torches are made of the outer rind of the birch-tree, fixed within a slit made to receive the same, in the end of a stick about four or five feet long. When lighted, it is placed in the prow of the bark canoe of the Indian, near which he stands, with a foot on each gunnel, and in a situation so ticklish, as to require the tact of a master to preserve his balance, which he does, however, with apparent ease. A boy, or sometimes his squaw (wife), paddles the canoe slowly along, while with a spear, the handle of which is from fifteen to twenty feet long, he is so dexterous and sharp-sighted, that he never misses the fish at which he darts it. Salmon, trout, and various other fishes, are taken in the same manner.

During winter, eels live under the mud, within the bays and rivers, in places where a long marine grass (called eel-grass) grows, the roots of which, penetrating several inches down through the mud, constitute their food. At this season they are taken in the following manner: A round hole, about two feet in diameter, is cut through the ice over ground in which they are usually known to take up their winter quarters. The fisherman, with a five-pronged spear, attached to a handle from twenty-five to thirty feet long, then commences, by probing the mud imme-

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diately under the hole; and by going round and round *in this* manner, extending on one circle of ground after another, as far as the length of the spear handle will allow, comes in contact with the eels that lie underneath, and brings them up on the ice. Sometimes, in the early part of winter, we may see from fifty to sixty persons on one part of the ice, fishing eels in this way. Trout, smelt, tom-cod, and perch, are caught in winter with a hook and line, through a hole in the ice; within the Bras d'Or waters of Cape Breton, fine cod fish are taken during winter in the same manner.

In describing the fishes that abound along the coasts of our American possessions, the tribes that are of the most importance to us as affording food, and the means of employment to man, claim the greatest attention; and nature has, in the seas of those regions, so bountifully answered the necessities of our species, as to create the tribes of fishes most useful to us, in the most abundant multitudes.

The herring and cod are the most generally plentiful. The first, on which the latter feeds, precedes it, and attracts it to the shores of those countries. Then follow myriads of caplin (salmo arcticus), always accompanied by vast shoals of cod, which are again kept on the coasts by the multitudes of cuttle-fish (sepia loligo), called squid in America, which the domains of the ocean send forth. Alewives and mackarel appear periodically on the coasts, all undoubtedly governed by imperative natural laws, or what we generally explain as animal instinct

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Of the cod, which ranks first in commercial importance, there appears to be four kinds, although their history has not been sufficiently attended to, in order to determine their relations to each other as species or variety.

The bank cod (which I will take upon me to class gadus bancus) frequents the great bank of Newfoundland, and other banks at a great distance from land. It differs from the other species, in its not approaching the shores, its living principally on shell-fish, its body being larger and stronger, its colour lighter, its scales and spots larger, and its flesh firmer.

The shore cod is nearly of the colour of the bank cod, and approaches the shores, and enters the harbours, following the smaller fish on which it feeds. It resembles most the cod on the coasts of Britain, and it is of this kind that the greatest quantity is taken, at least during late years.

The rock or red cod (gadus callarias) resembles, but is generally somewhat larger than, the rock cod or red-ware codling of Scotland.

The seal-head cod, called so from its head resembling that of a seal, is the most remarkable and the most rare kind. Other differences are observed in the cod, which may arise from the peculiarity of the coasts they frequent. The livers of the cod farther north are smaller; and less oil is obtained from the bank cod, than from any of the other varieties. It has been calculated that upwards of four hundred millions of cod are caught annually on the coasts of British America.

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The migrations of the cod are governed by the movement of the fishes on which they feed. The herring appears along the shores and in the harbours in vast swarms, or, as they are termed, shoals, early in May, for the purpose of spawning; and they may often be discovered from the whitish colour of the water over them, which is also at times quite smooth, although blowing hard, in consequence of the oily particles thrown off with the spawn.

The cod follows the herring, and remains close to the shores for some time, and then retires two or more miles. On the coast of Newfoundland in June, and on that of Labrador in July, the caplin brings vast swarms of cod; and in August the cuttle-fish appears, followed by its voracious enemy.

On the banks and within the Gulf of St Lawrence, shell-fish of various kinds are the principal food of the cod. The haddock (gadus æglefinus) is much larger than on the coast of Europe, but inferior in quality. It is frequently caught among the common cod; but seldom when "the catch" is abundant.

Herring appear again on the coasts in summer and autumn, and are very fat; those caught in spring are larger, but very poor.

Alewives, or gaspereau, appear on the coas immediately after the herring, within the harbours of the Gulf of St Lawrence; and on the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but never, I believe, at Newfoundland, or farther north. The gaspereau somewhat resembles the herring, or is rather, in appearance, a small species of shad. The scales are stronger

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and larger than those of the herring, and on the belly there is a sharp scaly ridge. When fresh, this fish is rather fat, and tolerably good eating; but when salted, it becomes thin, and much inferior to herring. It answers the West India market well, to which it forms an article of export of some importance.

In April, smelts ascend the brooks and rivulets from the sea in vast numbers to spawn. On first arriving, this delicate fish is excellent; but it soon becomes poor in fresh water.

It remains in the harbour all winter, and is caught with a hook and line through the ice.

Mackarel arrive on the coast in summer, but they are then poor. Those caught in autumn are very fat. Vast quantities are caught with seines and nets; they are also caught with a hook and line, trailing fifteen or twenty fathoms after a boat or vessel under sail.

The caplin (salmo arcticus) is about six or seven inches long, and resembles a smelt in form and colour, but it has very small scales. It is delicate eating, but its chief value is as bait for cod. The shores of Newfoundland and Labrador seem to be the favourite resorts of the caplin, as it appears but seldom in the Gulf of St Lawrence, or on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or farther south. The astonishing numbers of this fish which frequent Newfoundland and Labrador, would appear incredible, were not the fact witnessed by thousands for many years. Dense shoals of them are sometimes known to be more than fifty miles in length, and several miles broad, when they strike in

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upon the coast, and push into the creeks and harbours. Their spawn is frequently thrown up on the beach in masses of considerable thickness, which a succeeding tide or two generally carries back to the sea.

The cuttle-fish is from six to ten inches long, molluscous, and its shape and organization peculiar. It is generally caught with jiggers; but hundreds of tons of this fish are thrown up on the flat beaches, and the decomposition which follows, produces the most intolerable effluvia. Newfoundland is also the principal resort of the cuttle-fish. It sometimes appears at Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and occasionally at Prince Edward Island.

Salmon resort to the harbours and rivers of Labrador in great plenty, and are often abundant in many of the rivers of Newfoundland. All the rivers within the Gulf of St Lawrence, and those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, are also frequented by salmon. They are generally larger than those that appear in the English market, and are remarkably fine when in season.

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CHAPTER IV.

Theory of the Climate of North America.

THE temperature of the climate of British America, as well as that of the United States, is extremely variable, not only in regard to sudden transitions from hot to cold, and *vice versa*, but in respect to the difference between the climate of one colony or state, and that of another.* In remarking generally on the climate of British America, I consider the countries lying between 43° and 47° north as those to which the mean temperature of the different seasons more immediately applies.

The natural climate of Prince Edward Island, Pictou, Truro in Nova Scotia, Fredrickton in New Brunswick, and Kingston in Upper Canada, will not differ much from the following outline of the character and temperature of the seasons of America. Countries to the south of those places have warmer atmospheres, while those to the north experience proportionably much more intense cold.

* It is said of Pennsylvania, that it is a compound of all the countries in the world.

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In America, the seasons have generally, though erroneously, been reduced to two, summer and winter. The space between winter and summer is, indeed, too short to claim the appellation of spring, in the sense understood in England; but the duration of autumn is as long as in countries under the same latitude in Europe, and is, over the whole continent of North America, the most agreeable season of the year.

The climate of America is colder in winter, and hotter in summer, than under the same parallels of latitude in Europe, and the daily variations of temperature, which depend on the winds, are also greater; but the transitions from dry to wet weather are by no means so sudden as in England; and we may always tell in the morning whether it will be fair all day or not, except in the case of thunder showers, which come on frequently, during hot weather, in the evening, when not the smallest appearance of a cloud can be seen before mid-day.

The trade-winds, which drive the vapours of the Atlantic into that vortex of suction, the Gulf of Mexico, spread afterwards into currents, and blow in different directions, as diverted by the inequalities of the islands and continent of America. These winds are warm; those blowing from the northern regions, cold and piercing. Rain falls in America in heavier storms, and in greater quantities, than in Europe, but not so frequently.

The summer season may be said to commence about the middle of April, or as soon as the ice disappears in the bays and rivers. In May, the weather is

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generally dry and pleasant, but it rarely happens that summer becomes firmly established, without a few cold days occurring after the first warm weather. This change is occasioned by the wind shifting from south to north, or to north-east, which brings down along the sea-coast large fields of ice, and which carries along also the cold evaporations that arise in the hyperborean regions. This interruption seldom lasts for more than three or four days, during which the weather is either dry and raw, or cold and wet.

When the wind shifts to the southward, the temperature soon changes, as the cold vapours are either driven back, or dissipated by the heat of the sun, which now becomes powerful.

In latitudes south of 50° N. the southerly winds, at this period, combat and overcome, as it were, those of the north, and, restoring warmth to the air, fine weather becomes permanent. All the birds common in summer make their appearance early in May, and enliven the woods with their melody; while the frogs, those American nightingales, or, as they are often called, bog choristers, also strain their evening concerts. Vegetation proceeds with surprising quickness; wheat and oats are sown, the fields and deciduous trees assume their verdure; various indigenous and exotic flowers blow; and the smiling face of nature is truly delightful, and in grateful unison with the most agreeable associations.

In June, July, and August, the weather is excessively hot, sometimes as hot as in the West Indies, the mercury being 90° to 100° Fahrenheit. Showers

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from the south-west, sometimes accompanied with thunder and lightning, occur during these months about once a-week, or every ten days, which generally shift the wind to the north-west, and produce for a short time an agreeable coolness.

The nights at this season exceed in splendour the most beautiful ones in Europe. To pourtray them in their true colours, would require more than any language can accomplish, or any pencil, but that of imagination, can execute. The air, notwithstanding the heat of the preceding day, is always pure; the sea generally unruffled, and its surface one vast mirror, reflecting with precision every visible object, either in the heavens or on the earth. The moon shines with a soft, silverlike brilliancy, and, during her retirement, the stars are seen in their utmost effulgence. Fishes of various species sport on the water; the singular note of whip-poor-will is heard from the woods; the fire-fly floats on the air, oscillating its vivid sparks; and, where the hand of man has subdued the forest, and laid the ground under the control of husbandry, may be heard the voice of the milk-maid, or the "drowsy tinkling of the distant fold." In another direction may often be seen the light of the birch torch, which the Mick-mack Indian uses in the prow of his canoe, while engaged with his spear in fishing.

In September, the weather is extremely pleasant; the days are very warm until after the middle of the month, but the evenings are agreeably cool, followed by dews at night; and about, but generally after, the

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autumnal equinox, the serenity of the season is interrupted by high winds and rain. At this period the wind generally blows from some easterly point, and the weather usually clears up, with the wind from an opposite direction.

The season, from this time to the middle or latter part of October, is generally a continuation of pleasant days, moderately warm at noon, and the mornings and evenings cool, attended sometimes with slight frosts at nights. Rain occurs but seldom; and the temperature is perhaps more agreeable at this time than at any other, being neither unpleasantly hot nor cold. About the end of this month, the northerly winds begin to acquire some ascendancy over the power of the south, and there appears in the atmosphere a determination to establish cold weather, and to accomplish a general change of temperature.

Rain, sunshine, evaporations, and slight frosts, succeed each other, and the leaves of the forest, from this period, change their verdure into the most brilliant and rich colours, exhibiting the finest tints and shades of red, yellow, and sap-green, blended with violet, purple, and brown. The peculiar charm and splendour which this change imparts to American scenery, produce one of the richest landscapes in nature; and never could the pencil of an artist be engaged in a more interesting subject.

After this crisis, the air becomes colder, but the sky continues clear; and a number of fine days usually appear in November. There are frosts at night, but the sun is warm in the middle of the day; the even-

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ings and mornings are pleasant, but cool, and a fire becomes agreeable. This period is termed, all over America, the "Indian summer," and is always looked for, and depended on, as the time to make preparations for the winter season. The French Canadians, and Acadians, say the atmospheric warmth, at this time, is caused by the heat of the great blaze of the prairies set on fire by the Indians, west of the lakes, to destroy the grass. However absurd this belief is, it has acquired a firm credence among an ignorant people.

About the end of November, or a little after, the frosts become more severe, and the northerly winds more prevalent; the sky, however, continues clear, and the weather dry, with the exception of a rainy day once in a week, or in every ten days. This month, and often the whole of December, pass away before severe frosts or snows become permanent, which, the old inhabitants say, never takes place until the different ponds or small lakes are filled with water by the alternate frosts, thaws, and rains that occur, or until a little after the wild geese depart for the south.

Towards the end of December, or the beginning of January, the winter season becomes firmly established; the bays and rivers are frozen over, and the ground covered to the depth of a foot or more with snow. The frost is extremely keen during the months of January, February, and the early part of March—the mercury being frequently several degrees below zero. A thaw and mild weather generally occur for a day or two about the middle of January, and some-

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times in February. Thaws take place whenever the wind shifts for any time to the south, and the weather that immediately succeeds, is always extremely cold. The ice then becomes as smooth as glass, and affords a source of delightful amusement to those who are lovers of skating.

The deepest snows fall towards the latter part of February, or the beginning of March; at which time boisterous storms sweep the snow furiously along the surface of the earth, leaving some places nearly bare, and raising immense banks in others. While these last, it may be imprudent to travel, at least on the ice, or over tracts where there is no wood, as it is impossible to see any distance through the drift. The duration of these storms, however, is seldom longer than one or two days; and then the frost is by no means so severe as when the sky is clear. The effects of the cold in winter, are sometimes fatal. In clear frosty weather, there is little danger; but the traveller often experiences, particularly during a snow-storm, or even in clear weather, a drowsiness and indifference to consequences, an inclination to sleep, and, at the same time, little sensibility to cold. Yielding to this influence, to which the whole frame becomes as agreeably disposed as if the person were falling asleep on a feather-bed, is inevitably fatal to life, which appears to be abstracted, with the principle of caloric, from the body by the surrounding cold, and without the least pain; the fluids of the body gradually congealing, until the whole becomes a frozen mass. Exertion alone, until the traveller

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reaches a house, can save him. Few people at present perish in America during winter; the roads being more frequently travelled, and the inhabitants guarding more effectually against the cold than formerly.

The fine sand-like dust, which consists of snow, in the most minute but intensely frozen particles, and which searches, when whirled along by the impetuosity of the wind, through the smallest chinks of window frames, or the least opening in a house, often leaves large heaps of snow on the floor, in the course of a few hours. The Canadians and Acadians call this kind of drift *La Poudre*.

When any part of the body is frost-bitten, the most effectual remedy—and that which removes the effect of being frozen, which is much the same as that of being burnt—is rubbing the part affected, before approaching a fire or warm room, with snow.

A phenomenon appears frequently during winter, known by the appellation of silver frost. When a fine misty rain takes place, with the wind east, or north-east, (the frost not being sufficiently keen to congeal the rain until it falls,) the moment it rests on any substance, it adheres and freezes, incrusting every tree, shrub, or whatever else is exposed to the weather, with ice. The forest assumes, in consequence, the most magnificent splendour, and continues in this state until it thaws, or until the icy shell is shaken off by the winds. The woods, thus robed, especially if the sun shine, exhibit the most brilliant appearance. Every tree is loaded as if with a natural

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production of gems, or silver spangles; and there is not probably any thing in the appearance of nature that would more effectually baffle the powers of a landscape painter.

The vernal equinox commonly brings on strong gales from the south, accompanied by a mighty thaw, which dissolves all the snow on the cleared lands, and weakens the ice so much, that it now opens where there are strong currents. Clear weather, with sharp frosts at night, and sunshine during the day, generally succeeds, and continues to the end of March, or the first week in April, when a snow storm frequently comes on, and severe and disagreeable weather lasts for two or three days. This is the final effort of expiring winter, and is immediately followed by a warmth of temperature, which breaks up the ice and dissolves the snows. The heat of the sun, which now becomes powerful, dries up the ground in a few days; after which, ploughing begins, and the summer season commences.

Although this outline of the general system of the climate is as near the truth as can be stated, yet the weather is often different at the same period in one year from that of another. This difference arises chiefly from the winter season setting in earlier or later, and the same may be observed as regards the commencement of summer. Thus, the winter has been known to set in, with unusual severity, in the beginning of December, and sometimes not until the middle of January. In some winters, thaws occur oftener

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than in others; and deeper snows are known in one season than for some years before. The ice breaks up one year as early as the first of April, at Montreal and the harbours within the Gulf of St Lawrence; and it has been known strong enough, on the first of May, opposite Charlotte Town, Prince Edward Island, to bear a man across the Hilsborough. It is also generally observed, that mild winters are always succeeded by cold springs.

It cannot, however, with all these variations of climate, be said, with propriety, that the duration of *winter is more* than four months. Many prefer the winter to the same season in England; and, taking the year throughout, give a preference to the climate. Though the cold is intense for nine or ten weeks, the air is dry and elastic, and free from the chilling moisture of a British winter. On the Atlantic coast, where the frost is less intense, there is more humidity.

It is maintained by some writers, that the air and earth undergo a considerable alteration of temperature when the land is cleared of the wood; first, from the ground being exposed to the sun's rays, which cause the waters to evaporate more copiously; second, by lessening the quantity and duration of snow; and, third, by introducing warm winds through the openings made. From the observations of old people, who have lived fifty or sixty years in America, as well as from the writings of those who visited the new continent many years ago, it appears that the climate has become milder, and that the duration of winter is now

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shorter.* Whether this may be attributed to clearing the land of the wood, or to some unknown process going forward in the system of nature, will always remain doubtful.†

That brilliant phenomenon, aurora borealis, appears at all seasons, and in various forms. At one time faintly, in distant rays of light; at another, it assumes the appearance of bright floating standards; but more frequently, in the form of a broad crescent of light, with its extremities touching the horizon, and the inner line strongly marked; the space within it being much darker than any other part of the heavens. Its brilliancy in this form is truly beautiful; and, after retaining this appearance a short time, it generally changes into magnificent columns of light, which move majestically from the horizon towards the zenith, until, after having lighted the firmament with the most luminous colours, it suddenly vanishes, but soon re-appears, and again vanishes, and so con-

* It must be remembered, however, that the natural dreariness of a wilderness country, especially during winter, and the slight houses of the settlers, must have had some weight in their accounts of the climate.

† That enterprising traveller, Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, considered that clearing the land of wood occasioned no very sensible diminution of cold. The Baron la Hontan, it is also recorded, left Quebec in 1690, on the 20th of November. If that be true, it is as late as a vessel can or will leave that port at the present time. Potrincourt and Champlain, on a Sunday early in January, 1607, sailed in a boat six miles up Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia) to visit a corn-field—winter wheat—dined in the sunshine, enjoyed music in the open air, &c. No winter since has been milder.

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tinues to fade, re-appear, and change infinitely, until its brilliancy intermingles with and fills the atmosphere, and then insensibly disappears altogether. It is frequently said, that a hissing, resembling the rustling of silk, is heard during a brilliant display of aurora. I have seen it appear in a still more luminous and magnificent style than here described, in Labrador; but I never did, nor those with me, observe it accompanied with any noise, although it is by no means improbable.

The winds all over North America vary frequently, and blow at all seasons from every point of the compass.

No wind, however, is so rare as a due north one; a due south wind is also rare, but more frequent than its opposite. Cold, sharp, and dry winds blow from the north-west, and sometimes bring on light showers of snow in the beginning of winter. Winds from the north-east and east, bring on snow storms in winter, sleet and wet weather in spring, and heavy rains in summer and autumn. Thaws take place in winter with a south-easterly wind, after which the wind shifts to the north-west, the sky clears up, and severe frosts follow.* South-west winds, inclining sometimes a point or two southward or westward, prevail through the summer and autumn: these winds are always warm, and usually spring up and blow fresh about noon, and calm off towards evening. At

* The keen north-west wind, during winter, is often called the "Barber" in America.

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other times a temporary gale comes on, with the wind at south-west, and a heavy rain in two or three hours shifts it round to north-west, blowing cold and dry. Westerly winds incline in summer to the south, and towards the north in winter, and are throughout the whole year more frequent than any other wind.

As the temperature of the climate of America depends chiefly on the winds, the formation of that continent is evidently the cause of the frosts being more intense than in countries in parallel latitudes in Europe; a consequence arising principally from the much greater breadth of America towards the pole. Winds change their character in America. North-easterly winds, which are cold and dry in Europe, are wet and truly disagreeable in America. North-westerly winds are, on the contrary, cold and dry, and frequent, during winter, in America, much about the same periods that north-easterly winds prevail in England. One great, if not the principal, cause of cold in America, is the directions of the mountainous ranges and basins of country, which conduct or influence the course of the winds.

While the sun is to the south of the equator, the winds, less under solar influence, prevail from the north-west, following, however, the great features of the continent. These winds, blowing over the vast regions of the north, are always piercing and intensely cold. The return of the sun again, by the diffusion of heat, agitates the atmosphere, and alters the winds, which blow from a contrary direction, until an equilibrium is produced. This does not, however, appear

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to require much time, as no wind blows scarcely forty hours together, from any one point.

The phenomenon of thunder and lightning is accompanied in America with a more splendid though terrific sublimity, than is known in England. The clouds appear to receive from the earth greater doses of inflammable gas, and to be more abundantly saturated with caloric.

The ascent and expansion of a thunder cloud, from a small spot in the western horizon, has more of the awful majesty of sublimity, than any other phenomenon that I have ever beheld. It commences rising about noon, when it is hot and calm, the sun shining gloriously, and every other part of the sky brightly blue. A little after, a light breeze usually springs up from a point directly opposite to the thunder cloud, which now gradually and slowly moves its white summit upwards, and which not unfrequently exhibits the appearance of immense snow mountains reared over each other, among which imagination easily pictures valleys, ruins, and appearances the most romantic. Meantime, the black gloomy base of the cloud spreads along the horizon; and, as it approaches, we hear the roaring of the distant thunder. The wind still blows from a contrary direction until the sun is overcast, and the cloud reaches the zenith, when the wind immediately shifts, the lightning flashes, sometimes in broad sheets, then in streams of liquid fire, darting in zig-zag serpentine shapes; and the immediate and tremendous detonation of the atmosphere seems to shake the

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foundation of worlds, while the rain comes down in such torrents as to threaten a second deluge. During these storms, accidents seldom occur; and in the course of two or three hours, the heavens clear up beautifully bright, and the most delightful evening that fancy can create usually succeeds. The vegetable world is refreshed, the animal creation recovers from the lassitude occasioned by the oppressive heat of the meridian sun, the birds hop, chirping, from bough to bough, the cattle turn out from the shade to graze, and the purified air of the evening is sufficiently cooled to be truly agreeable.

Volney, speaking of the climate of the United States, says, " Autumnal intermittent fevers, or quotidian agues, tertian, quartan, &c., constitute another class of diseases that prevails in the United States, to a degree of which no idea could be conceived. They are particularly endemic in places recently cleared, in valleys on the borders of waters, either running or stagnant, near ponds, lakes, mills, dams, marshes, &c. These autumnal fevers are not directly fatal, but they gradually undermine the constitution, and very sensibly shorten life. Other travellers have observed before me, that in South Carolina, for instance, a person is as old at fifty as an European at sixty-five or seventy; and I have heard all the Englishmen with whom I was acquainted in the United States say, that their friends who have been settled a few years in the Southern, or Central States, appear to them to grow as old again as they would have done in England or Scotland.

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"If these fevers fix on a person at the end of October, they will not quit him the whole winter, but reduce him to a state of deplorable languor and weakness. Lower Canada, and the cold countries adjacent, are scarcely at all subject to them." The only fever, excepting such as usually accompany severe colds, that has hitherto, as far as I have been able to trace, made its appearance in a fatal form among the inhabitants of British America, is typhus. It is not, however, dangerous, unless it be among the very lowest classes, who pay no regard to cleanliness and diet; and it seldom proves fatal even to them. This fever is by no means so alarming as it is in Europe, it appearing always as typhus mitior, and not in the form of typhus gravior. I have been informed that erysipelas has lately appeared in New Brunswick in a dangerous shape; the instances in the other colonies must have been very rare. Agues are still common in Upper Canada.

What M. Volney observes regarding premature old age among the inhabitants of the Southern States, is but too true, as well as what he says about another disease—defluxion of the gums, and rotten teeth, common in those countries.* I have not observed

* On my passage down the St Lawrence in 1824, from Montreal to Quebec, in one of the large steam-boats on that river, I met with several families from the Southern States, who had travelled north to visit the Canadas, and to avoid the excessive summer heat of Pennsylvania and Carolina. Among the whole, I did not observe any who possessed the bloom and florid complexion so common in the United Kingdom. I would willingly have excepted a young lady,

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among the settlers in British America evident marks of premature old age; and I believe, that in no country do the inhabitants retain their faculties, or health and strength, longer; yet there is no doubt that young people arrive at maturity earlier than in England, and, generally speaking, lose the colour and bloom of youth sooner. I think, too, although it cannot be by any means considered a prevailing disease, that decayed teeth are more common than in Britain. Colds may certainly be considered the prevailing cause of disease, particularly of pulmonary consumption, which proves as frequently fatal to young married women and girls, at the age of youth and beauty, as in England. Bilious complaints are seldom known.

It is truly distressing to see a blooming maid of eighteen, or a young wife, either without front teeth, or with such as are black and decayed. Nervous disorders, the prime curse of civilisation and ease, are more common in the United States than in British America; but not so general in either as in England.

I perfectly concur with other travellers, who have observed that the hosts of gloomy, low-educated preachers who wander throughout America, are prolific causes of nervous affections. These men, whom we will, in charity, call fanatics, shake the nerves of young innocent women, by roaring out their perpe-

whose figure was extremely graceful and elegant, and whose features were beautiful. In England I would have said her age was twenty-four years. I was told, and believe it, she was not eighteen.

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tual theme of preaching, the doctrine of eternal punishment, and dwelling but feebly on the reasonable principles of God's merciful justice.

Rheumatisms are more common among the labouring classes in America than in England; this arises from greater exposure to the atmosphere.

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NOTE TO BOOK II.

NOTE A, page 74.

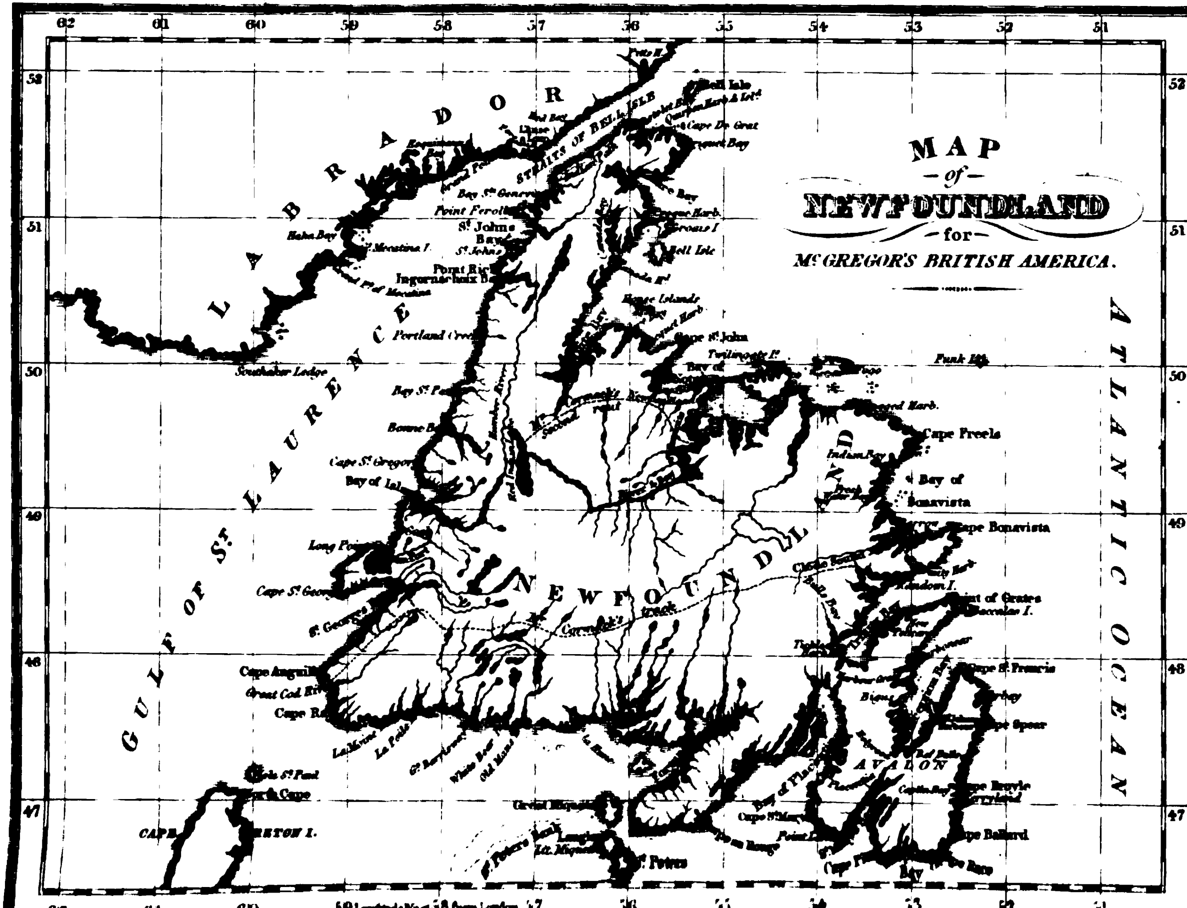
THE territory in dispute between Great Britain and the United States is considered to contain about 11,000 square miles, or 7,040,000 acres of land, equal, in point of fertility, valuable timber, and beautiful rivers and streams, to any part of America. Should Great Britain cede this territory, the Americans may, in fact, ask us to make them a present of Cape Breton, which will render them so formidable, that, when it suits them to declare war against us, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland may be with little trouble added to their gigantic possessions.

No man knows the importance of the disputed territory better than the excellent and able governor of New Brunswick, Sir Howard Douglas, who is at present in England, in reference to this great question, which was left to the mediation of his majesty the King of the Netherlands.

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MAP
of
NEWFOUNDLAND
for
Mc GREGOR'S BRITISH AMERICA.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF St. LAURENCE
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
AVALON
STRAITS OF BELLE ISLE
Bell Isle
Cape Preels
Bay of Bonavista
Cape Bonavista
Cape St. Francis
Cape Spear
Cape Ballard
Cape Anguille
Great Cod Riv.
St. Georges
Cape St. George
Long Point
Bay of Isl.
Cape St. Gregory
Bay St. Paul
Portland Creek
Point Ferolle
St. Johns Bay
Point Rich
Ingornachoix Bay
Southaker Ledge
Haha Bay
St. Mecatina I.
Cape St. John
Bell Isle
Great Miquelon
Lit. Miquelon
St. Peters
St. Peters Bank
Cape St. Mary
Bay of Placentia
Cape Race
Funk Isl.
Indian Bay
Random I.
Cape Ray
BRETON I.
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BOOK III.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

CHAPTER I.

General Description of Newfoundland—Mr Cormack's Journey across the Interior Country—Climate—Soil—Natural Productions, &c.

THE island of Newfoundland is situated nearer to Europe than any of the islands, or any part of the continent, of America; and lies within the latitudes of 46° 40′ and 51° 37′ N., and the longitudes of 52° 25′ and 59° 15′ W.

It approaches to a triangular form, and is broken and indented with broad and deep bays, innumerable harbours, coves, lakes, and rivers. Its configuration is wild and rugged, and its aspect from the sea far from prepossessing, which was probably the cause of unfavourable opinions respecting its settlement having been so generally entertained.

The interior of this large island remained unexplored from its discovery, until within the last six or seven years. Before then, only the harbours, and

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some few places a little distance from the shore, were known to Europeans. The Indians alone were well acquainted with the inland parts. Some furriers, who cared little for the natural condition of the country, and who were too ignorant to describe it, have occasionally, during winter, proceeded on the ice a considerable distance up the rivers in quest of beavers and other wild animals. From these men nothing satisfactory could be ascertained or expected; and their character was, in other respects, too suspicious to place any reliance on what they stated, particularly in regard to the Red Indians; it being well known that they shot these unfortunate savages with as much indifference as if they were red foxes.

Mr Cormack, in 1822, accompanied by Indians, accomplished a journey across the island, from Trinity Bay to St George's Bay. This was a most arduous and perilous undertaking, when the rugged, broken configuration of the country is considered. He proceeded from Random Island, in Smith's Sound, Trinity Bay, early in September, accompanied by one Mic-mac Indian, and directed his course across the country by a pocket compass. The greatest obstacles to his travelling were the innumerable lakes. To walk round them was indeed a task of no ordinary difficulty. Being the first European who discovered them, he adopted the usual right of giving them names; many of which he styled after those of his friends. He engaged another Indian, about the centre of the island, to accompany him; and after enduring much fatigue,

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and often a precarious subsistence, having to depend altogether for food on their success in shooting wild animals, he reached St George's Bay, on the west side of Newfoundland, in the month of November. Mr Cormack found the interior of the island much more broken up with water than is generally known, lakes, rocks, marshes, and scrubby trees, forming its general character. In its geological aspect, granite prevailed everywhere; and the exceptions that presented themselves were, porphyry, quartz, gneis, sienite, basalts, mica-slate, clay-slate, and secondary sandstone. He met with many indications of iron, and found coal; and crossed several ridges of beautiful serpentine, about the centre of the country, near the lake which he called Jameson's Lake, and Jameson Mountains, and at Serpentine Lake. The eastern half of the interior is generally a low picturesque country, traversed by hills and lakes, and the whole diversified with trees of humble growth. The country to the westward he found rugged and mountainous, with little wood, until within a few miles of the western coast. The mountains are not generally in ridges, each seeming to have its own particular base.

There are large tracts of peat marsh in the interior, which produce a strong wiry grass, and which appear to have been once wooded, Mr Cormack having discovered trunks and roots of much larger trees under the surface than any now growing in Newfoundland. Spruce, birch, and larch, compose the woods. Pine is seldom met with, and that generally of a small

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growth. Mountain ashes, " few and far between," occur.

Whortleberry bushes, and *wisha-capuca,* (Indian tea,) predominate on the high unwooded grounds. Mr Cormack considers the best soil to be along the rivers, and at the heads of the bays ; and he regards both the soil and climate as unfavourable to the raising of grain, but well adapted for grazing, and the cultivation of potatoes and other green crops. Eight miles up Great Barrisois river, St George's Bay, he discovered excellent coal, some salt springs, and a sulphurous spring. He found there, also, gypsum and red ochre in abundance.

In the interior, he observed vast herds of deer of the carriboo kind, which resort to the woods in winter, and in summer come out into the plains and barren grounds. Their flesh forms nearly the whole food of the Mic-mac and Red Indians. Beavers are now much more scarce than formerly. Foxes are still numerous along the rivers and sea-coast. The Mic-mac Indians proceed by different routes into the interior ; they go by East Bay river, in their birch-bark canoes, as far as Serpentine Lake ; and from thence proceed from lake to lake in their small basket, or wicker-work canoes, covered with skins. These resemble those said to have been used by the ancient Britons. When hunting beaver, the Mic-mac Indians allow a periodical term of three years to intervene from the time of disturbing a particular rendezvous until they again visit it. Mr Cormack thinks that paths might, without much difficulty, be made across

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the interior, to permit horses and cattle to pass along during summer.

Although Newfoundland was the first discovered of all the British colonies, yet it is, in reality, the most imperfectly known in Great Britain. It has been described as thickly wooded, which is not the case: trees of any size are only found within the bays, near the water, and along the rivers. On the Atlantic coast, there is but little wood of any value, except for fuel, and the building of small boats.

In the northern parts of the island, where the most extensive forests abounded, fires have destroyed the largest trees, which have been succeeded by those of a different and smaller species; so that, although the island has probably a sufficient quantity of wood growing on it for its own use, yet it certainly cannot afford to export any, nor can it supply, as has been asserted, large masts for the navy.

The climate has generally been misrepresented, and declared to be unusually severe, humid, and disagreeable. On the east and south coasts, when the winds blow from the sea, humidity certainly prevails, and during winter the cold is severe.

The harbours on the Atlantic shore are not so long frozen over as the most southerly of those within the Gulf of St Lawrence. On the west coast, from Cape Ray north, and in the interior, the atmosphere is generally clear, and the climate is much the same as that of the district of Gaspé, in Lower Canada. There is no country where the inhabitants enjoy better health, or where, notwithstanding the fatigue and

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hardships to which a fisherman's life is subjected, more of them attain to longevity.*

During the summer months, the days and nights are, with few exceptions, very pleasant. The temperature of the atmosphere is indeed frequently hot about mid-day, and often oppressively so; but in the mornings and evenings, and at night, exceedingly agreeable.

As there are nearly five degrees of latitude between the southern and northern points of Newfoundland, it follows that there is a considerable difference in the duration and severity of winter. The climate of Conception Bay may probably be considered as possessing the mean temperature of the island. The most disagreeable periods are the setting in and breaking up of winter, and especially at the time when the large fields of ice, that are formed in the hyperborean regions, are carried along the coast by the northerly winds and currents.

In comparing Newfoundland with any other country, I consider that the western Highlands of Scotland bear a striking resemblance to many parts of it; and

* There was last year (1829), and probably is still, living on the island of Marasheen, Placentia Bay, a man named Martin Galten, more than 100 years old, in excellent health, and who caught that year, in a boat with his brother, ninety quintals of cod-fish. He piloted Captain Cook into Placentia Bay about seventy years ago. There are many extraordinary instances of longevity in the same place; among whom, Nancy Tibeau is the mother of four living generations; and a Mrs Tait, who died in 1819, was 125 years old, and was along with her third husband at the siege of Quebec. The above information was given me by a very intelligent gentleman residing at Marasheen.

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there is nothing that the latter will produce but what will grow, with the same care and cultivation, in the former. The winters of Newfoundland are, it is true, colder, but in summer and autumn the weather is, for two or three months, so hot, as to bring many fruits to perfection that will not ripen in Scotland.

The sea-coast, from Fortune Bay to Cape Ray, is everywhere indented, like the south-east coast of Nova Scotia, which it resembles, with harbours; but the lands, especially near the sea, are rocky, thinly wooded, and with scarcely any soil fit for cultivation. On the west coast, particularly at St George's Bay, where there is a settlement, there are tracts of excellent land, with deep and fertile soils, and covered in many places with heavy timber. Coal, limestone, and gypsum, abound in great plenty in this part of the island.

At the heads of the bays, and along the rivers, there are many tracts of land formed of deposits washed from the hills; the soil of which tracts is of much the same quality as that of the savannas in the interior of America. These lands, should the increasing population render it desirable, might be converted into excellent meadows; and if drained, to carry off the water which covers them after the snows dissolve, they would yield good barley, oats, &c. The rich pasturage which the island affords, adapts it, in an eminent degree, to the breeding and raising of cattle and sheep; and I believe that it might produce a sufficient quantity of beef to supply its fisheries.

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From the earliest period of the settlement of Newfoundland down to the present time, objections have been made, and obstacles have been raised, in order to discourage its cultivation. That the fisheries of this colony constitute its political and commercial value and importance, no one acquainted with it can deny. The depressed state of its fisheries, ever since the French and Americans obtained a participation in this great branch of our commerce, has placed Newfoundland in a position different from that which previously distinguished it. The sudden change was such, that there is little hazard in asserting, that, were it not for the auxiliary support which the inhabitants derived from the cultivation of the soil, they could not have existed by the production of the fisheries alone; and, as they otherwise would have had to remove to the neighbouring colonies, or to the United States, the probable consequence would be, that the Americans and French would before this have enjoyed the benefit of expelling us altogether from supplying foreign markets with fish.

The natural productions of Newfoundland are, trees of the fir tribe, poplars, birches, a few maple-trees, wild cherry-trees, and a great variety of shrubs; blueberries and cranberries grow in great abundance; also small red strawberries, and several other kinds of wild fruit. English cherries, black, red, and white currants, gooseberries, &c., ripen in perfection. Natural grasses grow, particularly in the plains, all over the country. The wild animals are, bears, deer, wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martens, minks, musk-rats, hares, and

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all the aquatic and land birds common to the northern parts of America. Mosquitoes are in many parts numerous and troublesome; and a great variety of other insects are common.

The Newfoundland dog is a celebrated and useful animal, well known. These dogs are remarkably docile and obedient to their masters; they are very serviceable in all the fishing plantations; and are yoked in pairs, and used to haul the winter fuel home. They are gentle, faithful, good-natured, and ever a friend to man, at whose command they will leap into the water from the highest precipice, and in the coldest weather. They are remarkably voracious, but can endure (like the aborigines of the country) hunger for a great length of time; and they are usually fed upon the worst of salted fish. The true breed has become scarce, and difficult to be met with. They grow to a greater size than an English mastiff, have a fine close fur, and the colour is of various kinds; but black, which is most approved of, prevails. The smooth short-haired dog, so much admired in England as a Newfoundland dog, though an useful and sagacious animal, and nearly as hardy and fond of the water, is a cross breed. It, however, seems to inherit all the virtues of the true kind. A Newfoundland dog will, if properly domesticated and trained, defend his master, growl when another person speaks roughly to him, and in no instance of danger leave him. This animal, in a wild state, hunts in packs, and is then ferocious, and in its habits similar to the wolf. They are fond of children, and

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much attached to the members of the house to which they belong; but frequently cherish a cross antipathy to a stranger, or to those who wantonly fling sticks or stones at them. They will neither attack nor fight a dog of inferior size, but growl at snarling curs, and throw them to a side. They suffer cats to play with, and even to lie and sleep on the top of them. They are great enemies to sheep, which they never hesitate to kill, but partake only of the blood. When hungry, they will not scruple to steal a fowl, salmon, or piece of meat; yet they will watch a carcass of beef or mutton belonging to their masters, keep off other dogs, and never touch it themselves.

They fight courageously with dogs of their own size and strength, and will start immediately on hearing other dogs fight, to restore peace among them. So sagacious, indeed, are these animals, that they only seem to want the faculty of speech to make them fully understood; and they are capable of being trained to all the purposes for which almost every other variety of the canine species are used.

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CHAPTER II.

Sketch of its History.

NEWFOUNDLAND, although occupying no distinguished place in the history of the New World, has, notwithstanding, at least for two centuries and a half after its discovery by Cabot in 1479, been of more mighty importance to Great Britain than any other colony; and it is doubtful if the British empire could have risen to its great and superior rank among the nations of the earth, if any other power had held the possession of Newfoundland, its fishery having ever since its commencement furnished our navy with a great proportion of its hardy and brave sailors.

France made a claim to Newfoundland, under pretence of priority of discovery; alleging, that the fishermen of Biscay frequented the banks even before the first voyage of Columbus, and that Verazani afterwards discovered it sooner than England. These pretensions, however, could not constitute a right in France, as Cabot, by the most undoubted authority, discovered and landed on the coast several years before, and took possession of this island, which he named Baccalaos,* and on the island of St John's (now

* The name by which the natives called cod-fish, which were so abundant as to induce Cabot to give this name to the country.

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Prince Edward Island): from the latter he carried away three natives to England. He also discovered the continent of Norembegua, the ancient name of all that part of America situated between the Gulf of St Lawrence and Virginia.*

The first attempt made by the English to form a settlement in Newfoundland, was in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., at the recommendation of Messrs Elliot and Thom, who traded there with leave from the crown; and to such advantage, that an expedition was made, at the expense of a Mr Hare, a merchant of eminence, and his friends, for the purpose of planting Newfoundland.

From their ignorance of the nature of the country they failed in their attempt, and were reduced to great wretchedness through famine and fatigue. From this period until 1579, all thoughts of prosecuting the discovery and settlement of Newfoundland were relinquished, although we had then fifteen ships engaged in its fisheries. About this time, Captain Whitburn, who was employed by a merchant of Southampton, in a ship of three hundred tons, put into Trinity Bay, where he was so successful, that, with a full cargo of fish, &c., he cleared the expenses of the voyage. He says, "we saw in 1610 a mermaid in St John's harbour," and in 1612, "we saw Easton the arch-pirate, with ten sail of good vessels, well furnished, and very rich;" "many pirates fre-

* Vide Hackluyt's Voyages. De Thou. Herrara. Hist. Gen. Amer. Raynal.

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quented the coast at this time." He afterwards repeated the voyage, formed an acquaintance with the natives, and, during his residence, Sir Humphrey Gilbert arrived in Newfoundland with three ships (some say five) and 250 men, with a commission from Queen Elizabeth to take possession of the island for the crown. On the 5th August, 1583, he took formal possession in the name of his sovereign, and received the acknowledged obedience of the crews of thirty-six vessels of different nations, then in the harbour of St John's.

He then promulgated some laws for the government of the colony, and levied contributions of provisions on the ships there. He left Newfoundland on the 20th August with three ships, one of which was lost on the Isle of Sables; and on returning homeward, the ship which he commanded foundered during a storm, and all on board perished. He is described as a gentleman of the most amiable character, engaging manners, courage, wisdom, and learning, and also much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth. He may justly be considered the parent of English colonies. After this we find no mention of Newfoundland until 1585, when a voyage was made there by Sir Bernard Drake, who claimed its sovereignty and fishery in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and seized upon several Portuguese ships laden with fish, oil, and furs.

The most active spirit of discovery and commercial enterprise was at this period beginning to rouse the people of England; but the war with Spain, and the

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terror of the Grand Armada, checked, although it did not subdue, the ardour of the most sanguine of those who were bent on planting newly-discovered countries; and fifteen years passed away before another voyage was made to Newfoundland. The spirit of trade and discovery was again revived in England by Mr Guy, an intelligent merchant of Bristol, who wrote several judicious treatises on colonization and commerce; and, from the arguments of this gentleman, several persons of distinction applied to James I. for that part of Newfoundland lying between the Capes of St Mary and Bonavista, which they obtained in 1610, under the designation of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the Cities of London and Bristol, for the Colony of Newfoundland." This patent was granted to the Earl of Northampton, the Lord Chief Baron Tanfield, Sir John Doddridge, Lord Chancellor Bacon, Lord Verulam, &c., and was in substance, "That whereas divers of his Majesty's subjects were desirous to plant in the southern and eastern parts of Newfoundland, where the subjects of this realm have, for upwards of fifty years past, been used annually, in no small numbers, to resort to fish, intending thereby to secure the trade of fishing to our subjects for ever; as also to make some advantage of the lands thereof, which hitherto have remained unprofitable; wherefore, his Majesty now grants to Henry, Earl of Northampton, (and forty-four persons herein named,) their heirs and assigns, to be a corporation with perpetual succession, &c., by the name of the Treasurer and Com-

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pany of Adventurers and Planters of the Cities of London and Bristol, for the Colony and Plantation in Newfoundland, from north latitude 46° to 52°; together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of the coast; and all mines, &c., saving to all his Majesty's subjects the liberty of fishing there," &c.

Mr Guy went to Newfoundland as conductor of the first colony, which he settled in Conception Bay, and remained there two years; during which time he contracted, by his courteous and humane conduct, a friendship with the natives. He left behind him some of his people, to form the foundation of a colony; but, as the fishery was the main object of the English, the planting of Newfoundland was not attended to.*

In 1614, Captain Whitburn, who had made several fishing voyages, carried with him this year a commission from the Admiralty to empannel juries, and investigate upon oath divers abuses and disorders committed amongst the fishermen on the coast. By this commission he held, immediately on his arrival, a court of admiralty, where complaints were received from an hundred and seventy masters of vessels, of injuries committed, variously affecting their trade and navigation.

In 1616, Doctor William Vaughan, who purchased from the patentees a part of the country included in the patent, settled a small colony of his countrymen,

* Vessels of not more than thirty-five tons made voyages to Newfoundland about this time.

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from Wales, in the southernmost part of the island, (which he named Cambriol,) now called Little Britain. He appointed Whitburn governor; and his scheme was for the fishery of Newfoundland to go hand in hand with his plantation.*

In 1621, Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, obtained a grant from King James, of that part of Newfoundland situated between the Bay of Bulls and Cape St Mary's, in order that he might enjoy that free exercise of his religion (being a Catholic) which was denied him in his own country. The same spirit drove at this time crowds of Puritans to New England. How it was managed to grant this property to Sir George Calvert, without invading the right of the company, of which it certainly formed a part, is not accounted for.

Sir George sent Captain Edward Wynne, who held the commission of governor, before him, with a small colony, and in the meanwhile embarked his fortune and talents, and engaged all the interest of his friends, in securing the success of his plan. Ferryland, the place where Wynne settled, was judiciously chosen. He built the largest house ever erected on the island, with granaries, storehouses, &c., and was, in the following year, reinforced by a number of settlers, with necessary implements, stores, &c. He erected a salt-work also, which was brought to considerable perfection; and the colony was soon after described, and with truth too, to be in a very flourishing condition;

* Anderson on Commerce, vol. i. p. 495.

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and so delighted was the proprietor, now created Lord Baltimore, with the prosperity of the colony, that he emigrated there with his family, built a handsome and commodious house and a strong fort at Ferryland, and resided many years on the island.

About the same time, Lrod Falkland, then Lord Lieutenant, sent a colony from Ireland to Newfoundland; but Lord Baltimore's departure soon after for England, to obtain a grant for that part of the country called Maryland, prevented the growing prosperity of his colony, which he called Avalon,* but which, however, he still retained, and governed by his deputies.

In the course of about twenty years after Lord Baltimore planted Ferryland, about three hundred and fifty families were settled in fifteen or sixteen parts of the island; and a more decided interest in its affairs was taken than at any former period. This led, on the part of the inhabitants, to apply for some civil magistrates, to decide matters of dispute or disorder among them; but the measure was strenuously opposed by the merchants and shipowners in England concerned in the trade, who petitioned the Privy Council against the appointment of any governor to manage the affairs of Newfoundland, and the prayer of this petition was absurdly enough granted.

* This was the ancient name of a place in Somersetshire on which Glastonbury now stands, and is said to be the spot where Christianity was first preached in Britain. Lord Baltimore, with the idea that his province was the place in America where Christianity was first introduced, named it Avalon.

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In 1674, however, farther application, by petition to the king, was made for a governor; and the petition being referred to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, their lordships proposed that all plantations in Newfoundland should be discouraged, and that the commander of the convoys should compel the inhabitants to depart from the island, by putting in execution one of the conditions of the western charter. His Majesty was induced to approve of this report; and, under its sanction, the most cruel and wanton acts were committed on the inhabitants; their houses were burnt, and a variety of severe and arbitrary measures resorted to for the purpose of driving them from the country.

The extent to which the cruelties committed on the inhabitants had been carried, induced Sir John Berry, the commander of the convoy, about this time to represent to government the policy of colonizing Newfoundland. His advice, however, was not attended to.

In 1676, on the representation of John Downing, a resident inhabitant, his Majesty directed that none of the settlers should be disturbed. But in the following year, in pursuance of an order in council that had been made on the petition of the western adventurers, the Committee of Trade, &c., reported, that, notwithstanding a clause in the western charter, prohibiting the transport to Newfoundland of any persons but such as were of the ship's company, the magistrates of the western ports did permit passengers and private boat-keepers to transport themselves thither, to the injury of the fishery; and they were

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of opinion that the abuse might hereafter be prevented by those magistrates, the vice-admirals, and also by the officers of customs.

A petition, on the part of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, soon followed this representation; and in order to investigate the matter fully, it was ordered that the adventurers and planters should each be heard by their counsel. The question was thus seriously argued, and afterwards referred, as formerly, to the Committee of Trade; but no report seems to have been made on this occasion, and no steps for regulating the settlement or fishery of Newfoundland were adopted, until the Board of Trade, instituted in January 1697, took up the subject, among others that came under their province. They made a report, which, however, applied more to the defence of the island, than to its civil regulations, and went no farther than to express an opinion, that a moderate number of planters, not exceeding one thousand, were useful in the construction of boats, stages, and other necessaries for the fisheries. The English, in 1692, made a feeble attempt to take Placentia, then commanded by the Baron La Hontan from France. This was unsuccessful, in consequence of the irresolution of the commander of our squadron; and in 1696, England had the mortification to know that France took from us all our settlements in Newfoundland, except Bonavista and Carbonier.

The English, however, soon repossessed themselves of St John's, and all the other places taken by France. But, at this period, that nation began to evince a

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spirit of determination to become mistress of all America; and the fisheries of Newfoundland, as appears fully by the celebrated marine ordinance of Louis XIV., drawn up under the great Colbert, were not the least objects of her ambition.

In 1690, the statute 10 and 11 William and Mary, cap. 25, entitled, "An Act to encourage the trade of Newfoundland," passed; but as the substance of this act appears to embody the policy of former times, it tended to no purpose other than to legalize misrule, and the capricious will of ignorant men, invested accidentally by it with authority.

These persons were distinguished by the dignified titles, or rather nicknames, of admirals, vice-admirals, and rear-admirals. The master of the first fishing-vessel that arrived, was the admiral; the next, vice-admiral; and the third, rear-admiral, in the harbours they frequented. Few of these men could write their own names; and from this circumstance alone the absurdity of investing them with power must be apparent.

The report made in 1701 by Mr George Larkin, who went to the American settlements to make observations for the information of government, contains many remarks that deserve attention. He found Newfoundland in a very disorderly and confused condition. The woods were wantonly destroyed by rinding the trees. The New England men (as is their custom now, in 1828, in many of our harbours) sold their commodities cheap, in general; but constrained the purchasers to take certain quantities of

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rum, which the inhabitants sold to the fishermen, and which tempted them to remain on the island, and leave their families in England, a burden upon the parish. The inhabitants also sold rum to their servants, who got into debt, and were forced to hire themselves in payment, so that one month's profuse living often left them in bondage for a year.*

The fishermen from New England were accustomed to inveigle away many of the seamen and servants, with promises of high wages; but these men were generally disappointed, and in the end became pirates. The inhabitants he represents as a profuse sort of people, who cared not at what rate they got into debt; and that, as the act of King William gave the planters a title, it was much to be regretted that proper regulations were not made for their government, more particularly as the island, from its having no civil power, was then become a sanctuary for people who failed in England.

Upon complaints being made to the commander on the station, it had been customary for him to send his lieutenants to the different harbours to decide disputes between masters of fishing vessels and the planters, and between them again and their servants; but upon such occasions, Mr Larkins alleges those matters were conducted in the most corrupt manner. He that made a present of most quintals of fish, was certain to have a judgment in his favour. Even the commanders themselves were said to be, in this respect,

* This has been common in all the British American colonies and prevails to this day.

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faulty. After the fishing season was over, masters beat their servants, and servants their masters.

The war with France in 1702—as the French, at that period, were masters of Canada, Cape Breton, &c., and were also established in Newfoundland, at Placentia—disturbed the fisheries and other affairs of Newfoundland; and in 1708, the French took St John's, and some places in Conception Bay, which they held until the peace of Utrecht.

In 1708 the House of Commons addressed Queen Anne on the subject of the better execution of laws in Newfoundland, when it was, as usual, referred to the Board of Trade, which only went so far as to get the opinion of the Attorney-General on the statute of King William.

Two years after, fifteen very useful regulations were agreed upon at St John's, for the better discipline and good order of the people, and for correcting irregularities contrary to good laws and acts of Parliament. These regulations, or by-laws, were debated and resolved on at courts, or meetings, held at St John's; where were present, and had all a voice, a mixed assemblage of merchants, masters of merchantships, and planters. This anomalous assembly formed, at the time, a kind of public body, exercising executive, judicial, and legislative power.

By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, Placentia, and all other parts of Newfoundland occupied by the French, were, in full sovereignty, ceded to Great Britain; the French, however, retaining a license to come and go during the fishing season.

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The Guipuscoans were also, in an ambiguous manner, acknowledged to have a claim, as a matter of right, to a participation in the fishery; which the Board of Trade declared afterwards, in 1718, to be inadmissible.

Government about this time, as well as the merchants, began to direct their attention to the trade of the island, with more spirit than they had hitherto shown. A Captain Taverner was commissioned to survey its coasts; a lieutenant-governor was appointed to command the fort at Placentia, and a ship of war kept cruising round the island, to keep the French at their limits.

In 1729, it was concluded, principally through the representation of Lord Vere Beauclerk, the commander on the station, to establish some permanent government, which ended, as Mr Reeves observes, in the appointment, "not of a person skilled in the law," as had been proposed, but of a Captain Henry Osborne, commander of his majesty's ship the Squirrel. Lord Vere Beauclerk, who set sail for Newfoundland with the governor, in the summer of this year, received a box, containing eleven sets of Shaw's Practical Justice of the Peace, being one for each of the following places, which were respectively impressed on the covers in gold letters: "Placentia, St John's, Carbonier, Bay of Bulls, Ferryland, Trepasse, Bay de Verd, Trinity Bay, Bonavista, and Old Parlekin, in Newfoundland;" together with thirteen copies of the statute of King William, and the acts relating to the navigation and trade of the kingdoms.

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The commission delivered to Captain Osborne revoked so much of the commission to the governor of Nova Scotia as related to Newfoundland. It then goes on to appoint Captain Osborne governor of the island of Newfoundland, and gives him authority to administer oaths to justices of the peace, and other officers whom he may appoint under him, for the better administration of justice, and keeping the peace of the island. He was empowered also to erect a court-house and prison; and all officers, civil and military, were directed to aid and assist him in executing his commission. He appointed the first sheriff of the island.

The petty jealousies and interests of the fishing admirals, merchants, and planters, prevented Osborne and his successors, for a period of twenty years, from carrying into execution the objects and regulations contained in their commissions and instructions. Indeed, the most disgraceful opposition to the civil government was made, particularly by the fishing admirals. Complaints were frequently produced on both sides, and it is probable, as is usual in such cases, that each of the contending parties was in fault. The aggressors, however, were assuredly those who opposed the civil authority, and whose conduct clearly showed that their object was to deprive the resident inhabitants of all protection from government. This contest continued, until it was found that his majesty's ministers were resolved not to withdraw the civil government from the island.

In the commission of the peace for the island, the

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justices were restrained from proceeding in cases of doubt or difficulty—such as robberies, murders, felonies, and all capital offences. From this restriction, a subject of considerable difficulty and inconvenience arose, as persons who had committed capital felonies could only be tried in England; and, in 1751, a commission was issued to Captain William Francis Drake, empowering him to appoint commissioners of oyer and terminer for the trial of felons at Newfoundland.

In 1742, in consequence of the number of captured vessels brought into St John's, a court of Vice-Admiralty was established.

A claim was made, in 1754, by Lord Baltimore, to that part of the island originally granted to his ancestor, and named by him "the province of Avalon." This claim was declared inadmissible by the Board of Trade, agreeable to the opinion of the law officers; and it has since then been relinquished.

In June 1762, the French took St John's, Trinity, and Carbonier, and retained them until September following, when they were retaken, with some difficulty, by the forces sent from Halifax, under Lord *Colville* and Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

The peace of 1763, by which we acquired all the French possessions in North America, opened a most favourable opportunity for extending the fishery, to the decided advantage of these kingdoms; and the Board of Trade, in bringing the subject under their consideration, applied for information to the towns in the west of England, as well as to Glasgow, Belfast,

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Cork, and Waterford, which had for some time been engaged in the trade. In the year following, a collector and comptroller of the customs were established at St John's. This measure, and the consequent introduction of the navigation laws, were complained of by the merchants, in the same way as the appointing commissioners of the peace, and of oyer and terminer.

The French, always, but now more than ever, anxious about their fishery, insisted on their having a right to the western coast, for the purpose of fishing as far south as Cape Ray; maintaining that it properly was "Point Riche," mentioned in the treaty of Utrecht. This claim embraced nearly two hundred miles of the west coast of Newfoundland more than they had a right to by treaty; and their authority being founded only on an old map of Hermann Moll, was shown, with great accuracy, by the Board of Trade, to be altogether inadmissible. The coast of Labrador was in 1763 separated from Canada, and annexed to the government of Newfoundland. This was a very judicious measure; but, as the chief object of those who at that time frequented Labrador, was the seal-fishery, the Board of Trade, at the recommendation principally of Sir Hugh Palliser, considered it unwise policy to separate Labrador from the jurisdiction of Canada; and accordingly recommended his majesty to re-annex it. This was effected in 1774,* and in the following year an act† was passed,

* 14 Geo. III, cap. 83, commonly called the Quebec Act.

† 15 Geo. III., cap. 31.

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the spirit of which was to defend and support the ship fishery carried on from England.

Its principal regulations were, that the privilege of drying fish on the shores should be limited to his majesty's subjects arriving at Newfoundland from Great Britain and Ireland, or any of the British dominions in Europe. This law set at rest all that had been agitated in favour of the resident colonists.

It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that its provisions for upholding the ship fishery, for the purpose of making it a nursery for training seamen, were wise and judicious; and making the fish and oil liable for the payment of wages due to the people employed in and about the fisheries, was a very proper regulation. It extended, also, a bounty to the Newfoundland bank fishing; and British ships might by it occupy any part of the coasts of Labrador, as well as Newfoundland, and they were not to be under any constraint as to days or hours of working.

L'Abbé Raynal observes, "that the English fishing admirals carried their insolence and superiority so far at this time, as to forbid the French fishermen to fish for cod on Sunday, upon the pretence that their own abstained from catching on that day."

The American revolutionary war, during its continuance, affected, in a very injurious degree, the affairs of Newfoundland. A bill was passed in Parliament, prohibiting the people of New England from fishing at Newfoundland.* This measure was loudly

* 15 Geo. III., cap. 10.

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and strongly opposed by the merchants of London. The reasons alleged by ministers were, "that as the colonies had entered into an agreement not to trade with Britain, we were entitled to prevent them trading with any other country. Their charter restricted them to the Act of Navigation: the relaxations from it were favours to which, by their disobedience, they had no farther interest."

"The Newfoundland fisheries were the ancient property of Great Britain, and disposable, therefore, at her will and discretion; it was no more than just to deprive rebels of them." To this it was contended, that it was beneath the character of a civilized people to molest poor fishermen, or to deprive the wretched inhabitants of a sea-coast of their food; and that the fisheries being also the medium through which they settled their accounts with Britain, the cutting them off from this resource would only tend to put a stop to their remittances to England.

The fishermen also would, by this measure, be driven into the immediate service of rebellion. They would man privateers, and would accelerate the levies of troops the colonies were making; and, being hardy and robust men, would prove the best recruits that could be found.* All this unfortunately happened.

From the evidence brought in support of their petition by the London merchants, it appears, that the four New England provinces employed, in the fisheries of Newfoundland and the banks alone, about

* Andrews's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 339.

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48,000 tons of shipping, and from 6000 to 7000 seamen; and that ten years before, since which time the fisheries had greatly increased, the produce of the fisheries in foreign markets amounted to L.35,000. What rendered them particularly valuable was, that all the materials used in them (the salt for curing, and the timber for building the vessels, excepted) were purchased in Britain; and that the nett proceeds were remitted in payment.

But the merchants of Poole, and other places engaged in the Newfoundland fishery, presented a second petition, in direct opposition to that of London. It represented, that the bill against the New England fishermen would not prove detrimental to the trade of Britain, which was fully able, with proper exertions, to supply the demands of foreign markets: that the British Newfoundland fishery bred a great number of hardy seamen, peculiarly fit for the service of the navy; whereas the New England seamen were, by act of Parliament, exempt from being pressed: that the fishing from Britain to Newfoundland employed about 400 ships, amounting to 360,000 tons, and 2000 shallops of 20,000 tons, navigated by 20,000 seamen; and that 60,000 quintals of fish were taken every season, the returns of which were annually worth, on a moderate computation, L.500,000.*

* In 1795, 22,000 seamen engaged in the Newfoundland trade, and 400 ships, 38,000 tons, valued at L.8, - - L.304,000
Caught and cured 600,000 quintals fish, at 18s. - 540,000

Carry forward, - L.844,000

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The New England colonies, in return, resorted to all the means in their power to distress Britain in her American concerns; and for this purpose strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland with any provisions whatsoever.

This was a proceeding wholly unexpected in England. The ships fitted out for that fishery, on arriving at Newfoundland, found their operations arrested for want of provisions; and not only the crews of the ships, but those who were settled in the harbours, were in imminent danger of perishing by famine. Instead of prosecuting the fishing business they came on, the ships were constrained to make the best of their way to England and other places for provisions.

In addition to this obstruction to the fisheries, natural causes co-operated. During the fishing season, a storm, more terrible than was ever known in these latitudes, arose, attended with circumstances unusually dreadful and destructive. The sea, according to various accounts, rose from twenty to thirty feet

Brought forward, -	L.844,000
37,000 trails salmon, at 40s. - - - -	74,000
1,000 barrels herrings, at 15s. - - - -	750
5,000 seal-skins, at 4s. - - - - -	1,000
3,300 tons oil, at L.28, - - - - -	92,400
2,000 small boats, at L.3, - - - - -	6,000
Goods remaining in stores, - - - -	300,000
Value of property invested in this trade, -	L.1,318,150

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above its ordinary level, and so suddenly, that no time was given to prepare against its effects. Some ships foundered with their whole crews; and more than seven hundred fishing crafts perished, with a great majority of the people in them. The sea broke in upon the lands where fish-houses, flakes, &c., were erected, and occasioned vast loss and destruction.

By the third article of the treaty of peace signed at Paris in 1783, it was agreed that the people of the United States should enjoy, unmolested, the right to take fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and also at all other places in the sea where they previously used to fish, and on the coast of Newfoundland; but not to cure their fish on that island. It was also agreed, that provisions might be imported to the British colonies in British bottoms. This was strongly opposed by the western merchants, but unsuccessfully; and, in 1788, upon the representation of the merchants connected with Canada, it was proposed to bring a bill into Parliament for preventing entirely the supply of bread, flour, and live stock, from the United States: but this intention was abandoned, and the mode of occasional supply continued.

The Board of Trade was abolished in 1782, and, for the last years of its existence, scarcely any thing appears on its records relative to Newfoundland. Matters of trade and plantations were for some years afterwards managed by a committee of council, appointed in 1784.

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By this time the practice of hearing and determining civil causes became a subject of frequent complaint. Hitherto no court of civil jurisdiction had been provided for the colony; and, while the island remained merely a fishery, carried on by vessels from England, the causes of actions were not of great magnitude; but now that the population had increased to considerable numbers, and heavy mercantile dealings were frequent among them, discontent arose from time to time, that led to the establishment of a new court, by a commission to Admiral Milbanke, who was sent out as governor in 1789. But, as heavy complaints were preferred by the merchants, as well as the planters, against the proceedings of this court, an act was passed in 1792, empowering the governor, with the advice of the chief justice, to institute Surrogate Courts* of civil jurisdiction in different parts of the island. The first chief justice was Mr Reeves, who published an interesting account of Newfoundland, with acts of Parliament relative to its government. He was a man of excellent character, and a sound lawyer. Newfoundland owed much to him; and it would have been well for that colony if his successors had followed the example of his conduct. Some of them were not only unskilled in the law, but weak or obstinate men, who were influenced by their interests or passions.

Admiral Gambier was appointed to the govern-

* They were called "floating Surrogates," and had the same jurisdiction as the supreme court; to which, however, appeals lay for all sums above forty pounds.

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ment in 1802. His administration was mild, and he appears to have been anxious to promote the interests of the colony, and to encourage the education of children born or brought up on the island.

Before the peace of Amiens, a regiment of volunteers was raised in the colony, and then disbanded. On the commencement of hostilities another regiment was raised, and afterwards attached to the regulars, under the name of "The Newfoundland Regiment of Light Infantry," under the command of Colonel Skinner.

The trade of the island was not in the least interrupted by the war, the vessels employed in the fisheries being fully protected by the ships of war on the station; and the admirals appointed from time to time to the command of the Newfoundland squadron, administered the government as formerly.

The first newspaper published in the colony, appeared in 1807, under the title of "The Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser;" and in 1809, a post-office was established at St John's.

Surrogate Courts were extended to the coast of Labrador in 1811; and those lands known by the appellation of "Ship's Rooms," were ordered to be leased to the highest bidder. Those situated in some of the most convenient places for business along the harbour of St John's, were always considered a great nuisance, and an impediment in the way of trade.

During the war, Newfoundland prospered, and riches flowed in among the inhabitants; but the peace of 1814 was attended by a sudden transition

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in the trade of the colony, from the highest pitch of commercial success to the lowest point of depression. Several houses failed in consequence; and the inhabitants, not having those resources which an agricultural country affords, were reduced to great misery. The vast destruction of property by fire soon after at St John's, occasioned also much distress, and drove many of the inhabitants from the island.

Newfoundland has, however, recovered gradually from the deplorable condition it was in from the peace until 1818, which fortunately turned out a most successful year in the seal and cod fisheries.

This year Governor Pickmore died at St John's, and his body was carried to England in his majesty's ship Fly. He was the first resident governor, and succeeded the naval commanders who administered the government of Newfoundland while on the station during the fishing seasons, but who returned to England on the approach of winter. Sir Charles Hamilton, the first permanent resident governor, was appointed to the administration of the affairs of the colony this year. He was succeeded by the present governor, Sir Thomas Cochrane, a son of Admiral Sir A. Cochrane, and a captain in the royal navy.

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CHAPTER III.

Government, and Administration of Justice—Laws—Expenses of the Colony —Value of its Commerce, &c.

THE power of the governor of Newfoundland is much the same as that of the governors of the other colonies, except in those matters in which a legislative or representative form of constitution makes an alteration or difference. He appoints justices of the peace, suspends at pleasure all officers who hold their commissions from the crown, grants marriage licenses, has the supreme command of the regular forces and the militia, and is also vice-admiral of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The propriety of granting a legislative government to Newfoundland has been agitated for some time.* The resident inhabitants are, with few exceptions, in favour of the measure; while the principal persons in connexion with Newfoundland, residing in England, consider that a legislative assembly would be injurious to the fisheries, and to the best interests of the colony; that it would be inconvenient for mem-

* Mr Morris, who has written several pamphlets on the subject, insists with enthusiastic zeal, and I am confident with great honesty, on the necessity of granting a local government to Newfoundland.

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bers from the out harbours to come to, and remain at St John's, during the sitting of an assembly; that efficient members, who were permanent residents, could not be found in the island; and, consequently, that giving it a representative constitution, would be premature and unnecessary.

There is no doubt but that the internal improvement of the colony would be promoted, and that matters of local utility would be better directed than at present, by the acts of a legislative government. The question is, whether the great business of the colony, that which makes it important to Great Britain —the fisheries, would also, at the same time, prosper; and, whether directing the attention of the inhabitants to the cultivation of the soil, would not be injurious to the fisheries. From all I have observed in Nova Scotia, and in the district of Gaspé, I certainly believe that Newfoundland is not only quite as much entitled to a legislative government as the other colonies, but that the fisheries would in consequence be rather supported than depressed.

The supreme court of judicature, as now constituted, has a chief justice and two assistant justices. It has criminal and civil jurisdiction, and is also a court of record. It holds plea of all crimes and misdemeanors committed within the island of Newfoundland, the coast of Labrador, and dependent islands, agreeably to the laws and practice of England, and the acts of Parliament for regulating judicial proceedings in Newfoundland. It also holds plea for the recovery of debts due by persons residing, or

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having property, in Newfoundland, although such debts should have been contracted in Great Britain, or other parts of his majesty's dominions.

The Court of Vice-Admiralty, held by a judge commissary, has had little to do since the last war. It holds cognizance of maritime causes, and causes of revenue. Appeals lie from it to the High Court of Admiralty in England.

There is a Court of Probate, held by the chief justice and assistant justices, for the probate of wills, and granting letters of administration.

At St John's, and at most of the out-harbours, where the population renders it necessary, there is a court of session, held by two magistrates, who have the same jurisdiction as in England.

On the issuing of writs of attachment, if it be made to appear, on investigation, that the party is insolvent, the court declares his insolvency, and authorizes one or more creditors, chosen by the major part in value of such creditors whose debts amount to L.10, or upwards, to collect the debts and effects of such insolvent, and distribute the same under the directions of the court.

The distribution of the property of insolvents at Newfoundland, is as follows:—In the first place, all wages due to seamen, fishermen, and servants employed during the current season, 20s. in the pound; after which, debts due for all supplies furnished for the current season, 20s. in the pound, if the effects of the insolvent will realize as much.

Then, debts contracted within two years claim a

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preference; and the remaining assets, if there be any, to be divided ratably among all the other creditors.

A certificate, granted by the court, with the consent of one-half in number and value of the creditors, is a bar to all suits for debts within the jurisdiction of the courts of Newfoundland.

The Surrogate Courts were, from the beginning, considered at once grievous and exceedingly objectionable, as the judges were no other than the commanders or lieutenants of his majesty's ships on the station, whose pursuits and education could not qualify them, however just their intentions might be, for competent expounders of the intricate labyrinth of commercial laws. At the same time, it is but justice to remark, that the task was by no means agreeable to many of those officers; and, with few exceptions, if they erred, it was not from the influence of fear or interest, but from an ignorance of matters that no one should expect them to understand. But in this way the jurisdiction of Newfoundland was conducted until 1824, when a bill was passed, entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice in Newfoundland, and other purposes." This act, like all others passed relative to Newfoundland, being experimental, was limited to continue in force only for five years. By the provisions of this act, a chief judge and two assistant judges are appointed, and the island divided into three districts, in each of which a court is held annually.

The regulations of this law are considered by many, both residing in the island, and in connexion with the

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colony in England, as not adapted to Newfoundland. One of the objections is, the salary of the judges, and the expense connected with their travelling, or going and returning by water to and from different parts of the island. Some of the old laws, which were probably necessary at the time they were passed, are still in force, and are considered at present highly objectionable; one in particular, the tendency of which was very clearly explained to me by an intelligent gentleman* residing many years at St John's, and lately returned from that place. By this law, which is of many years' standing, and which I certainly consider to have been necessary at the time it was enacted, the merchant who furnishes the planters, or fishermen, with supplies in the early part of the season, has a lien on their property, of whatever kind, but only for the whole of that season; and the consequence is, that if the planter or fisherman be so unfortunate, which very frequently happens, as not to take a sufficient quantity of fish to pay for the supplies, the merchant, as he must lose his claim altogether if he allow it to remain over till the following season, is under the necessity of seizing on all his debtor has, as it would otherwise fall into the hands of the merchant who supplied the same person the ensuing year. If this law were modified, so as to give the merchant a lien only on the fish, oil, fishing-tackle, and whatever else he supplied, and the property that the planter possessed at the commencement

* Charles Fox Bennett, Esq.

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of the season to be, in case of need, equally divided among his other creditors, many an honest man would be saved from ruin.

Another evil, of serious consequence to the merchants themselves, arises out of this law. When the planter or fisherman finds, after the middle of the season is passed, that he will not be able to pay for all the supplies he has received, his energy becomes checked, from the conviction that extra-industry will be of no benefit to him, so long as he cannot pay the whole.

It is certain that none of the British plantations have been worse governed than Newfoundland, nor in any has more confusion prevailed. By the constitutions granted to all the other colonies, a clearly defined system of jurisdiction was laid down; but the administration of Newfoundland was, in a great measure, an exclusively mercantile or trading government; which, as Adam Smith very justly observes, "is perhaps the very worst of all governments for any country whatever;" and a powerless planter, or fisherman, never expected, or seldom received, justice from the adventurers, or the fishing admirals, who were their servants. Mr Reeves, in his History of Newfoundland, states, "that they had been in the habit of seeing that species of wickedness and anarchy ever since Newfoundland was frequented, from father to son; it was favourable to their old impressions, that Newfoundland was theirs, and that all the plantations were to be spoiled and devoured at their pleasure."

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There is no doubt but that so arbitrary an assumption and practice of misrule produced the consequences that severity always generates; and that the planters soon reconciled themselves to the principles of deceit and falsehood, or to the schemes that would most effectually enable them to elude their engagements with the adventurers. The resident fishermen, also, who were driven from time to time out of Newfoundland, by the statute of William and Mary, generally turned out the most hardened and depraved characters wherever they went.

The measures adopted for the administration of the affairs of Newfoundland, during the government of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hamilton, and since the appointment of his successor, will likely lead in time to whatever is necessary for the better distribution of justice. But the peculiar circumstances of Newfoundland as a great fishing colony, the greater part of the proceeds of which are remitted to England in payment of British manufactures, and the depressed state of the fisheries, imperatively demand that no burden whatever shall be laid upon those fisheries, either for the support of the executive or judicial powers, or for any other purpose whatever. Should his majesty's ministers decide on laying an *ad valorem* duty on imports into Newfoundland, it will most assuredly, with the advantages that the Americans and French possess, annihilate the British fisheries at Newfoundland. This is not my opinion alone, but the opinion of the oldest and best acquainted with that colony. If public buildings are necessary, or

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a more expensive form of government expedient, neither can be supported at the expense of the fisheries.*

This great branch of trade is of too much importance to the interests of England to be overlooked. Its value will appear, from the following statement, of more consequence than it is generally understood to be:—

The imports of provisions to Newfoundland, taking the average of the last three years, have been bread stuffs from foreign parts, principally from

Hamburg, - -	67,812 cwts.			
From British dominions, two-thirds of which from Great Britain, - - -	25,712			
Cwts.	93,524, at 16s.	L.74,819	0	0
Flour.—From foreign states direct, - - -	19,075			
British dominions, half of which foreign, trans-shipped from England, -	18,477			
Barrels,	37,552, at 28s.	52,573	0	0
Pork.—Foreign, - -	11,908			
British,—nearly 5-6ths from Great Britain and Ireland,	10,686			
Barrels,	22,594, at 65s.	73,430	0	0
Carry forward,		L.200,822	0	0

* Note A.

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Brought forward,		L.200,822	0 0
Butter.—Foreign, - -	3,119		
British—7-8ths from Britain and Ireland, - -	8,487		
Cwts. 11,606, at 70s.		40,621	0 0
		L.241,443	0 0

This amount, together with foreign wines and salt, is about equal to one-third of the whole value of imports into Newfoundland; the difference, about L.550,000, is made up of British manufactures. All the provisions we purchase from foreigners can be laid in equally low, with some little encouragement, from Canada. Live stock for the Newfoundland markets, is supplied by Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The average annual produce exported during the last three years from Newfoundland, consisted of

Codfish, about	600,000 quintals, at 10s.	L.300,000	0 0
Cod oil, - -	3,000 tons, at L.18	54,000	0 0
Seal oil, - -	5,000 tons, at L.20	100,000	0 0
Seal skins, - -	400,000, at 1s.	20,000	0 0
Salmon, furs, &c. - - - - -		20,000	0 0
		L.494,000	0 0
Value of produce from Labrador exported direct, and from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, - - - - - - - -		278,400	0 0
Present annual value of the Newfoundland and Labrador fisheries, - - -		L.772,400	0 0

With the exception of the amount which is paid to foreigners for provisions, the whole of the above

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sum eventually finds its way to the United Kingdom, in payment of British manufactures.

In the carrying trade to and from Newfoundland, there are about 400 vessels, the tonnage of which amounts to about 50,000 tons; two-thirds of these vessels belong to the United Kingdom, the rest are colonial. Most of these vessels make two voyages; some three, and some four. The Custom-house entries average, at the different harbours of entry, for the last four years, as follows:—

St. John's,	455	vessels entered and cleared.
Harbour Grace,	105	
Trinity, -	37	
Twillingate,	30	
Bay of Bulls,	3	
Ferryland,	25	
Placentia, -	10	
Benin, -	45	
St Lawrence,	9	
Fortune Bay,	34	
	753	vessels, exclusive of those entered and cleared direct at Labrador.

Of the above vessels, the entries and clearances were—

Great Britain, - -	298
Foreign, Europe, and Brazil,	193
British America, - -	182
West Indies, - - -	72
United States, - -	8
	753

In this number, neither the coasting nor sealing vessels, about 350, are taken into account.

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From these statements, the vast importance of Newfoundland to Great Britain may be observed, and that the fishery, even under great disadvantages, is still of sufficient consequence to be considered among the most valuable branches of our trade.

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CHAPTER IV.

Description of St John's, and other Settlements.

THE port and town of St John's is situated at the east side of the island, and on the peninsula that once formed Lord Baltimore's province of Avalon. The entrance to the harbour from the Atlantic is so narrow, that two large ships can little more than safely pass abreast. There is twelve fathoms water in the middle of the channel; and the only dangers are, the rocks close under the north head and light-house, and the Chain Rock, which lies a little more than half-way from the entrance to the basin, which forms one of the finest harbours in the world.

On the north side, the precipices rise perpendicularly to an immense height; and on the opposite shore, the altitude of the abrupt rocky cliffs, although less, is also great. At the south head, which is rather low, near the shore, but very high, a little back, there is a battery and signal-post, where signals are made, giving information of the ships in sight, which are again repeated at the fort, on the lofty eminence nearly perpendicular to the sea, called Signal Hill. The Chain Rock received its name from a chain fixed to it, for the purpose of stretching across

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the Narrows, to prevent the admission of hostile ships. Several strong batteries on the north side, with Frederick Battery and Fort Amherst on the south, defend the harbour so completely, as to render it perfectly secure against any ordinary attack. The situation of the Crow's Nest Battery, pitched on the summit of a conical hill, is very striking; and the character of the scenery surrounding the harbour is bold, rugged, and wild.

Fort Townshend, the usual residence of the governors, stands immediately over the town. The ascent to it is steep; but between it and Fort William, a distance of nearly three quarters of a mile, ground called "the Barrens," approaching somewhat to table-land, with a thin sterile soil, intervenes. Between Fort William and Signal Hill, is St George's Pond, at a very great height above high-water mark. It abounds with trout. To the north lies Quidi Vidi Pond, about a mile long, and from which a brook runs into a boat harbour, which communicates with the sea by a gut of the same name, rendered inaccessible to schooners by a rock extending across, and deep on each side. A trifling sum would pay the expense of blasting this rock, and rendering Quidi Vidi an excellent little harbour. Between Quidi Vidi and the Narrows, the coast is rugged, and the hills abrupt and high. A few spots in the neighbourhood of St John's have, by much labour and expense, been brought under very tolerable cultivation; and it must be acknowledged that such lands are now of great value, as affording vegetables, hay, &c. Mr Stewart,

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when deputy paymaster at St John's, used to raise a great quantity of very good fruit in the garden attached to his house.* There is no doubt but a great abundance of vegetables for the use of the town might be raised in its environs.

The town of St John's is built chiefly of wood; it extends nearly along the whole of the north side of the port; and there can scarcely be said to be more than one street, the others being only irregular lanes. A few of the houses are built of stone or brick, and some of the buildings are handsome; but the appearance of the town altogether, indicates at once what it was intended for—a kind of lodging-place for a convenient time; a collection of stores for depositing fish, with wharfs along the whole shore for the convenience of shipping.

St John's, like Halifax, and other towns built of wood, has suffered severely by fires. In the winter of 1816, great loss of property and individual distress was occasioned by a dreadful conflagration that took place; and on the 7th of November, 1817, one hundred and forty houses, and L.500,000 value in property, were destroyed by a like calamity. Another fire, on the 21st of the same month, destroyed a great part of the town that had escaped the conflagration of the 7th; and on the 21st of August following, the town experienced a fourth calamity of the same kind,

* The attorney-general, Mr Simms, who now occupies the above property, continues to raise both fruit and vegetables with success. The lands surrounding Quidi Vidi are also very well cultivated.

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which consumed a great number of houses, stores, and wharfs.

It was suspected, from the frequent occurrence of these fires, and particularly from the apathy with which the lower classes observed the activity that the sailors and the military displayed in extinguishing them, that they had been occasioned by incendiaries; but the most vigilant search and minute investigation led to no such discovery. The scarcity of provisions and the dread of famine, it is true, urged the labouring classes to pillage, and to disregard authority. Another cause also contributed to make these people desperate. The repeated losses of the merchants, and the ruinous state of the trade, were such, that they could only afford to supply the planters to a certain extent. The consequence was, that thousands of fishermen and labourers were reduced to want, and they, on different occasions, became a lawless banditti, and broke open the stores of the merchants to obtain provisions. In a country like Newfoundland, shut out for some months, in a great measure, from the rest of the world, scarcity of provisions is the most terrible calamity that can possibly occur. Had the magazines not been saved from the fire which took place in winter, the inhabitants, it is believed, would have inevitably starved.

It is not probable that Newfoundland will ever again experience such distress; and St John's appears to have surmounted the destruction to which it was subjected. The houses since erected, are built in a much more comfortable style than formerly, although

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the streets and lanes are still irregular, and, in wet weather, extremely dirty. Without some form of municipal corporate government, having the power of making by-laws for the management of all matters connected with the town, little improvement of any consequence can be expected.*

The situation of St John's, its excellent harbour, combining safety of access, and the means of being easily defended, its most convenient position for the chief town of a great fishing colony, and its being the seat of the government and the supreme court, are sufficient considerations to grant it a charter for its government and improvement. In this opinion, most of those whom I know, either residing in the colony or in connexion with it, concur.

The public and government buildings are of considerable importance; but have little elegance to recommend them to notice, unless the immense house now in the course of finishing, intended as a residence for the governor, be an exception. It is considered a most extravagant building, and certainly too large for any establishment that is likely to be necessary at Newfoundland.

The custom-house, the Episcopal church, and

* It is utterly impossible, in acts of parliament, to provide for the local improvements necessary in a town situated in a distant colony. In the provisions of an act passed in 1820, for regulating the rebuilding of St John's after the fires, there is a clause, which directs that, where wooden buildings are erected, the streets must be fifty feet wide, and forty feet where stone houses are built. The consequence is, that one house is pitched ten feet farther forward than another.

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the other places of worship, are plain buildings, but answer sufficiently well for the population, and the condition of a society not very permanent. On the south side of the harbour there are but few houses, the nature of the ground forming objections to building.

In time of war St John's was a place of great importance. Vessels met there to join convoy; and many rich captures were brought in, with a number of prisoners of respectability, both ladies and gentlemen, from the French West Indies. There are a greater number of shops, and a still greater number of public houses, in proportion to its size, in St John's, than in most towns. Commodities were formerly very dear; at present shop goods are as low as in any town in America; and fresh meat, poultry, and vegetables, although not so low as on the continent, are not unreasonably dear.

The population of St John's fluctuates so frequently that it is very difficult to state its numbers, even at any one period.* Sometimes, during the fishing season, the town appears full of inhabitants; at others, it seems half deserted.

At one time they depart for the seal fishery; at another, to different fishing stations. In he fall of the year the fishermen arrive from all quarters, to settle their accounts with the merchants, and procure supplies for the winter. At this period St John's is crowded with people; swarms of whom

* Fluctuating from 10 to 15,000.

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depart for Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, to procure a livelihood in those places among the farmers during winter. Many of them never return again to the fisheries, but remain in those colonies; or often, if they have relations in the United States, and sometimes when they have not, find their way thither.

Society in St John's, particularly when we consider its great want of permanency, is in a much more respectable condition than might be expected; and the morals and social habits of the inhabitants are very different from the description of Lieutenant Chappell, (whom I very strongly suspect of arrogating more respect for himself than the best class of society would willingly acknowledge,) when he represents the principal inhabitants as having risen from the lowest fishermen, and the rest composed of turbulent Irishmen, both alike destitute of literature. The fishermen, who are principally Irishmen, are by no means altogether destitute of education: there are few of them but can read or write; and they are, in general, neither turbulent nor immoral. That they soon become in Newfoundland, as well as in all the other colonies, very different people to what they were before they left Ireland, is very certain. The cause is obvious—they are more comfortable, and they work cheerfully. When, after a fishing season of almost incredible fatigue and hardship, they return to St John's, and meet their friends and acquaintances, they indulge, it is true, in drinking and idleness for a short time; and, when the life they follow

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is considered, we need not be surprised that they do so, especially in a place where rum is as cheap as beer is in England.*

For many years the officers of government and the merchants returned before winter to England; but since the appointment of a resident governor, there has been a more permanent state of society. It must be acknowledged, that some of the inhabitants who have made fortunes in the country were, and it is much to their credit, formerly fishermen; and these men are fully as polished in their manners, and equally as intelligent, as many of the principal merchants in London, or in any of the other great trading towns in the United Kingdom, who did not in early life receive a liberal education. A great majority of the merchants at St John's, as well as the agents who represent the principal houses, are men who received a fair education, in the mother country, for all the purposes of utility and the general business of life, and are certainly as intelligent as any merchants in the world. This observation will be found perfectly just, if applied to the merchants and principal inhabitants in all the British colonies. The amusements of St John's are much the same as in the colonies hereafter described.

There are three weekly newspapers published at

* Mr Morris, of St John's, has, with great correctness, in a letter to Lord Bexley on the state of society, religion, morals, and education at Newfoundland, described the character of the inhabitants. Pp. 76, London, 1827.

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St John's; and there is also a book society. A seminary was established in 1802, for educating the poor, at which about three hundred children, Protestants and Roman Catholics, are educated. It was established, I believe, principally through Lord Gambier, then the admiral on the station.

The Benevolent Irish Society, established in 1806 by Colonel Murray, afterwards governor of Demerara, and James Macbraire, Esq., then a merchant of eminence at St John's, but since retired to the banks of the Tweed, has extended the most beneficial relief to the aged and infirm; and has also diffused the benefits of education among the children of the poorer classes, by supporting a school in which from 200 to 300 of both sexes are instructed. A respectable school-house is now erecting by the society, to contain from 700 to 800 children.

An institution was formed last year (1828) at St John's, called, "The Association of Newfoundland Fishermen and Shoremen." In a country like Newfoundland, where the means which the labouring classes have to depend upon for subsistence are to be obtained from the casual success of the fisheries, no society or institution was more indispensable than this. Its object is to relieve individuals in distress, and to improve their moral conduct. To prevent the fishermen and shoremen from squandering their wages, a kind of savings bank has been established; and the subscriptions of the more wealthy are also added to the funds of the institution. The most that is to be allowed for individuals, is

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nine shillings per week, and in case of death, L.5 to defray funeral expenses.

There are, except in the immediate vicinage of St John's, no roads in Newfoundland. Whether the condition and circumstances of the colony warrant the opening of roads to all the settlements, is questionable; but I certainly think that a few roads are necessary, to open a communication between Conception and Trinity Bays, and between Conception and Placentia, St Mary's, and Fortune Bays. It would be sufficient for some years to make what are called, on the continent of America, bridle-roads, which would in winter answer for sledge-roads. Carriage-roads in summer would, at least for the present, be unnecessary. There is now a tolerable road from St John's to Portugal Cove in Conception Bay, and a path-road to a few other places.

The Great Bank of Newfoundland is the most extensive sub-marine elevation that we know to exist in any ocean. Various theories and conjectures have been hazarded, in order to account for its formation. Some believe it was formerly an immense island, which had sunk, in consequence of its pillars or foundation having been loosened by an earthquake. Others, that it has been created by the gradual accumulation of sand carried along by the gulf stream, and arrested here by meeting with the currents of the north. It is, in some places, five degrees, or about 200 miles broad, and about 600 miles in length. The soundings on it are from twenty-five to ninety-five fathoms. The whole appears to be a mass of

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solid rock; its edges are abrupt, and deepen suddenly from twenty-five to ninety-five fathoms. In one place, laid down as rough fishing-ground, the soundings are only from ten to twenty fathoms. The Cape Race, or Virgin Rocks, near the inner edge of this bank, have been lately surveyed by one of his Majesty's ships, and their position laid down correctly. These have always been considered dangerous, though seldom seen; and although there is about four fathoms on the shoalest, yet, during a heavy sea, a ship would be immediately dashed to pieces on them.

The best fishing-grounds on this bank are between the latitudes of 42° and 46° N. The outer bank, or Flemish Cap, appears to be a continuation of the grand bank, at a lower elevation. The soundings between them, for about 100 miles, are from 120 to 218 fathoms.

The outer bank lies within the longitudes of 44° 15′, and 45° 25′ W., and the latitudes of 44° 10′ and 47° 30′ N. The soundings on it are from 100 to 160 fathoms. From the great bank, to Nova Scotia, a continuation of banks succeed.

Those perpetual fogs that hang over the banks, and hover along the coasts of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, are caused by the meeting of the tropical waters brought along by the gulf stream, with the waters carried down by the influence of the winds from the polar regions.

These currents come in contact with each other on the banks of Newfoundland, and form those eternal fogs, by the difference of their temperatures, and

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that of their atmospheres, producing the two effects of evaporation and condensation. Unless it blows *hard*, there is not by any means a heavy sea on the bank, as is generally represented, except within a few miles of the edges, where there is a perpetually rough sea, with a cold, thick, and piercing fog. A thermometer will as certainly ascertain the moment a ship is over the bank, as the sounding lead; the temperature of the water being 10° to 12° Fahrenheit colder than that of the surrounding sea.

Along the coast of America, within the gulf stream, there is a strong counter-current; and in making an outward voyage, navigators think it advantageous to keep in its track. The current of the gulf stream is so powerful, that it retards, on an outward voyage, the progress of a ship from forty to sixty miles a-day, while, on a homeward voyage, it increases the rate of sailing so much, that sailors term returning from America to Europe, "*going down hill.*"

Conception Bay, which enters Newfoundland about twenty miles north of St John's, is fifty-three miles deep from Point de Grates on the west side, and thirty-eight miles from Cape St Francis on the east, to *Holyrood*, and about twenty miles broad. The shores of this inlet are bold and mountainous. The headlands and coast between the numerous harbours or bays within it, are rugged and precipitous. In regard to population, (about 22,000,) opulence of the inhabitants, and enterprise of the fishermen, it must be considered the first district in Newfoundland.

It received its name from Gaspar de Corte Real, a

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Portuguese navigator of distinguished family, who made a voyage to Newfoundland in 1561. It has several settlements on the west side, from Point de Grates to the bottom of the bay: the principal are Carbonier and Harbour Grace.

Carbonier is an important fishing-station; but the harbour is not equal to Harbour Grace, being more exposed. The whole of the west coast of Conception Bay, particularly that part called the North Shore, is very much exposed to easterly winds. In 1775, all the vessels belonging to Harbour Grace and Carbonier were driven on shore; and one hundred or more boats were impelled into one cove, where they were dashed to pieces against the rocks, and all the crews perished.

Harbour Grace is a safe, but rather intricate harbour, having a *spit* nearly across the entrance; but it has a remarkably fine beach, which is a great convenience for the fishery. Its population is said to be near 5000. There are a respectable school and some other public buildings here. There is a church, in which the Episcopal missionary officiates; a large Catholic chapel, with a high steeple, detached; and Presbyterian and Methodist meeting-houses. Also, a weekly newspaper is printed in this place.

Between Harbour Grace and Holyrood, at the head of the bay, there are numerous settlements in the coves and bays that separate a succession of perpendicular cliffs, and wild rugged promontories.

The only settlement of consequence on the east side of Conception Bay, is Portugal Cove. It is a

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bad harbour, exposed to the westerly winds; and when it blows from that direction, the fishermen are obliged to haul up their boats on the beach. It is ten miles by a road across the peninsula to St John's; and a communication is kept up with the west side of the bay, by a packet, which plies between Portugal Cove and Harbour Grace.

Belle Isle, situated in Conception Bay, two or three miles from Portugal Cove, is about six miles long, and its soil is a fine rich black mould, without rocks or stones.

Trinity Bay nearly separates the old province of Avalon from the rest of Newfoundland. It is about seventy miles deep, and from twenty to twenty-five miles broad. It contains a vast number of bays, harbours, and coves, several small islands, and one about twenty miles long on the west side, called Random Island. The names of the almost innumerable places within this great bay would puzzle the most genuine *root-catcher* that ever existed. Trinity Harbour is the principal settlement.

Bonavista Bay, so named by Cabot, next to, and north west of, Trinity, is upwards of forty miles broad, about the same depth, full of bays and inlets, and abounding in rocks and islands. It has some valuable fishing establishments.

West of Bonavista is Gander Bay, opposite which is Fogo Island, formerly frequented by the Red Indians, and on which there is now several extensive mercantile establishments.

Exploits Bay is a broad bay, full of islands, the

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largest of which is New World Island, close to which is Twillingate, the most northerly of the English settlements. This bay, and its river—which is the largest in Newfoundland—have been the scenes of various rencounters with the Red Indians, from which circumstance the name of Exploits is said to have been given.

The bays of Notre Dame, White Bay, and Hare Bay, situated between Exploits Bay and the northernmost point of Newfoundland, are deep gulfs, with numerous harbours and islands, but with few settlers.

The whole of the west coast of Newfoundland, north of the bay of St George, is unsettled, although some of the lands are the best on the island. At the bay of Port au Port there is plenty of coal. The Bay of Islands receives three fine rivers, one of which, called the Humber, runs out of a large lake.* Farther north is Bonne Bay, which branches into two arms; and then follow several small coves, bays, and rivers, for about sixty miles, where the Bay of Ignorachoix, containing three harbours, enters the island.

A few miles nearer the strait of Belle Isle, St John's Bay is situated, containing several islands, and receiving the waters of Castor river, which flows through about thirty miles of country. The lands about this bay are mountainous. The coast, for about thirty miles north, is indented with small

* This lake is only known to the Indians, who describe it as sixty miles long. There is a dark-grey marble found at Bay of Islands.

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rivers, and numerous minor inlets; and then, along the strait of Belle Isle to Cape Norman, the most north-westerly point of Newfoundland, a straight shore prevails, along which an old Indian path is observable.

Several of the harbours north of Cape John were formerly resorted to, during the fishing season, by the fishermen from Conception Bay, before the French were allowed the privilege of those parts.

Between St John's and Cape Race, the principal settlements and harbours are Bay of Bulls, Brigas, Cape Broyle harbour, Ferryland, Aqua-forte, Fermoise, and Renowes.

Bay of Bulls is a good harbour, but rather dangerous. Sunken rocks render a pilot necessary. In 1796, Admiral Richery destroyed several of the stores and houses. It is rather populous, and a respectable business was once carried on here by the merchants. A foot-path leads from it to St John's, a distance of twenty-seven miles. It is, however, a dangerous road, and crosses several fords, over which two or three false steps would be attended with destruction; yet, in 1762, the French, by this route, proceeded to and took St John's.

Ferryland is the oldest place in Newfoundland, and there is a considerable extent of the surrounding land under cultivation, planted originally by Lord Baltimore. It was for many years the residence of the Lords of Avalon and their deputies; and it is said that for some time it became the seat of the trans-Atlantic muses.

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It is at present tolerably well settled, has places of worship, schools, and some respectable mercantile establishments. The Isle of Boys, near this place, was fortified in 1761 as a place of refuge, while the French had possession of St John's.

Trepassy (formerly called Abram Trepaza) is a bay between Cape Race and Cape Freels. On the west side there is a good harbour. The eastern shores are dangerous to approach. Several families are settled here, who subsist by means of fishing, raising a few cattle, and a little cultivation.

West of Trepassy Bay, opening to the south, are three great bays, namely, St Mary's, Placentia, and Fortune. These have within them countless harbours and islands, and contain a scattered, but altogether a numerous, population.

St Mary's Bay has several settlements and extensive cod-fisheries. A salmon-fishery is also carried on. This bay is more than thirty miles deep, and from fifteen to twenty broad. The distance between Salmon river, at its head, to Holyrood, at the head of Conception Bay, is about ten miles, and from Collinet, another branch, to Trinity Bay, about eight miles.

Placentia Bay is also full of harbours and islands. It is about sixty miles deep, and about forty-five miles broad from Cape St Mary's to Corbin Head, and from twenty to thirty miles broad at different places farther up. There is excellent cod-fishing in this bay; salmon abound in its rivers, and herring, &c., frequent it, as well as all these bays, periodically.

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The lands are rugged and barren, and the shores are lined with islands and rocks, among which, however, there are many excellent harbours. There are five or six extensive establishments in this bay.

Placentia, on the east side of the bay, was the chief settlement planted by the French in Newfoundland. They had it strongly fortified, and endeavoured at that time to drive the English altogether out of the fisheries. One hundred and fifty ships can lie in safety within the harbour, the entrance of which only admits one vessel at a time. There is a great strand or beach between two hills, sufficiently extensive for sixty ships to cure and dry their fish on. From the head of Placentia Bay to Trinity, the isthmus which connects the peninsula of Avalon to the main body of Newfoundland is low, and little more than three miles over. The fishermen haul their skiffs across.

Fortune Bay is from sixty-five to seventy miles deep, and twenty to thirty broad; it contains innumerable harbours, and many islands and rocks. The lands are bleak, rugged, and barren. There are several fishing establishments within this bay, for which, and for no other purpose, nature has adapted it. Here one of the most extensive houses in Newfoundland carries on a whale-fishery with boats,* as well as a most extensive cod-fishery. The coast between

* A vast number of hump-back whales, which yield from three to eight tons of oil each, have been taken this season, 1830, by the fishermen belonging to this establishment.

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Fortune Bay and St George's Bay has been already generally described.

The islands of St Pierre and Mequelon, ceded in 1814 to France, lie off the mouth of Fortune Bay. Langley, although laid down on the maps as a separate island, and appears as such from the sea, is, however, connected to Mequelon by a sand beach.* St Peter's has the only harbour which is the rendezvous of the French ships, and where they have built a town since the peace. Here the French governor resides, and it is the head-quarters of the French fisheries. These islands are rugged, and produce nothing but shrubs, moss, and grass. Ptarmigan, or white partridges, abound on them; and the most plentiful cod-fishing surrounds their shores.

* In 1825, on my homeward passage from America, we were nearly driven ashore, in a gale of wind, on the west side of Mequelon. I asked the captain if we could not run through the passage, which appeared by the chart to separate Langley and Mequelon. He replied, that he had formerly landed on those islands, and walked several times across the beach from Mequelon to Langley; but that, during stormy weather and high tides, the sea flowed between them.

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CHAPTER V.

Strait of Belle Isle—Continent of Labrador—Anticosti—Magdalene Islands.

THE strait of Belle Isle, so named from the island called North Belle Isle, at the Atlantic entrance, separates Newfoundland from Labrador and the continent of America. This strait is about fifty miles long, and twelve broad; is deep, and safe as a passage to and from the Gulf of St Lawrence, but, from not being much frequented, is disliked by most masters of large merchant ships. There are no harbours on the coast of Newfoundland facing it; and those on the Labrador coast are not considered safe, except the havens near the north and south extremities. For schooners and fishing craft, there is, in every direction along the Labrador coast, safe and convenient shelter.

The coast of Labrador, in consequence of the extensive fisheries carried on in its harbours by the merchants of Newfoundland, and being under the same government, is more intimately connected with that colony than with any other part of America.

Gaspar de Corte Real* named the northern part,

* This navigator either perished afterwards on the coast, or he and his crew were murdered by the Esquimaux.

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in 1561, Terra Verde, or Greenland, and the southern part he called Terra Labrador, or Terra Agricolæ, thinking the latter fit for cultivation. It was altogether, for some time after, called, after him, Terra Corterealis, which name has, however, long been supplanted by that of Labrador.

This vast country, equal in square miles to France, Spain, and Germany, has not a resident population of 4000 inhabitants, including the natives and Moravians.

Its surface is as sterile and naked as any part of the globe. Rocks, swamps, and water, are its prevailing features; and in this inhospitable country, which extends from 50° to 64° north latitude, and from the longitude of 56° west on the Atlantic, to that of 78° west on Hudson's Bay, vegetation only appears as the last efforts of expiring nature. Small scraggy poplar, stunted firs, creeping birch, and dwarf willows, thinly scattered in the southern parts, form the whole catalogue of trees; herbs and grass are also, in sheltered places, to be met with; but, in the most northerly parts, different varieties of moss, and lichens, are the only signs of vegetation.

The climate is, in severity, probably as cold as at the poles of the earth, and the summer is of short duration. Yet, with all these disadvantages, this country, which is, along its coasts, indented with excellent harbours, and which has its shores frequented by vast multitudes of fishes, is of great importance to Great Britain. The whole of the interior of Labrador appears, from the aspect of what has been

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explored, and from the reports of the Esquimaux and other Indians, to be broken up with rivers, lakes, and rocks. The wild animals are principally bears, wolves, foxes, and otters; beavers and deer are not numerous, but their furs are remarkably close and beautiful.

Insects are, during the short space of hot weather, numerous in swampy places. In winter they exist in a frozen state; and in this condition, when introduced to the influence of solar heat, or the warmth of fire, are soon restored to animation.

The phenomenon of aurora borealis is uncommonly brilliant in Labrador; and I have no doubt that it possesses, from the increased and increasing variation of the compass, a most powerful magnetic influence; but this I leave to the determination of the speculative philosopher. Minerals are said to abound in Labrador, but very little is known either of its geology or mineralogy.

During the fishing season, from 280 to 300 schooners proceed from Newfoundland to the different fishing-stations on the coast of Labrador, where about 20,000 British subjects are employed for the season. About one-third of the schooners make two voyages, loaded with dry fish, back to Newfoundland during the summer; and several merchant vessels proceed from Labrador with their cargoes direct to Europe, leaving, generally, full cargoes for the fishing vessels to carry to Newfoundland. A considerable part of the fish of the second voyage is in a green or pickled state, and dried afterwards at New-

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foundland. Eight or nine schooners from Quebec frequent the coast, having on board about 80 seamen and 100 fishermen. Some of the fish caught by them is sent to Europe, and the rest carried to Quebec; besides which, they carry annually about L.6000 worth of furs, oil, and salmon, to Canada.

From Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but chiefly from the former, 100 to 120 vessels resort to Labrador: the burden of these vessels may amount to 6000 or 7000 tons, carrying about 1200 seamen and fishermen. They generally carry the principal part of their cargoes home in a green state.

One-third of the resident inhabitants are English, Irish, or Jersey servants, left in charge of the property in the fishing rooms, and who also employ themselves, in the spring and fall, catching seals in nets. The other two-thirds live constantly at Labrador, as furriers and seal-catchers, on their own account, but chiefly in the former capacity, during winter; and all are engaged in the fisheries during summer. Half of these people are Jerseymen and Canadians, most of whom have families.

From 16,000 to 18,000 seals are taken at Labrador in the beginning of winter and in spring. They are very large, and the Canadians, and other winter residents, are said to feast and fatten on their flesh. About 4000 of these seals are killed by the Esquimaux. The whole number caught produce about 350 tons of oil,—value about L.8000.

There are six or seven English houses, and four or five Jersey houses, established at Labrador, uncon-

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nected with Newfoundland, who export their fish and oil direct to Europe. The quantity exported last year to the Mediterranean, was about

To England, about	50,000 qtls. cod fish, at 10s.	L.25,000
	900 tierces salmon, at 60s.	2,700
	200 tons cod oil, -	4,000
	200 do. seal do. - -	4,500
	Furs, - - -	3,000
		L.39,200
By Newfoundland houses,	20,000 qtls. cod fish, at 10s.	10,000
	300 tierces salmon, at 60s.	900
	Total direct export from Labrador,	L.50,100
Produce sent direct to Newfoundland from Labrador,—		
	24,000 qtls. cod fish, 9s. best quality, - -	10,800
	300,000 qtls. cod fish, - - - -	127,500
	1,500 tons cod oil, at L.18, - - - -	27,000
	Salmon, &c. - - - - -	3,000
	Fish, &c. sent to Canada, about - -	10,000
	Do. carried to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, should be in value at least	50,000
	Estimated value of the produce of Labrador, exclusive of what the Moravians send to London,* -	L.278,400

The Labrador fishery has, since 1814, increased more than sixfold, principally in consequence of our fishermen being driven from the grounds now occupied by the French.

* These statements are made at the most depressed prices, and not at the average prices, which would increase the gross value to L.312,400. The Americans of the United States had this year (1829) about 500 vessels, and 15,000 men, employed on the coast, and their "catch" amounted to 1,100,000 quintals fish, and about 3000 tons oil: value altogether, about L.610,000.

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The Moravians, whose principal settlement on the coast of Labrador is at Nain, have a ship annually from London, which leaves the Thames in May or June, and arrives at Nain in July, from whence it returns in September, laden with a valuable cargo of furs, oils, &c. for London. My enquiries respecting these people have not been very successful. They fixed themselves in three different harbours of Labrador, about the middle of the last century: their intercourse with, and settlements at, Greenland, led them to this region. Their habits are simple, and the quiet and unobserved life they lead, is of a nature which leaves to few in America, or elsewhere, the knowledge of their existence. Their trade is wholly with the Esquimaux, in the way of bartering coarse cloths, powder, shot, guns, and edge tools, for furs, oils, &c.*

On the British resorting to Labrador, after it was annexed to Newfoundland, some regulations were made, in order to purchase the lands from the Indians for the King of Great Britain. If such arrangement was entered into, it must have passed unobserved, and there could be little difficulty in purchasing any right which the miserable Esquimaux would maintain.

Of all the tribes which have been discovered on the shores of America, the Esquimaux are the most filthy, disgusting, and miserable. They form an exception in their appearance, stature, and manner

* I have had no opportunity of seeing the Moravians; and the above account was given me by a gentleman at Labrador, connected with the customs.

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of living, to all the other tribes. The Greenlanders are said to speak the same language, and to resemble them in shape and appearance; and in stature they resemble the Laplanders. They may possibly be of Northmen or European origin. All the other Indian tribes despise and hate them. They are thinly scattered along the coast of Labrador, and the arctic shores north-west of Hudson's Bay. The greatest number of them in any one place appears to be at Invutoke Inlet, or Esquimaux Bay, on the Atlantic coast of Labrador, where there are about two hundred and fifty. The Canadians and others residing at Labrador, employ the Esquimaux in catching fish, &c. They have neither the pride nor the spirit of the other savage tribes, but they are equally as cruel. It is said, that on the death of the mother of a child not sufficiently strong to take care of itself, the latter is put to death, and buried with the former. I have not sufficient proof to state that this is positively the case, but many circumstances induce me to believe it to be a fact.

There is a court held at Labrador during summer, from which appeals lie to the supreme court of St John's. An armed vessel visits, and continues generally along the coast during the greater part of the fishing season.

ANTICOSTI.

This island is now under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland. Its name is said to be derived from an

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Indian word, Natiscoti, but it is more likely from the Spanish Antecuesta. It is situated in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and near the entrance of that great river. It is within the latitudes of 49° 5′ and 49° 55′, and longitudes of 61° 54′ and 65° 30′. The whole of its north coast is high, and without harbours. The rocks that present themselves are calcareous, and contain various animal petrifactions.

The water, close to the cliffs, is very deep; and there are some coves where vessels may take shelter with the wind blowing off the land. The south shore is low; the lands wet and swampy, and covered with birch and fir-trees. There is a bar harbour near the west point, which will admit small vessels. It can scarcely be said that this island has any rivers, if that called Jupiter river be not an exception. On the south the water is shoal, but the soundings are regular; flat rocky reefs extend a considerable distance from the east, west, and some other points; sandy downs line a great part of the south coast, within which there are lagoons or ponds, filled by small streams running into them from the interior. During stormy weather and high tides, the sea frequently makes its way over the sands into these lagoons, out of which, also, there are small streams running into the gulf. Shipwrecks have frequently occurred along the shores of Anticosti; and the crews have, in many instances, perished after landing, from severe cold, and want of food.*

* The fate of the crews of three ships wrecked on this island,

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Government has established a station, with a family, at each end of the island, and posts, without inhabitants, along the shore, with directions to persons who have escaped from shipwreck where to proceed.

Of the interior of this island we know but little. It is covered with woods, chiefly dwarf spruce, white cedar, birch, and poplar: the trees appear to be all of low and stunted growth. Near the shore the land appears unfit for cultivation. A few spots of tolerable soil are, it is true, met with; but the want of harbours, and the severity of the climate, are insuperable objections to its settlement. It is a seignory, being formerly under the government of Canada, and belongs, I believe, to a private family at Quebec. The Indians, who, on their hunting excursions, have penetrated into the interior, have informed me that the lands are swampy or wet, with the exception of a few hills.

Bears, foxes, hares, and sables, are very numerous. Partridges, snipes, curlews, plovers, &c. abound.

in the fall of 1828, on their homeward passage, must have either been attended by the most revolting sufferings, or they must have been murdered by a piratical gang, who are said to infest the place. The mutilated and disjointed bodies, some parts of which were found salted in a chest, discovered in the hut which those unfortunate men had erected, led to the conclusion that those who survived longest lived on the flesh of the dead. The results of a Captain Rayside's enquiries, who commanded the government brig Kingfisher on the coast last summer, seem to warrant the belief that they were murdered by pirates, and their bodies mutilated for the purpose of creating suspicion that they died of famine, and devoured each other.

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MAGDALEN ISLANDS.

This cluster of islands is situated within the Gulf of St Lawrence, seventy-three miles distant from Newfoundland, sixty miles from Prince Edward Island, and sixty-five miles from Cape Breton. They are the property of Sir Isaac Coffin, who appears to take very little interest in them.* The inhabitants, about 500 in number, are Acadian French, who live principally by means of fishing. In the month of April, they go in their shallops among the fields of ice that float in the gulf, in quest of seals; and in summer, they employ themselves in fishing for herring and cod.

The soil of these islands is a light sandy loam, resting on freestone. It yields barley, oats, and potatoes; and wheat would likely grow, but the quantity of soil fit for cultivation, is no more than the fishermen require for potato gardens, and a little pasture. Some parts are covered with spruce, birch, and juniper-trees; others are formed into sandy downs, producing bent grass: cranberries, juniper berries, and various other wild fruits, are very abundant.

A few miles to the north, Brion and Bird Islands are situated. Multitudes of aquatic birds frequent

* Since the above was written, the worthy baronet, it is said, has taken measures to direct the application of the rents which may be derived from these islands, to the support of a number of his relatives in the American navy.

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them for the purpose of hatching. I have seen shallops loaded with eggs, in bulk, which were brought from these islands to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, for sale.

The Magdalen Islands are under the government of Canada,* and the inhabitants are amenable to the courts of Quebec, 600 miles distant; a most inconvenient regulation, when they are so much nearer Prince Edward Island.

There is a chapel, in which a priest sent from Quebec officiates. Plentiful fishing banks, of which the Americans of the United States derive the principal advantage, abound in every direction near these islands.

* Annexed to that government in 1809, by 49 Geo. III. cap. 27.

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CHAPTER VI.

Characteristics of the Inhabitants—Pursuits, &c.—Manner of Killing Seals—Shore Fishery—Bank Fishery, &c.

THE leading features of the character of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, both at St John's and all the out-harbours, are, honesty, persevering industry, hardy contempt of danger and fatigue, and a laudable sense of propriety in moral and religious duties. For upwards of twenty years, not more than four malefactors were sentenced to die. "A few months' imprisonment was the greatest punishment inflicted for the last ten years."*

There are places of public worship in each of the out-harbours in which there is an adequate population. The religious denominations are, members of the church of England, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents, and Methodists, each of whom have clergymen among them. In the principal out-harbours, also, there are schools where the rudiments of education may be acquired. The clergymen of the established church are supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and the Methodist missionaries are supported chiefly

* Mr Morris's pamphlet.

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by their own society in England. The Catholic and Presbyterian clergymen are provided for by the voluntary contributions of their own flocks.

Religious belief at Newfoundland is equally free to all; no one interferes with his neighbour's creed; no ill-will prevails; and the estimation in which a man's religious opinions are held, depends on the correctness of his moral character, and not on the particular form of his belief. There is a titular Catholic bishop of Newfoundland at St John's, and a vicar-general at Harbour Grace. Candour requires me to say, that the Catholic clergy of Newfoundland guard with incessant vigilance, the morals of those who profess their religion, while, at the same time, they maintain a spirit of friendly feeling towards the clergymen of other Christian denominations.*

Colonists, it may always be observed, retain many of the customs and habits of their ancestors; and some customs still prevail in Newfoundland that are obsolete in Europe, among which, saluting the bride may be noticed. This custom was once fashionable in Europe, and is said to be derived from the Roman method of detecting women secretly addicted to drunkenness.

The inhabitants are employed, the majority wholly, and the rest occasionally, in the fisheries. Feeding cattle and a few sheep, and cultivating small spots of land, are also partial sources of occupation. The women, besides affording great assistance to the men

* Note B.

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during the process of curing fish, make themselves useful in planting gardens, and gathering the productions of the soil. In all domestic duties they are correct and attentive; and they manufacture the small quantity of wool they have among them, into strong worsted stockings, mittens, and socks.

Capital offences are exceedingly rare, and petty thefts are scarcely known, while property is seldom secured by locked doors, as in the United Kingdom.

In the winter season, much of the time of the inhabitants is occupied in bringing home fuel. Boats for the fishery are also constructed at this time; and poles, &c. for fish flakes, are, or should be, provided.

Marriages and christenings are celebrated in the fall, when the labours of the fisheries are ended, or sometimes in the spring, previous to the fishery commencing. These are always times of festivity, when the neighbours are invited to partake of the best, and enjoy themselves with singing and dancing. The young men distinguish the occasion by the firing of guns.

Funeral ceremonies are also conducted with some kind of parade. It is considered decent that both the Protestant and Catholic clergymen meet together at the house of the deceased; and it is accounted indecorous in any of the neighbours not attending the funeral, although invitations are not sent. Cakes, cheese, wine, and spirits, are laid out for those who choose to partake of them. The funeral procession then, with decorous solemnity, moves on to the graveyard, and after the service, they return to the house

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of the deceased, where they separate. In thinly-settled and healthy countries, the number of deaths are so few, that the decease of any of the inhabitants is attended with a feeling of melancholy unknown in populous towns, except among the immediate relations of the deceased. Waking the dead is also general among the Irish labourers; and they observe the same customs and festivities at Christmas and at Easter, as have long been common in Ireland.

St Patrick's day, and Sheelagh's day (the saint's wife) the day following, are occasions on which the mass of the Newfoundland Irish revel in the full glory of feasting and drinking. They are certainly at those periods beyond any control; and they completely forget themselves, fighting and drinking, until they are overcome by the one, or laid up by the other.*

Their conduct, on these occasions, has been much reprobated. It would be well for themselves not to indulge in such excesses. But when we consider the hard labour to which they apply themselves during the year, and the terrible dangers they are about to encounter among the ice, immediately after the feast of their darling saint, and take also into account the associations connected with the customs of their mother country, we must make very liberal allowances for them,

Various customs, common to the different places from which the present inhabitants or their ancestors came, are still kept up at Christmas. Dinners,

* These excesses have become less frequent.

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dances, and Christmas-boxes, are not forgotten; the "Yule log" is burnt, and the ceremony of lighting it is attended with firing of guns before the door.

Among the labouring classes, as is common among all whose minds are not raised, by education, above superstition, a belief in apparitions prevails, and they delight in relating ghost stories, or whatever is marvellous.

The manners of the people of Newfoundland mix and alter from local circumstances, and the intercourse and intermarriages of the inhabitants, who are either English, Scotch, Irish, natives of Guernsey and Jersey, or their descendants.

Celibacy is uncommon among them. There are few families in which there are not from five to twelve children.

The fishermen's houses are one story high, built of wood growing on the island, and covered with boards and shingles imported from Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick. It was long customary to erect the walls with upright posts stuck in the ground; but an improvement prevails by building the wooden walls on a stone foundation. Sometimes an additional building is joined, called a "lean-to," which is either in one room—a kind of parlour—or is divided into sleeping rooms. There is usually not more than one large fire-place, which is in the kitchen, and around which, in winter, all the inmates of the house assemble when the labours of the day are over. In the chimneys, they smoke their salmon, or hang up the hams of

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the pigs reared on the island. On each side of the chimney there are often benches with coops underneath for poultry, which, from the warmth of the dwelling, lay eggs all winter.

The usual diet of the people is made up of biscuit, potatoes and fish, salt pork, and bohea tea. Spruce beer is a very common and excellent beverage, particularly for people who live so much on fish and salt meat.

The process of making it is simple. A few black spruce branches are chopped into small pieces, and put into a pot containing six or eight gallons of water, and then boiled for several hours. The liquor is then strained, and put into a cask that will contain eighteen gallons. Molasses is added in the proportion of one gallon to eighteen; a part of the grounds of the last brewing, and a few hops, if at hand, are also put in; and the cask, filled up with cold water, is left to ferment, and in twenty-four hours, becomes fit for use. Spirits are frequently mixed with spruce beer, to make the drink named Callibogus. From the cheapness of rum, the labouring people, though by no means generally, acquire habits of excessive drinking, which they have only resolution to resist by swearing, by the Cross or the Gospel, that they will not taste rum, or spirits of any kind. This act is called Kegging, extending to one or more years, and often for life.

The inhabitants are generally very healthy; but, from living so much on fish and other oily food, fevers or small-pox, when imported into the island from other

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places, are generally fatal, and occasion great mortality. Consumptions do not appear to be so frequent as on the continent of America.

The air, though rare and cold, seems to invigorate the constitutions of the people; and their strength in old age, when we consider the life of unremitting labour which they necessarily lead, is surprising. Men and women, at the age of eighty, are frequently observed attending the fish flakes.

The great and primary business of the people of Newfoundland, is that of pursuing and catching the inhabitants of the ocean. If habit, as is generally allowed, becomes nature, the Newfoundlanders are naturally, from their pursuits, certainly the most adventurous and fearless men in the world. Courage and industry, which certainly prevail, are to them absolutely necessary.

The seal fishery, as it is generally termed, has only become important within the last few years. It is little more than thirty years since the first vessels ventured among those formidable fields of ice that float from the northern regions, during the months of March, April, and May, down to the coast of Newfoundland.

Those who are acquainted with the terrific grandeur of the lofty islands and mountains of ice, covering often from two to three hundred miles of the ocean, and occasionally arrested by the coasts or shoals, will admit that it requires as much intrepidity to brave the dangers of such a scene, as to encounter a military fortification.

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From three to four hundred vessels, of from 60 to 120 tons each, with crews of from sixteen to thirty men, have of late years been fitted out and sent from the different parts of Newfoundland to the seal fishery. They are always prepared for sea with necessary stores and fire-arms, poles to defend them from the ice, &c., before the Feast of St Patrick. Immediately after, the crews at the harbours, then frozen over, collect together, with all assistance from the shoremen, and, dividing themselves into two rows on the ice, and provided with hatchets, large saws, and strong poles, fix on two lines far enough separate to allow their largest schooners to pass. Each party cuts along the line, and divides the solid mass between them into squares, which are shoved with the poles under the firm ice; continuing this laborious operation until a channel is opened to the sea. The vessels then proceed to the field ice, pushing their way through the openings, or working to windward of it, until they meet with the herds of seals that accompany the ice. Where these occur, the part on which they are, is called seal meadows. These animals are surprised by the seal hunters while they are sleeping on the ice, and attacked with firelocks, or with strong bludgeons, which are considered preferable. But the hunters have frequently to shoot the large ones, which will turn upon the men, and make resistance. The piteous moan and cry of the young ones during the slaughter, require more than common nerves to disregard. The hooded

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seals will draw their hoods, which are shot-proof, over their heads.

The skins, with the fat surrounding the bodies, are stripped off together, and the scalped carcasses left on the ice. The pelts, or scalps, are carried to the vessel, and packed closely in the hold; but the weather often is such as to leave no time to scalp the seals on the ice, and the carcasses are then carried whole to the vessel.

The situation of these vessels during the storms of snow and sleet which they have at that season inevitably to experience, is attended with fearful dangers. Many vessels have been crushed to pieces by the tremendous power of the ice closing on them, and their crews have also not unfrequently perished. Storms during night, among the ice, must be truly terrible; yet the hardy Newfoundland seal-hunters seem even to court those terribly sublime and hazardous adventures.

When the vessels are loaded with scalps, or, if unsuccessful, when the ice is scattered, and all except the islands is dissolved by the heat of the advancing summer, they return to their respective ports. Some vessels, which succeed soon after meeting the ice in filling up a cargo, make a second voyage.

The fat, or seal blubber, is separated from the skins, cut into pieces, and put into frame-work vats, through which, and small boughs inside, the oil oozes on being exposed to the heat of the sun. In three or four weeks it runs rapidly off, and becomes the seal oil of commerce.

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The vats for cod oil are made of strong planks, dove-tailed at the ends, and strengthened with iron clamps. Whatever water is mixed with the cod blubber, is afterwards allowed to run out by a plug-hole at the bottom, while the oil, floating on the top, runs off at different holes, and is guided into casks by leather spouts. The first that runs off the seal blubber is the virgin, or pale oil, and the last, the brown oil. The blubber fritters are afterwards boiled in metal cauldrons, to obtain the remaining oil from them.

The planters sell their seal-pelts to the merchants, who manufacture the oil, and ship it off in hogsheads, principally to England.*

The seal-skins are spread and salted in bulk, and afterwards packed up in bundles of five each for shipping.

Seals are still caught at Newfoundland and Labrador, on the plan first adopted, by strong nets set across such narrow channels as they are in the habit of passing through.

In the beginning of June, the cod-fishery commences. The bank fishing is now, from various causes, abandoned by the English to the Americans and French, although the political value of Newfoundland, as a nursery for seamen, depended very much on this fishery. It was carried on by vessels fitted out in England; and the people employed in it being

* It is said, that the water pumped out of vessels carrying oil, always calms the surrounding sea; and that the sea on the banks was made smooth and level during the fishing season when the bank fishery predominated.

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the greater part of the year at sea, exposed to the weather of all seasons, cold and hot, stormy and calm, wet and dry, were consequently prepared for any hardship, and ready to encounter any danger.

The bankers, or vessels fishing on the banks, usually anchor where they find plenty of cod, which they catch with lines and hooks, or occasionally with jiggers. The operations of gutting and splitting are the same as on shore; and the fish is salted in bulk in the vessel's hold, until the cargo is completed. The fish caught on the banks are larger than those caught by the boats employed in the shore fishery, but do not look so well when cured, owing to lying so long in salt before being dried. It is, however, preferred in some markets, on account of its size. At present, not more than eight or ten British vessels are employed in the bank fishery; formerly there were six or seven hundred.

The boats used for the shore fishery are of different sizes; some requiring only two hands, while others have four, which is the general number. It is not uncommon to observe boys and girls, when cod is plentiful, fishing in these boats. Every fisherman is provided with two lines, having to each two hooks; both lines are thrown over at the same time, one on each side of the boat, to which one man attends. The kind of bait in season used, is such as herring, mackerel, caplins, squid, clams, and, when none of these are to be had, the flesh of birds. The entrails of fish taken with jiggers, and what is found within them, is also used for bait. A jigger is a piece of lead made

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into the form of a small fish, with two hooks fixed into its mouth, and turned outwards in opposite directions. It is made fast to a line, which is thrown over into the sea, and by jerking it up and down, the hooks frequently fasten into the cod or other fish; the cod, which is probably the most voracious fish we know, also darts at, and swallows, the artificial fish with the hooks fastened to it. By these methods vast quantities of cod are caught. Seines are also used to catch cod; and vast numbers are hauled ashore on the coast of Labrador in this manner.

When the boats are stationed on the fishing ground, which is sometimes within the harbours, and, in the first of the season, near the shore, the men sit or stand at equal distances from the gunwales, and each attends to his own lines. So abundant are the fish at times, that a couple of cod are hooked on each line before the lead reaches the bottom; and while the one line is running out, the fisherman has only to turn round and pull in the other, with a fish on each hook. In this way they fill the boat in a very short time. If the cod be very large, it is lifted into the boat, as soon as it comes to the water's edge, by a strong iron hook fixed on the end of a short pole, called a gaft. As soon as the boat is loaded, they proceed to the stage on the shore with the fish, when the operations of splitting and salting succeed. Fish should be brought to the shore within forty-eight hours at farthest after it is caught. When plentiful, the boats often return in two or three hours, and push away

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again immediately after the fish is thrown on the stage.

The stage is a building erected on posts, jutting out into the sea far enough to allow the fishing boats to come close to its end. Generally covered over and attached to it, or rather on the same platform, is the salt-house, in which there are one or more tables, with strong wooden stools for four important personages among the shoremen, distinguished by the expressive cognomens of cut-throat, header, splitter, and salter.*

The fish is thrown with a kind of pike upon the stage, and carried generally by boys or women to the long table. The business of the cut-throat, as his name implies, is to cut, with a sharp-pointed double-edged knife, across the throat of the fish to the bone, and rip open its bowels. He then passes it quickly to the header, who, with a strong sudden wrench, pulls off the head, and tears out the entrails, passing the fish instantaneously to the splitter, and at the same moment separating the liver, precipitates the head and entrails through a hole in the platform into the sea, under the stage-floor. The splitter, with one cut, lays the fish open from head to tail, and, almost in the twinkling of an eye, with another cut takes out the sound bone, which, if the sounds are not to be preserved, he lets fall through a hole into the sea,

* The splitter is next in rank to the foreman of the fishing-rooms, who is called master voyage, and under him, receives most wages; the next in precedence and wages is the salter. The cut-throat and header are pretty much on a par.

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throwing the fish at the same moment, with the other hand, into the trudge-barrow. Such is the amazing quickness of the operations of heading and splitting, that it is not unusual to decapitate and take out the entrails and back-bones of six fish in one minute.

When the barrow is full, it is carried away immediately to the salter, and replaced by another.

The business of the salter is most important, as the value of the whole voyage depends on his care and judgment. He takes the fish out of the barrow, one by one, spreads them, with the back undermost, in layers, sprinkling a proper quantity of salt between each. The proportion of salt necessary to cure cod-fish, is generally estimated at the rate of one hogs-head to ten or twelve quintals; but much depends on the place, and the state of the weather. More salt is used for green fish, or fish remaining long in bulk, than for fish salted on shore, to be spread out to dry in a few days; and more is necessary at Labrador than at Newfoundland. Sometimes the fish is salted in vats, which requires less salt, and also increases the weight; but it does not look so well, nor is it so much esteemed in foreign markets.

In salting, the bulks must not be of too great a size, as the weight would injure the lower tiers. In bulks, the fish must remain five or six days, and in vats, four or five. It is then carried in barrows, and thrown into vats or troughs full of holes, suspended from the stage in the sea. In this vat, the washer stands up to his knees among the fish and sea-water,

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and wipes off the salt with a mop. The fish is then carried away in a barrow, and piled in a long heap, called by the unintelligible name of "water-horse," for the purpose of draining. In this state it may remain a day, before it is spread out on the flakes.

The fish then undergoes the process of drying. They are spread, heads and tails, either on hand-flakes, which are about breast high from the ground, and slightly constructed, or on broad flakes, raised on strong posts sometimes twenty feet high, with platforms of poles laid across. The latter, as being more exposed to pure air, are considered preferable. The fish is also, at times, spread out on boughs laid on the beach or ground. In the morning, it is usually spread out, with the fleshy side uppermost, and turned about mid-day, or more frequently, if the weather be hot. In the evening, they are gathered into small heaps, called "fagots," which are increased in size as the fish dries, from four or five, to twenty or more; and when nearly cured, made into large circular piles, much in the form of a hay-stack, with the upper layers always laid down, with the skin uppermost. These piles are thatched with the rinds of the spruce fir, or with tarpaulins, or circular deal frames, which are pressed down with heavy stones. After remaining some time in these piles "to sweat," as the fishermen term it, the fish is spread out again to complete the drying, and then removed into the warehouses.

As the least rain will spoil the fish, if not immediately attended to, nothing can exceed the hurry of

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men, women, and children, whenever showers come on; they abandon every other engagement, and even run, if on Sunday, out of places of worship, to collect the fish into fagots or piles.

The nature of the cod-fishery is truly precarious. Sometimes the cod is not equally abundant on all parts of the coast, and, in that case, the fishermen have often to go a great distance in quest of them, and in some cases, have to split and salt their fish in the boat. The incessant labour also, which attends the curing, leaves the shoremen scarcely time, during the season, to eat their meals, and allows them little more than four hours' sleep.

The quality of the fish is affected by the least inattention or error in curing. If the weather be hot and calm, it is affected with fly-blows, and becomes maggoty; and a few fish of this description may contaminate a whole cargo. If too much salt have been used, the fibres break in drying, and the fish easily falls to pieces. In this state, it is called salt-burnt, and is unfit for market. It is affected much in the same way when left too long exposed to the sun without turning, and is then called sun-burnt. In damp or wet weather, putrefaction is apt to commence, it then becomes slimy; or by the weather beating on it, when in piles, it sometimes takes a brownish colour, and is called dun-fish, which, although excellent for present use, is not fit for shipping.

Previous to exportation, the fish is again spread out to dry, when it is culled, or sorted, into four qualities. First, the merchantable, which are those of

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the finest colour and quality; second, Madeira, which are nearly equal to the first; third, West India fish, the refuse of all that is sufficiently cured to stand a sea voyage, without putrefying, and which, with the greater part of the Madeira, is sent for sale to the West Indies, to feed the negroes; lastly, the broken fish, dun-fish, or whatever will not keep in warm countries, but which is in general equally good for domestic consumption: mud-fish, or green-fish, is generally understood to be cod-fish, either wholly or partially split and pickled.

The sounds are generally taken from the bones and the tongues, cut out of the heads by women and children, or old men. They are pickled in kegs. The livers of cod are put into vats or puncheons, exposed to the sun, the heat of which is sufficient to render them into oil, which is drained off, and put into casks for shipping. The remaining blubber is boiled to obtain the oil it contains.

The livers taken from the number of cod that will, when dry, make up 300 quintals, ough to produce a ton of oil; but sometimes it requires double the quantity to yield a ton, while the livers of 150 quintals have been known to produce a ton.

The shore fishery is the most productive of both merchantable fish and oil. The northern fishery, now enjoyed by France, was carried on by the planters, by proceeding in schooners, with necessary stores and skiffs, to the northern harbours of Newfoundland, much in the same way as the fishery is at present conducted at Labrador, and the schooners sent back

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with the fish to the respective merchants. The last fish brought home by the vessels being, like that sent in the autumn from Labrador, green, is discharged, on its arrival, into vats, or troughs, attached to the stages, and the salt washed off, when it is thrown on the stage, and piled into a water-horse to drain, before drying. The fish cured in the northerly parts of Labrador, is chiefly prepared in the cold dry air.

The western fishery, carried forward on the west coast of Newfoundland, is also, by treaty, abandoned to the French.

Whenever the planter settles his account in the fall with his merchant, and pays the wages of his servants, he prepares for winter, laying in provisions, &c., and in the following spring he resumes the same laborious course of employment that occupied him during the preceding year.

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CHAPTER VII.

Fisheries of British America—Rise, Progress, and Present State of these Fisheries—French and United States Fisheries on the Coast of Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Gulf of St Lawrence—Vast importance of these Fisheries, if exclusively possessed by Great Britain.

THE cod fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and along the coasts of North America, commenced a few years after its discovery. In 1517, mention is made of the first English ship which had been at Newfoundland; where, at the same time, fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships were fishing. The French, in 1536, were extensively engaged in this fishery; and we find, that, in 1578, there were employed in it, by Spain one hundred ships, by Portugal fifty ships, and by England only fifteen ships.* The cause of the English having, at this period, so few ships in this branch of trade, was the fishery carried on by them at Iceland. The English ships, however, from this period, were considered the largest and best vessels, and soon became, and continued to be, the admirals. The Biscayans had, about the same time, from twenty to thirty vessels in the whale fishery at Newfoundland; and some English ships,

* Hakluyt—Herrara.

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in 1593, made a voyage in quest of whales and morses (walrus) to Cape Breton, where they found the wreck of a Biscay ship, and 800 whale fins. England had in 1615, at Newfoundland, 250 ships, amounting to 1500 tons; and the French, Biscayans, and Portuguese, 400 ships.*

From this period, the fisheries carried on by England became of great national consideration. De Witt observes, "that our navy became formidable by the discovery of the inexpressibly rich fishing bank of Newfoundland." In 1626, the French possessed themselves of, and settled at, Placentia; and that nation always viewed the English in those parts with the greatest jealousy; but still the value of these fisheries to England was fully appreciated, as appears by the various acts of Parliament passed, as well as different regulations adopted, for their protection.† Ships of war were sent out to convoy the fishing vessels, and to protect them on the coast; and the ships engaged in the fisheries, as far back as 1676, carried about twenty guns, eighteen small boats, and from ninety to a hundred men.

By the treaty of Utrecht, the value and importance of our fisheries at Newfoundland and New England is particularly regarded. The French, however, continued afterwards, and until they were deprived of all their possessions in North America, to annoy the English engaged in fishing; and in 1734, heavy

* Lex Mercatoria.

† 2d and 3d Edward VI. Acts passed during the reigns of Elizabeth, and James I., cap. 1 and 2, 10 and 11 William and Mary.

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complaints were made by the English, who had established a very extensive and profitable fishing at Canso, in Nova Scotia, against the French, who annoyed them, by every means in the power of those who commanded the fortress at Louisburg and other places in the neighbourhood.

About this period, the inhabitants of New England had about 1200 tons of shipping employed in the whale fishery; and with their vessels engaged in the cod fishery, they caught upwards of 23,000 quintals of fish, valued at twelve shillings per quintal, which they exported to Spain, and different ports within the Mediterranean, and remitted in payment for English manufactures, L.172,000.*

Notwithstanding the value of the fishery carried on by the people of New England, and the important ship fishery carried on by the English at Newfoundland, both together were of far less magnitude than the fisheries followed by the French before the conquest of Cape Breton. By these fisheries alone, the navy of France became formidable to all Europe. In 1745, when Louisburg was taken by the forces sent from New England under Sir William Pepperell and the British squadron, the value of one year's fishing in the North American seas, and which depended on France possessing Cape Breton, was stated at L.982,000.† In 1748, however, at the treaty of peace, England was obliged to restore

* Anderson on Commerce.

† Sir William Pepperell's Journal.

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Cape Breton to the French in return for Madras, which the forces of France had conquered two years before; by which means, that nation enjoyed the full advantages of the fisheries until 1759, when the surrender of Cape Breton, St John's, and Canada, destroyed the French power in North America.

By the third and fourth articles of the treaty of Fontainbleau, signed in 1762, it was agreed, "that the French shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, as specified in the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; and the French may also fish in the Gulf of St Lawrence, so that they do not exercise the same but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands in the said gulf. And as to what relates to the fishery out of the said gulf, the French shall exercise the same, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of Cape Breton. Great Britain cedes to France, to serve as a shelter for the French fishermen, the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon; and his most Christian Majesty obliges himself, on his royal word, not to fortify the said islands, nor to erect any other buildings thereon, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep no more than fifty men for their police."

In the history of the fishery, little of importance appears from this period until the commencement of the war with America, France, and Spain, which

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interrupted and checked the enterprise of the fishing adventurers.

The peace of 1783 gave the French the same advantages as they enjoyed by the treaty of Fontainbleau; and the right of fishing on all the British coasts of America was allowed to the subjects of the United States, in common with those of Great Britain, while these were denied the same privileges on the coasts of the former. In restoring to France the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon, it was contended that they were incapable of being fortified; while it is well known, that both these islands are, in an eminent degree, not only capable of being made impregnable, but that their situation alone would command the entrance to the Gulf of St Lawrence, if put into such a state of strength as it was in the power of France to put them.

After the American revolutionary war, the fisheries of British America were prosecuted in Newfoundland with energy and perseverance.

In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the herring, mackerel, and Gasperean fisheries, were followed, but only on a limited scale. At Percé and Paspapiac, in the district of Gaspé, the cod fishery was carried on with spirit by two or three houses; and the salmon fishery followed at Restigouch, and at Miramichi. The cod fishery at Arichat, on the island of Madame, was pursued by the Acadian French settled there, who were supplied by hardy and economical adventurers from Jersey. The valuable fisheries on the coasts of Nova Scotia, New

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Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, were, however, in a great measure overlooked or disregarded.

The last war with France drove the French again from the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon, and from the fisheries. At the peace of Amiens, they returned again to these islands; but were scarcely established before the war was renewed, and their vessels and property seized by some of our ships on the Halifax station. This was loudly remonstrated against by the French government.

A combination of events occurred during the late war, which raised the fisheries, particularly those of Newfoundland, to an extraordinary height of prosperity.*

Great Britain possessed, almost exclusively, the fisheries on the banks and shores of Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Gulf of St Lawrence; we enjoyed a monopoly of supplying Spain, Portugal, Madeira, different parts

* In 1814, the exports were—

1,200,000 quintals fish, at 40s.	L.2,400,000
20,000 do. core do. at 12s.	12,000
6,000 tons cod oil, at L.32,	192,000
156,000 seal-skins, at 5s.	39,000
4,666 tons seal oil, at L.36,	167,976
2,000 tierces salmon, at L.5,	10,000
1,685 barrels mackerel, at 30s.	2,527
4,000 casks caplin, sounds, and tongues,	2,000
2,100 barrels herring, at 25s.	2,625
Beavers and other furs,	600
Pine timber and planks,	800
400 puncheons berries,	2,000

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of the Mediterranean coasts, the West Indies, and South America, with fish; and our ships not only engrossed the profits of carrying this article of commerce to market, but secured the freights of the commodities which the different countries they went to exported. It was by such eminent advantages as these that the fishery flourished, and that great gains were realized both by the merchants and shipowners.

The conclusion of the war was, however, followed by a depression more ruinous to our fisheries than had ever before been experienced. The causes that arrested their prosperity did not, by any means, arise merely from the changes necessarily produced by a sudden transition from war to peace, but from those stipulations in favour of France and America, in our last treaties with those powers.*

It is very remarkable, that in all our treaties with France, the fisheries of North America were made a stipulation of extraordinary importance. The ministers of that power, at all times able negotiators, well knew the value of fisheries; not merely in a commercial view, but in respect of their being necessarily essential in providing their navy with

* The French, although we have ceded to them the exclusive right of fishing, are not permitted to become residents between Cape Ray and Cape John; and, strange to say, we have, in our excess of kindness, agreed that no British subject shall settle along that coast. When the Americans asked our permission to fish on the west coast of Newfoundland, we were under the pitiful necessity of saying we could not grant their request, as we had no right to fish there ourselves. See Chitty's Law of Commerce, for the treaty of 1816, and convention of 1818.

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that physical strength which would enable them to cope with other nations.

The policy of the French, from their first planting colonies in America, insists particularly on raising seamen for their navy by means of the fisheries. The nature of the French fishery was always such, that one-third, or at least one-fourth, of the men employed in it were "green men," or men who were never before at sea; and by this trade they bred up from 4000 to 6000 seamen annually.

Those who negotiated on the part of Great Britain, could not possibly have understood the eminent political and commercial value of the boons thus unnecessarily conceded to France and America.

With France the case was widely different. Every Frenchman acquainted with the history of his country, knew well that the sun of their naval splendour set on the day that Louisburg, the emporium of their fisheries, was taken. Neither were the Americans so ignorant of the rich treasures which abounded on the coasts of British America, as to allow the favourable moment for obtaining a participation in the fisheries to escape.

France now (1829) employs from 250 to 300 vessels in her fisheries on the British American banks and coasts, and 25,000 sea-going fishermen, who, by treaty, are bound not to become residents. The French ships are from 100 to 400 tons burden, carrying from 40 to 120 men each to and from the fisheries. These men, by experience alone, must

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become sailors. The French vessels are principally fitted out at the ports of St Malves, Bourdeaux, Brest, Marseilles, &c. Many small shallops also cross from France to the fishery station of St Pierre.

Some of the French ships make two voyages to the banks of Newfoundland, carrying the fish back to France to be cured. Others make one voyage to the banks, and when they complete a cargo, proceed with it to St Pierre, on the coast of Newfoundland, where they cure the fish. The principal part of the crews are, in the meantime, employed fishing along the shores in boats; and the fish caught by them makes up the deficiency, in weight and bulk, occasioned by drying the cargo caught on the banks. Sometimes these ships, if their cargoes are not complete, stop, on their return from the coast, to catch fish on the banks, which they carry in a wet, or green state to France.

In ceding to France the right of fishing on the shores of Newfoundland from Cape John to Cape Ray, with the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon, we gave that ambitious nation all the means that her government desired for manning a navy; and if we were determined to lay a train of circumstances, which, by their operation, should sap the very vitals of our naval strength, we could not more effectually have done so, than by granting a full participation of those fisheries to France and America.

The former power immediately availed itself of the advantages acquired, agreeably to the policy acted on at all times by the French. Bounties were,

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and are, given; which, if the fish be exported to meet us in foreign markets, is about equal to the expense of catching and curing, and which, if imported into France, is sufficient to protect against loss. No encouragement, however, is given, but with the proviso of creating seamen.

In consequence of these fisheries being now so firmly established, the bounties, I am informed, are somewhat reduced, and are at present understood to be—for shipping so employed, 24 francs, or 20s. per ton; for every green man, that is, a man who never was before at sea, seventy-five francs; on fish carried direct to other parts of Europe, or carried first to France, and thence to other parts of Europe, six francs per quintal; and if carried to the West Indies on board of French ships employed in the fisheries, twelve francs per quintal. It is also worth observing, that strict naval discipline is not lost sight of on board of the fishing vessels.

The French have other advantages besides bounties, which the British fishermen do not possess. They obtain all their articles of outfit cheaper; the wages of labour are, with them, lower; and they have also, as well as having the markets of the world open to them, a great home market.

St Pierre Island, where the governor resides, is also made a depôt for French manufactures, which are smuggled into our colonies. The ships of war that are sent from France to protect their fisheries, and all the other vessels engaged in the trade, make the harbour of this island their rendezvous. The

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extent to which the French are carrying on their fisheries, and the number of men they have employed, are extraordinary, and prove the object to be of vast importance. The great number of ships of war now in progress of building in France, and the vast number of seamen which have been rearing since 1815 to man them, show also how determined that nation is to become again a great naval power.

By the convention of 1818, the Americans of the United States are allowed to fish along all our coasts and harbours, within three marine miles of the shore, (an indefinite distance,) and of curing fish in such harbours and bays as are uninhabited, or, if inhabited, with the consent of the inhabitants. The expert and industrious Americans, ever fertile in expedients, and always alert in the produce of gain, know well how to take advantage of so profitable a concession.

From the sea-coasts of Newfoundland ceded to France, which comprehend half the shores of the island, and the best fishing grounds, our fishermen have been expelled, and driven to the necessity of resorting, from two to four hundred miles farther north, to the coast of Labrador, where they are again met by swarms of Americans.

By particular circumstances, and the better to accomplish their object, the Americans are known to be guided by one feeling, to act more in union, on arriving on the fishing coasts. They frequently occupy the whole of the best fishing banks, to the exclusion of our fishermen; and their daring aggres-

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sions have gone so far, as to drive by force our vessels and boats from their stations, and tear down the British flag in the harbours, hoisting in its place that of the United States. They are easily enabled, from their vastly superior numbers, to take all manner of advantage of our people. They frequently fish by means of seines, which they spread across the best places along the shores; and thus prevent the industry and success of the British fishermen. The crew of an American vessel, last year, which arrived on the coast of Labrador, anchored opposite a British settlement, cut the salmon net of the inhabitants, set their own in its stead, and threatened to shoot any one who approached it.

In order to take every advantage of the latitude granted them, the American vessels, during the day, when they apprehend the appearance of any of his Majesty's cruisers, anchor three miles from the shore; but as soon as night conceals their movements, they run under the lee of the land, and set their nets for herring and mackerel. Another consequence, as our fishermen contend, of the Americans being permitted to fish so near the shore, is, that the offal which they throw overboard, has the effect of driving the fish from the nearest banks, which renders the catch more difficult and distant.

The net fishing, which, by the limits of three miles, was intended to be secured to our people, the Americans are daring enough to persevere in prosecuting, while their ingenuity ensures them success,

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thus interfering with the very boat fishery of the poor men settled along the shore.*

A contraband trade, also, is carried on by the American fishing vessels, along different parts of the coast. The right of entering the harbours of our colonies for wood and water, affords an opportunity for smuggling; at which there is not in the world a people more expert than the Americans. At the Magdalen Islands, and in many parts within the Gulf of St Lawrence, at Fox Island, and other parts of Nova Scotia, and along the coasts of New Brunswick, an illicit trade is extensively persevered in. Rum, molasses, French and East India goods, and American manufactures, are bartered generally for the best fish, and often sold for specie. The French also sell brandy, wine, and French manufactures, for the best fish, to our fishermen. The consequence of this smuggling trade is, not merely the defrauding of his Majesty's revenue, but the very fish thus sold to the Americans and French, is legally and honestly due, and ought to be paid, to the British merchant, who, in the first instance, supplies the fishermen with clothes, provisions, salt, and all kinds of fishing tackle. There are, indeed, such a multiplicity of courses pursued to supplant us in these fisheries, particularly by the

* In making these remarks, I do not mean, nor should it be understood, that the American fishermen act in the way I describe, by direction, or immediate countenance, of their government. The fishermen of all countries, as far as I have been able to ascertain, wherever their numbers predominate, conduct themselves towards the weaker party in the most overbearing and wanton manner.

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Americans, who are ever apt in finding out all the methods which serve the purpose of gain, that it would be quite superfluous to recapitulate more than I have stated.

In the shape of bounties, they are encouraged by their government; and as they conduct their fisheries, as regards expense and outfit, cheaper than we do, and on a different principle, they are enabled to bring their fish to market at half the price of ours.

There are two or more modes of fitting out for the fisheries followed by them. The first is accomplished by six or seven farmers, or their sons, building a schooner during winter, which they man themselves, (as all the Americans on the sea-coast are more or less seamen as well as farmers;) and, after fitting the vessel with necessary stores, they proceed to the banks, Gulf of St Lawrence, or Labrador, and, loading their vessel with fish, make a voyage between spring and harvest. The proceeds they divide, after paying any balance they may owe for outfit. They remain at home to assist in gathering their crops, and proceed again for another cargo, which is salted down, and not afterwards dried: this is termed mud-fish, and kept for home consumption. The other plan is, a merchant, or any other, owning a vessel, lets her to ten or fifteen men on shares. He finds the vessel and nets. The men pay for all the provisions, hooks and lines, and for the salt necessary to cure their proportion of the fish. One of the number is acknowledged master; but he has to catch fish as well as the others, and receives only

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about twenty shillings per month for navigating the vessel: the crew have five-eighths of the fish caught, and the owners three-eighths of the whole.

The first spring voyage is made by them to the banks; the second either to the banks, Gulf of St Lawrence, or the coast of Labrador; the third, or fall voyage, is again to the banks; and a fourth, or second fall voyage, is also made, sometimes, to the banks.

In these fisheries the Americans have annually engaged from 1500 to 2000 schooners, of 90 to 130 tons, manned by about 30,000 men. Many of these vessels are employed again during winter in the coasting trade, or in carrying fish and other produce to South America and the West Indies.

The exports of cod-fish from the United States, wholly caught in the British American seas, average about 400,000 quintals annually,—nearly equal to half the quantity exported altogether by the British from Newfoundland and Labrador; and the home consumption of the Americans is equal to 1,200,000 quintals.*

To the depreciation of the value of fish in foreign markets, caused by the privileges thus granted the French and Americans, and in a particular degree to the limited demand for fish oils, in the home market, may be attributed nearly altogether the depressed and still declining condition of the British American fisheries. The heavy duties exacted in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, occasion, no doubt, less

* See reports of the American Congress, from 1825 to 1828.

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demand for fish in those countries than formerly. In Spain, (probably under French influence,) the duty is equal to from 12s. 6d. to 14s. per quintal; in Italy, 8s.; in Portugal and Brazil, 15s. per cwt., valuing the fish at eight milrees per barrel of 128 lbs. But, notwithstanding this circumstance, had we but retained our fishing grounds, we should not have met with such powerful competitors in the different markets of the world.

Nothing could be more unwise than to allow either the French or Americans to enter the Gulf of St Lawrence; it is a Mediterranean, bounded by our colonies, and those powers had neither right nor pretence to its shores or its fisheries.

By these impolitic concessions, therefore, which we have made to France and to the United States, and, partially, by the operation of some other causes, the value of the British American fisheries is greatly reduced, and their political consequence equally diminished.

The shore, or boat fishery, to which the fishermen, particularly in Newfoundland, now confine themselves, is not, strictly speaking, a nursery for seamen. The bank fishery, in which we are supplanted by the French and Americans, was always a school of hardy training for rearing sailors; and the eight or ten English vessels that now frequent the banks, are not of more value than one of the large French ships.

France has completely succeeded in making her fisheries in our American seas of the utmost political consequence, in answering the great end of training

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seamen for her navy; and the republic of the United States has derived from them, at the same time, great commercial profit, and vast political strength.

In the event of a war with either of those powers, the effect would be, in respect to their fishermen, that, by being thrown out of peaceable employment, they would at once enter the navies of their respective countries.*

About 8000 of the inhabitants of Newfoundland can only be justly considered sea-going men. These are principally the crews of the sealing vessels, who go also in summer to Labrador. The seal fishery is increasing fast, and deserves every encouragement. The men employed in the schooners fitted out for the Labrador fishery, from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, may also be considered regular sea-going men.

The provincial governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have extended every possible encouragement to the fisheries, in the shape of bounties; but, as these are drawn from the colonial revenues, it is disposing of a portion of those funds, to enable their fishermen to compete with their rivals, which would be more judiciously expended on internal improvements. Yet it is found absolutely necessary to grant these bounties to protect the fishing adventurers from ruin. The Newfoundland fishermen receive no encouragement of this kind, nor can the condition and circumstances of the colony afford any.

* Note C.

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The best protection that can now be extended to these fisheries, is, not to lay even the smallest duty on any article that is either directly or indirectly required for them. As respects Newfoundland, in particular, there is not an individual living on the island, who is not either immediately or indirectly connected with the fisheries.

Every encouragement should be afforded, in order to supply our fisheries with provisions from our own colonies. Canada and Prince Edward Island could now supply them with bread-stuffs, cattle, and salted provisions. A reasonable bounty for some time on these articles might not be impolitic, as we give foreigners at present nearly the whole profit of supplying our fisheries with provisions; and money, or good bills of exchange, only are taken in payment for provisions purchased at Hamburg, and other foreign parts, for the fisheries. In our own colonies, the payments would be principally made in British manufactures.

The Labrador fishing, the seal fishery, a fishery to the banks, and the fitting out of vessels direct from England for the seal fishery, are objects of great consequence, and seriously worthy of national encouragement.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Enquiry relative to the Aborigines of Newfoundland—Natives, called Red Indians, seen by Cabot, Cartier, and others—Whitbourne's Narrative—Scott's Adventure—Governor Montague and Captain Duff's Proclamations respecting them—Female Red Indian brought to St John's, and sent back with presents—Lieutenants Spratt and Buchan sent by Government in search of them—Mr Cormack's Expedition, and result.

THE people who inhabited Newfoundland, when first discovered, were a tribe of savages, usually called Red Indians, who have never had any reciprocal intercourse, or at least none that was properly understood, with Europeans.* We know little of their history; and they will likely pass away from the face of the earth, if they be not even now extinct, without having known either the benefits or evils of civilisation, while they may only be remembered in history as a tribe that existed in the most rude and simple state of society, and hunted alike by Europeans and all the savage nations of America.

That they were originally a more savage, cruel, and treacherous race than the other American tribes, is not to be credited; and their vindictive, revengeful spirit, and their unconquerable aversion to be-

* Note D.

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come familiar with Europeans, may be very naturally accounted for.

When Cabot discovered Newfoundland, he saw the savages, "who were painted with red ochre, and covered with skins." Cartier, in 1534, saw the Red Indians, whom he describes "as of good size, wearing their hair in a bunch on the top of their head, and adorned with feathers." In 1574, Martin Frobisher, having been driven by the ice on the coast of Newfoundland, induced some of the natives to come on board; and with one of them he sent five sailors on shore, whom he never saw again. On this account, he seized one of the Indians, who died shortly after arriving in England. The following extracts from Whitbourne's book, published in 1620, throw some light on what the Red Indians were at that period:—"They believed that they were created from arrows stuck in the ground by the Good Spirit; and that the dead went into a far country to make merry with their friends." He says, "The poor infidel natives of Newfoundland, at that time, were ingenious, and apt, by a moderate and discreet government, to become obedient. Many of them join the French and Biscayans on the northern coast, and work hard for them, about fish, whales, &c., for some bread, or trifling trinkets. A party of them was surprised near Trinity Bay by a fishing crew; they left their canoes, a quantity of red ochre, bows, arrows, &c.; their two kettles, made of spruce (more probably birch) rind, were on the fire, with twelve ducks in each."

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Captain Hayes also, who was second in command under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, says, "In the southern parts we found no inhabitants, which, by all likelihood, have abandoned these coasts, the same being frequented by Christians. But, in the north, are savages, altogether harmless."

For 130 years after, we can trace nothing of the history of the tribe, but that they were frequently shot by the northern fishermen and furriers, and that they were in the habit of coming suddenly from the unfrequented parts, and stealing nets, iron, or whatever they could lay their hands on. Indeed, we find all accounts respecting them agree in describing the Europeans and Red Indians as retaliating on each other, whenever opportunity offered; and it is difficult to say which were the most cruel and revengeful, except by making a proper allowance for moral instruction and civilisation, in which case we must certainly decide against the Europeans.

The governors made several attempts to establish an intercourse with the Red Indians, or, as they named themselves, Bœothics; but the deep feeling of injury which they entertained, and the inexorable, unforgiving spirit of savages, were not easily to be removed or conquered. About 1750, one Scott, a ship-master, with some others, went from St John's to the Bay of Exploits, where they built a place of residence, much in the manner of a fort. Some days afterwards, a party of Indians appeared, and halted near the place. Scott proceeded unarmed to them, contrary to the advice of his people, shook hands

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with them, and mixed among them. An old man, who pretended friendship, put his arms round Scott's neck, when another immediately stabbed him in the back. The horrible yell or war-whoop immediately resounded; a shower of arrows fell upon the English, which killed five of them, and the rest fled to their vessel, carrying off one of those who had been killed, with several arrows sticking in his body.

From this period, until the beginning of the present century, there appears to have been no farther intercourse with the Bœothics; but that they continued to be hunted and shot like foxes, by the northern furriers and fishermen, is well known,—the only reason for such unjustifiable barbarity being, that the Bœothics came from their lurking places, and robbed the fishing-nets. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the unbending spirit of the Bœothics; and as to their plundering the fishing-nets, they were undoubtedly compelled by hunger to do so, at the risk of being shot.

Captain Duff, Montague, and other governors, issued proclamations, which were intended to protect the Bœothics; but little attention seems to have been paid by the settlers in the northern harbours, or by the furriers, to any legal authority, and the destruction of the Red Indians appeared to afford them as much sport as hunting beavers.

In 1803, a female Red Indian, in consequence of a reward offered by the governor, Admiral Lord Gambier, was taken by a fisherman, who surprised her while paddling her canoe towards a small island in

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quest of birds' eggs. He carried her to St John's, where she was taken to the governor's, and kindly treated. She admired the epaulets of the officers more than any thing she saw; and although presents, and indeed whatever she asked for, were given her, she would never let her fur dress go out of her hands. She was afterwards sent back by the man who took her; but it is not known what became of her. It is not likely she ever joined her tribe.*

It was hoped that the treatment she experienced would have induced some of her tribe to open an intercourse with the English; but this was doubtful, as they might have looked upon it as a plan to ensnare them.

In 1809, government sent a vessel to Exploits Bay, in order, if possible, to meet the Indians, and to open a friendly communication with them. Lieutenant

* In consequence of Lieutenant Chapell having stated that this woman was murdered by the man who carried her back, I wrote to Mr Cormack on the subject, who informs me, "The old Red Indian woman whom you enquire about, was sent from St John's, in Admiral Gambier's time, with presents from the whites, to the woods from whence she came. Cull, the man who was intrusted with her and the presents, asked me, in 1827, 'if there was any means of getting at that lying fellow who wrote a book, and said that he' (Cull) 'killed the old woman when he got her into the country, and took her load of presents.' He then consulted me about proceeding against Chapell for the libel he wrote. I take it for granted that the old woman never joined her tribe, whatever became of her; but if the man who charged Cull with her murder, ever comes within the reach of Cull's gun, (and a long duck gun it is, that cost L.7 at Fogo,) he is as dead as any of the Red Indians that Cull has often shot."

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Spratt, who commanded the vessel, had with him a painting, representing the officers of the royal navy shaking hands with an Indian chief, a party of sailors laying parcels of goods at his feet, Indians, men and women, presenting furs to the officers, an European and Indian mother looking at their respective children of the same age, and a sailor courting an Indian girl. This expedition did not, however, meet with any of the tribe.

In 1815-16, Lieutenant Buchan, in his Majesty's schooner, was dispatched to the river Exploits, with orders to winter there, and, if possible, to open an intercourse with the Bœothics. He had the fortune to meet them, and finally succeeded in communicating with them. He left two of his marines with them as hostages for the safe return of two of the tribe, whom he induced to accompany him to a depôt of baggage, among which were presents for the Indians. Something prevented the return of Lieutenant Buchan at the appointed time, and the Bœothics, considering the delay as treachery on the part of the whites, tore the heads of the marines from their bodies.

On Lieutenant Buchan returning, the hostages took to the woods, and he soon after found the bodies of the unlucky marines, the Indians having run off with the heads. This was a most unfortunate affair; and it is much to be lamented that Lieutenant Buchan, under any circumstances, did not return in due time.*

* Mr Cormack was afterwards informed by the captive Red Indian woman, Shanandithit, that there were other causes for the murder of the marines. All of the tribe that had remained were

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Nothing further was known of this extraordinary tribe, until the winter of 1819, when a party of furriers proceeded up to the Red Indian Lake, where they met two men and a woman on the ice. They made a prisoner of the woman; but her husband, who became desperate, and determined to rescue her single-handed, was most unjustly and cruelly shot by the brutal party, who also shot the other man. They carried off the woman, whom they called Mary March, being the name of the month in which they made her a captive. Her husband, whom they murdered, was a most noble-looking man, about six feet high. This woman was carried to St John's, and, in the following winter, was sent back to the river Exploits, in charge of Captain Buchan. She died on board his vessel, at the mouth of the river; but he carried her body up to the lake, where he left it in a coffin, in a place where he knew her tribe would likely find it. It appears that a party of them was encamped at this time near the banks of the river, who observed Captain Buchan on the ice, and afterwards carried away the body of Mary March, which they deposited alongside of that of her husband.*

The last time any of the Bœothics were seen, was

then at the Grand Lake, in different encampments. A suspicion spread among them that Captain Buchan had gone down to bring up a party of men from the sea-coast to make all the Bœothics prisoners. They accordingly determined on breaking up their encampments, and to alarm and join the rest of their tribe, who were encamped on the western side of the lake. To prevent their proceedings being known, they decapitated the marines.

* See Mr Cormack's Narrative hereafter.

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during the winter of 1823, on the ice, at New Bay, an arm of Notre Dame Bay. Three of the women gave themselves up, in a starving condition, to a party of furriers; one of them, Shanandithit, was afterwards brought to St John's, through the humanity of the members of the Bœothic Institution. A few days before these women surrendered themselves, and not far distant, two English furriers shot a man and woman of the tribe, who appeared to approach soliciting food. The man was first killed; and the woman, in despair, remained calmly to be fired at, when she was also shot through the back and chest, and immediately expired. Mr Cormack was told this by the very white barbarian who shot her.

Such was the fate of this tribe; and to the enterprise and philanthropy of Mr Cormack, we owe all that remains to be told of them. That gentleman kindly furnished me with a brief narrative of his last expedition, as contained in the statement laid by him, on his return to St John's, before the Bœothic Institution. It is so very interesting, and, at the same time, so sufficiently brief, as to justify my transcribing it in full. Mr Cormack, in company with the *Hon*ourable Augustus Wallet Desbarres, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, proceeded in a government vessel to Twillingate, the most northerly settlement. Before Mr Cormack's final departure from this place, a numerous meeting of the friends of the expedition was held. On this occasion, Mr Cormack, after the object of the expedition had been eulogized by Judge Desbarres, addressed

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those around him, and said, among other matters, "Is there no honest pride in him who protects man from the shafts of injustice? Nay, is there not an inward monitor, approving of all our acts which shall have the tendency to lessen crime and prevent murder? We now stand on the nearest part of the New World to Europe, of Newfoundland to Britain; and, at this day, and on this sacred spot, do we form the first assembly that has ever yet collected together to consider the condition of the invaded and ill-treated first occupiers of this country. Britons have trespassed here, to be a blight and a scourge to a portion of the human race; under their, in other respects, protecting power, a defenceless, and once independent tribe of men, have been nearly extirpated from the face of the earth, scarcely causing an enquiry how or why. Near this spot, man is known to remain in all his primitive rudeness, clothed in skins, and armed only with a bow and arrow, by which to gain his subsistence, and to repel the attacks of his reckless and lawless foes.

"It would appear from what we can glean from tradition, that about a century and a half ago, this tribe was numerous and powerful, like its neighbours, the Micmacs. Both tribes were then on friendly terms. A misunderstanding with the French, who then held the sway in those parts, led, in the result, to hostilities between them; and the sequel of the tradition runs as follows:—

"The European authorities, who, we may suppose, were not over scrupulous in dealing out equity here

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in those days, offered a reward for the persons or heads of certain of the Red Indians. Some of the Micmacs were tempted by the reward, and took off the heads of two of them. Before the heads were delivered to obtain the reward, they were by accident discovered concealed in the canoe which was to convey them, and recognised by some of the Red Indians as those of their friends. The Red Indians gave no intimation of the discovery to the perpetrators of the unprovoked outrage, but consulted among themselves, and determined on having revenge. They invited the Micmacs to a feast, and arranged their guests in such order, that every Bœothic had a Micmac by his side; at a preconcerted signal, every Bœothic slew his guest. They then retired quickly from those parts bordering on the Micmac country. War of course ensued. Fire-arms were little known to the Indians at this time, but they soon came into more general use among such tribes as continued to hold intercourse with Europeans. This circumstance gave the Micmacs an undisputed ascendency over the Bœothics, who were forced to betake themselves to the recesses of the interior, and other parts of the island, alarmed, as well they might be, at every report of the firelock.

"Since that day, European weapons have been directed from every quarter (and in later times, too often) at the open breasts and unstrung bows of the unoffending Bœothics. Sometimes these unsullied people of the chase have been destroyed wantonly, because they have been thought more fleet and more

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evasive than men ought to be. At other times, at the sight of them, the terror of the ignorant European has goaded him on to murder the innocent, at the bare mention of which civilisation ought to weep. Incessant and ruthless persecution, continued for many generations, has given these silvan people an utter distrust and abhorrence of the very signs of civilisation. Shanandithit, the surviving female of those who were captured four years ago by some fishermen, will not now return to her tribe, for fear they should put her to death; a proof of the estimation in which we are held by that persecuted poeple.

"The situation of the unfortunate Bœothics carries with it our warmest sympathy, and loudly calls on us all to do something for the sake of humanity. For my own satisfaction, I have, for a time, released myself from all other avocations, and am here now on my way to visit that part of the country which the surviving remnant of the tribe have of late years frequented, to endeavour to force a friendly interview with some of them, before they are entirely annihilated; but it will most probably require many such interviews, and some years, to reconcile them to the approaches of civilized man."*

Mr Cormack proceeded from Twillingate, by sea, to the Bay of Exploits, and he gives us the narrative of his journey in a statement laid before the Bœothic Institution at St John's. "Having," says he, "so

* At this meeting a society was formed, and called the Bœothic Institution, the primary object of which was to discover and open a friendly intercourse with the Red Indians, or Bœothics.

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recently returned, I will now only lay before you a brief outline of my expedition in search of the Beothics, or Red Indians, confining my remarks exclusively to its primary object.

"My party consisted of three Indians, whom I procured from among the other tribes; the first, an intelligent and able man of the Abenakee tribe, from Canada; an elderly mountaineer from Labrador; and an adventurous young Micmac, a native of the island, together with myself. It was difficult to obtain men fit for the purpose; and the trouble attendant on this, prevented my entering on the expedition a month earlier in the season. It was my intention to have commenced our search at White Bay, which is nearer the northern extremity of the island than where we did; but the weather not permitting to carry my party thither by water, after several days' delay, I unwillingly changed my line of route.

"On the 31st October, 1827, we entered the country at the mouth of the river Exploits, on the north side, at the branch called the Northern Arm; we took a north-westerly direction, which led us to Hall's Bay, through an almost uninterrupted forest, and over a hilly country, in eight days. This tract includes the interior country, extending from New Bay, Badger Bay, Seal Bay, &c., being minor bays branching from Notre Dame Bay, and well known to have been heretofore always the summer residences of the Red Indians.

"On the fourth day after our departure, at the east end of Badger Bay, Great Lake, at a portage

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known by the name of the Indian Path, we found traces made by the Red Indians, evidently in the spring or summer of the preceding year. Their party had had two canoes; and here was a canoe rest, on which the daubs of red ochre, and the roots of trees, used to fasten or tie it together, appeared fresh. A canoe rest is simply a few beams, supported horizontally, about five feet from the ground, by perpendicular posts. A party with two canoes, when descending from the interior to the sea-coast, through such a part of the country as this, where there are troublesome portages, leave one canoe resting, bottom up, on this kind of frame, to protect it from injury by the weather, until their return. Among other things which lay strewed about here, were a spear-shaft, eight feet in length, recently made and ochred, parts of old canoes, fragments of their skin dresses, &c. For some distance around, the trunks of many of the birch, and of that species of spruce-pine, called here the var, (*pinus balsamifera,*) had been rinded; these people using the inner part of the bark of that kind of tree for food. Some of the cuts in the trees with the axe were evidently made the preceding year. Besides these, we were elated by other encouraging signs. The traces left by the Red Indians are so peculiar, that we were confident those we saw here were made by them.

"This spot has been a favourable place of settlement with these people. It is situated at the commencement of a portage, which forms a communication by a path between the sea-coast at Badger Bay,

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about eight miles to the north-east, and a chain of lakes extending westerly and southerly from hence, and discharging their surplus waters into the river Exploits, about thirty miles from its mouth. A path also leads from this place to the lakes, near New Bay, to the eastward. Here are the remains of one of their villages, where the vestiges of eight or ten winter mamateeks, or wigwams, each intended to contain from six to eighteen or twenty people, are distinctly seen close together. Besides these, there are the remains of a number of summer wigwams. Every winter wigwam has close by it a small square-mouthed or oblong pit, dug into the earth, about four feet deep, in which to preserve their stores, &c. Some of these pits were lined with birch-rind. We discovered also in this village the remains of a vapour-bath. The method used by the Bœothics to raise the steam, was by pouring water on large stones made very hot for the purpose, in the open air, by burning a quantity of wood around them; after this process, the ashes were removed, and a hemispherical frame-work, closely covered with skins to exclude the external air, was fixed over these stones. The patient then crept in under the skins, taking with him a birch-rind bucket of water, and a small bark dish with which to pour it on the stones, and to enable him to raise the steam at pleasure.

"At Hall's Bay, we got no useful information from the three (and the only) English families settled there; indeed, we could hardly have expected any; for these, and such people, have been the unchecked

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and ruthless destroyers of the tribe, the remnant of which we were in search of. After sleeping one night in a house, we again struck into the country to the westward.

"In five days we were in the high lands south of White Bay, and in sight of the high lands east of the Bay of Islands, on the west coast of Newfoundland. The country south and west of us was low and flat, consisting of marshes extending southerly more than thirty miles. In this direction lies the famous Red Indian Lake. It was now near the middle of November, and the winter had commenced pretty severely in the interior. The country was everywhere covered with snow, and for some days past we had walked over the small ponds on the ice. The summits of the hills on which we stood had snow on them, in some places many feet deep. The deer were migrating from the rugged and dreary mountains in the north, to the low and mossy ravines, and more woody parts in the south; and we inferred, that if any of the Red Indians had been at White Bay during the past summer, they might at that time be stationed about the borders of the low tract of country before us, at the deer-passes, or employed somewhere else in the interior, killing deer for winter provisions. At these passes—which are particular places in the migration lines of path, such as the extreme ends of, and straits in, many of the large lakes, the bottoms of valleys, between high and rugged mountains, fords in the large rivers, and the like—the Indians kill great numbers of deer, with very little trouble, during their

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migrations. We looked out for two days from the summits of the hills adjacent, trying to discover the smoke from the camps of the Red Indians, but in vain. These hills command a very extensive view of the country in every direction.

"We now determined to proceed towards the Red Indian Lake, sanguine that at that known rendezvous we would find the objects of our search.

"Travelling over such a country, except when winter has fairly set in, is truly laborious.

"In about ten days, we got a glimpse of this beautifully majestic and splendid sheet of water. The ravages of fire which we saw in the woods, for the last two days, indicated that man had been near. We looked down upon the lake, from the hills at the northern extremity, with feelings of anxiety and admiration. No canoe could be discovered moving on its placid surface. We were the first Europeans who had seen it in an unfrozen state; for the three parties who had visited it before, were here in the winter, when its waters were frozen and covered with snow. They had reached it from below, by way of the river Exploits, on the ice. We approached the lake with hope and caution, but found, to our mortification, that the Red Indians had deserted it for some years past. My party had been so excited, so sanguine, and so determined to obtain an interview of some kind with these people, that on discovering, from appearances everywhere around us, that the Red Indians, the terror of the Europeans, as well as the other Indian inhabitants of Newfoundland, no

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longer existed, the spirits of one and all of us were very deeply affected. The old mountaineer was particularly overcome. There were everywhere indications that this had long been the central and undisturbed rendezvous of the tribe, when they had enjoyed peace and security. But these primitive people had abandoned it, after having been tormented by parties of Europeans during the last eighteen years. Fatal rencontres had, on these occasions, unfortunately taken place.

" We spent several melancholy days wandering on the borders of the east end of the lake, surveying the various remains of what we now contemplated to have been an unoffending and cruelly extirpated people. At several places, by the margin of the lake, are small clusters of summer and winter wigwams in ruins. One difference, among others, between the Bœothic wigwams and those of other Indians is, that in most of the former there are small hollows, like nests, dug in the earth, around the fire-place, and in the sides of the wigwam, so that I think it probable these people have been accustomed to sleep in a sitting position. There was one wooden building constructed for drying and smoking venison in, still perfect; also a small log-house, in a dilapidated condition, which we took to have been a store-house. The wreck of a large handsome birch-rind canoe, about twenty-two feet in length, comparatively new, and certainly very little used, lay thrown up among the bushes at the beach. We supposed that the violence of a storm had rent it in the way it was found, and

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that the people who were in it had perished, for the iron nails, of which there was no want, all remained in it. Had there been any survivors, nails being much prized by these people, they never having held intercourse with Europeans, such an article would most likely have been taken out for use again. All the birch-trees in the vicinity of the lake had been rinded, and many of those of the spruce-fir or var, (*pinus balsamifera*, Canadian balsam-tree,) had the bark taken off, to use the inner part for food, as noticed before.

"Their wooden repositories for the dead are in the most perfect state of preservation. These are of different constructions, it would appear, according to the rank of the persons entombed. In one of them, which resembled a hut, ten feet by eight or nine, and four or five feet high in the centre, floored with square poles, the roof covered with the rinds of trees, and in every way well secured against the weather, and the intrusion of wild beasts, the bodies of two full-grown persons were laid out at length on the floor, and wrapped round with deer skins. One of these bodies appeared to have been entombed not longer than five or six years. We thought there were children laid in here also. On first opening this building, by removing the posts which formed the ends, our curiosity was raised to the highest pitch; but what added to our surprise, was the discovery of a white deal coffin, containing a skeleton neatly shrouded in white muslin. After a long pause of conjecture how such a thing existed here, the idea of Mary March

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occurred to one of the party, and the whole mystery was at once explained.

"In this cemetery were deposited a variety of articles, in some instances the property, in others the representations of the property and utensils, and of the achievements, of the deceased. There were two small wooden images of a man and woman, no doubt meant to represent husband and wife; a small doll, which we supposed to represent a child, (for Mary March had to leave her only child here, which died two days after she was taken;) several small models of their canoes, two small models of boats, an iron axe, a bow, and quiver of arrows, were placed by the side of Mary March's husband, and two fire-stones (radiated iron pyrites, from which they produce fire, by striking them together) lay at his head; there were also various kinds of culinary utensils, neatly made of birch-rind, and ornamented; and many other things, of some of which we did not know the use or meaning.

"Another mode of sepulture which we saw here, was, when the body of the deceased had been wrapped in birch-rind, it was, with his property, placed on a sort of scaffold about four feet and a half from the ground. The scaffold was formed of four posts, about seven feet high, fixed perpendicularly in the ground, to sustain a kind of crib, five feet and a half in length by four in breadth, with a floor made of small squared beams laid close together horizontally, and on which the body and property rested.

"A third mode was, when the body, bent together,

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and wrapped in birch-rind, was enclosed in a kind of box on the ground. The box was made of small square posts, laid on each other, horizontally, and notched at the corners to make them meet close. It was about four feet by three, and two and a half feet deep, and well lined with birch-rind, to exclude the weather from the inside. The body lay on its right side.

"A fourth, and the most common mode of burying among these people, has been to wrap the body in birch-rind, and cover it over with a heap of stones, on the surface of the earth, in some retired spot. Sometimes the body thus wrapped up is put a foot or two under the surface, and the spot covered with stones. In one place, where the ground was sandy and soft, they appeared to have been buried deeper, and no stones placed over the graves.

"These people appear to have always shown great respect for their dead; and the most remarkable remains of them, commonly observed by Europeans at the sea-coast, are their burying-places. These are at particular chosen spots; and it is well known that they have been in the habit of bringing their dead from a distance to them. With their women they bring only their clothes.

"On the north side of the lake, opposite the river Exploits, are the extremities of two deer fences, about half a mile apart, where they lead to the water. It is understood that they diverge many miles in a north-westerly direction. The Red Indians make these to lead the deer to the lake, during the periodical

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migration of those animals. The Indians, stationing themselves near where the deer get into the water to swim across, the lake being narrow at this end, pursue the animals in their canoes, and kill them with spears. In this way they secure their winter provisions before the severity of the winter sets in.

" There were other remains of different kinds peculiar to these people, met with about this lake.

" One night we encamped on the foundation of an old Indian wigwam, on the extremity of a point of land which juts out into the lake, and exposed to the view of the whole country around. A large fire at night is the life and soul of such a party as ours; and, when it blazed up at times, I could not help observing, that two of my Indians evinced uneasiness and want of confidence in things around, as if they thought themselves usurpers on the Red Indian territory. From time immemorial, none of the Indians of the other tribes had ever encamped near this lake, fearlessly, and as we had now done, in the very centre of such a country; the lake and territory adjacent having been always considered to belong exclusively to the Red Indians, and to have been occupied by them. It had been our invariable practice hitherto to encamp near hills, and be on their summits by the dawn of day, to try and discover the morning smoke ascending from the Red Indians' camps; and, to prevent the discovery of ourselves, we extinguished our own fire always some length of time before daylight.

" Our only and frail hope now left, of seeing the

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Red Indians, lay on the banks of the river Exploits, on our return to the sea-coast.

"The Red Indian Lake discharges itself about three or four miles from its north-east end; and its waters form the river Exploits. From the lake to the sea-coast is considered about seventy miles; and down this noble river the steady perseverance and intrepidity of my Indians carried me on rafts in four days; to accomplish which otherwise, would have required probably two weeks. We landed at various places on both banks of the river on our way down, but found no traces of the Red Indians so recent as those seen at the portage at Badger Bay, Great Lake, towards the beginning of our excursion. During our descent, we had to construct new rafts at the different waterfalls. Sometimes we were carried down the rapids at the rate of ten miles an hour, or more, with considerable risk of destruction to the whole party, for we were always together on one raft.

"What arrests the attention most, in gliding down the stream, is the extent of the Indian fences to entrap deer. They extend from the lake downwards, continuous, on the banks of the river, at least thirty miles. There are openings left here and there for the animals to go through and swim across the river, and at these places the Indians are stationed, and kill them in the water with spears out of their canoes, as at the lake.

"Here, then, connecting these fences with those on the north-west side of the lake, is at least forty miles of country, easterly and westerly, prepared to inter-

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cept all the deer that pass that way in their periodical migrations. It was melancholy to contemplate the gigantic, yet rude, efforts of a whole primitive nation, in their anxiety to provide subsistence, forsaken and going to decay.

"There must have been hundreds of Red Indians, and that not many years ago, to have kept up these fences and pounds. As their numbers were lessened, so was their ability to keep them up for the purposes intended, and now the deer pass the whole line unmolested.

" We infer that the few of these people who may yet survive, have taken refuge in some sequestered spot, in the northern part of the island, where they can procure deer to subsist on.

" On the 29th of November, we again arrived at the mouth of the river Exploits, thirty days after our departure from thence, after having made a complete circuit of 220 miles in the Red Indian territory.

" The materials collected on this, as well as on my excursion across the interior a few years ago, and on other occasions, put me in possession of a general knowledge of the natural condition and productions of Newfoundland; and, as a member of an institution formed to protect the aboriginal inhabitants of the country in which we live, and to prosecute enquiry into the moral character of man in his primitive state, I can, at this early stage of our institution, assert, trusting to nothing vague, that we already possess more information concerning these people, than has been obtained during the two centuries and a half

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that Newfoundland has been in the possession of Europeans. But it is to be lamented, that now, when we have taken up the cause of a barbarously treated people, so few should remain to reap the benefit of our plans for their civilisation. The institution and its supporters will agree with me, that after the unfortunate circumstances attending past encounters between the Europeans and the Red Indians, it is best now to employ Indians belonging to the other tribes, to be the medium of beginning the intercourse we have in view; and, indeed, I have already chosen three of the most intelligent men, from among the others met with in Newfoundland, to follow up my search.

"I have the pleasure to present to the Bœothic Institution several ingenious articles, the manufacture of the Bœothics; some of which we had the good fortune to discover on our recent excursion, models of their canoes, bows and arrows, spears of different kinds, &c., and also a complete dress worn by that people. Their mode of kindling fire is not only original, but, as far as we at present know, is peculiar to their tribe. These articles, together with a short vocabulary of their language, consisting of from 200 to 300 words, which I have been enabled to collect, prove the Bœothics to be a distinct tribe from any hitherto discovered in North America. One remarkable characteristic of their language, and in which it resembles those of Europe more than any other Indian languages do, with which we have had an opportunity of comparing it, is its abounding in

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diphthongs. In my detailed report, I would propose to have plates of these articles, and also of the like articles used by other tribes of Indians, that a comparative idea may be formed of them; and when the Indian female, Shanandithit, arrives in St John's, I would recommend that a correct likeness of her be taken, and be preserved in the records of the institution. One of the specimens of mineralogy which we found in our excursion, was a block of what is called Labrador felspar, nearly four and a half feet in length, by about three feet in breadth and thickness. This is the largest piece of that beautiful rock yet discovered anywhere. Our subsistence in the interior was entirely animal food, deer and beavers, which we shot."

The Bœothic Institution of St John's placed the Indians who had accompanied Mr Cormack, on their establishment, to be employed under his immediate direction and control, as president, for the purpose of discovering the abodes of the Red Indians.

The Indian woman, Shanandithit, was also brought to St John's, where she lived in Mr Cormack's house, until he left the colony in 1829, when she was taken into the house of the Attorney-General, Mr Simms. She died in June following. A Newfoundland paper of the 12th June, 1829, notices her death by stating—"Died, on Saturday night, the 6th instant, at the hospital, Shanandithit, the female Indian, one of the aborigines of this island. She died of consumption, a disease which seems to have been remarkably prevalent among her tribe, and

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which has unfortunately been fatal to all who have fallen into the hands of the settlers. Since the departure of Mr Cormack from the island, this poor woman has had an asylum afforded her in the house of James Simms, Esq. Attorney-General, where every attention has been paid to her wants and comforts; and, under the able and professional advice of Dr Carson, who has most kindly and liberally attended her for many months past, it was hoped that her health might have been re-established. Lately, however, her disease had become daily more formidable, and her strength had rapidly declined; and, a short time since, it was deemed advisable to send her to the hospital, where her sudden decease has but too soon fulfilled the fears that were entertained for her. With Shanandithit has probably expired nearly the last of the native Indians of the island; indeed, it is considered doubtful by some whether any of them now survive. It is certainly a matter of regret, that those individuals who have interested themselves most to support the cause of science and humanity, by the civilisation of these Indians, should have their labours and hopes so unfortunately and suddenly terminated. They have, however, the satisfaction of knowing that their object has been to mitigate the sufferings of humanity, and that, at least, they have endeavoured to pay a portion of that immense debt which is due from the European settlers of Newfoundland to those unfortunate Indians, who have been so long oppressed and persecuted, and are almost, if not wholly, exterminated."

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The relics of the Bœothics, which Mr Cormack brought to England, are exceedingly interesting to all those who take an interest in the study of man, and who would trace his progress from his rude and natural state to what we consider civilisation.

The Indians employed by the Bœothic Institution have been unsuccessful in their journeys, and it is now believed that the tribe is extinct. A very few may possibly still exist in the most hidden and wild places, among deep ravines, or in dark inaccessible solitudes, determined never to appear again in the presence of Europeans.

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NOTES TO BOOK III.

Note A, page 182.

"Among all the settlements with which the Europeans have covered the New World, there is none of the nature of Newfoundland. The others have generally been the destruction of the first colonists they have received, and of a great number of their successors: this climate, of itself, hath not destroyed one single person; it hath even restored strength to some of those whose health had been affected by less wholesome climates. The other colonies have exhibited a series of injustice, oppression, and carnage, which will for ever be holden in detestation. Newfoundland alone hath not offended against humanity, nor injured the rights of any other people.* The other settlements have yielded productions, only by receiving an equal value in exchange. Newfoundland alone hath drawn from the depths of the waters riches formed by nature alone; and which furnish subsistence to several countries of both hemispheres.

"How much time hath elapsed before this parallel hath been made! Of what importance did fish appear, when compared to the money which men went in search of in the New World! It was long before it was understood, if even it be yet understood, that the representation of the thing is not of greater value than the thing itself; and that a ship filled with cod, and a galleon, are vessels equally laden with gold. There is even this remarkable difference, that mines can be exhausted, and the fisheries never are.† Gold is not reproduced, but the fish are so incessantly."—Raynal, vol. v. p. 296.

* The sufferings of the Red Indians form an exception which the Abbé was unacquainted with.

† An able naturalist, who is said to have had the patience to count the eggs contained in the roe of a single cod, found the number to be 9,344,000.

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Note B, page 217.

"It is a very general custom at Newfoundland for the labouring classes and others, in the winter season, as a compliment to the clergyman, to bring him from the interior a quantity of wood or fuel. The friends of the clergyman of the established church at Saint John's, some short time ago, proposed what is there called a 'general haul of wood' for his benefit. I had the gratification of hearing the good, pious, and venerable bishop of the Roman Catholic church address his numerous congregation, and request of them that they would join in the haul of wood, and that their general exertions, in behalf of his brother of the established church, would be more gratifying than any thing they could do for himself. On the day of the haul, it was most gratifying to observe the Roman Catholics, united with their brethren of every other religious persuasion, moving immense masses of wood in the direction of the house of the worthy minister. The great body of the working people were Irish, or their immediate descendants; and I can assure your lordship, that it warmed my heart, though the mercury was fifteen degrees below zero, to observe the perspiration floating down their manly brows, whilst vying with the people of other countries, and other religions, as to who should pay the greatest compliment to the respected individual. The quantity of wood hauled out by the united efforts of the people was great indeed; but it would be an act of injustice to the individual for whose nominal benefit this haul was made, not to state that it was soon conveyed from his residence to warm the cheerless cottages of the poor, the sick, the widow, and the orphan."—Mr Morris's Letter to Lord Bexley.

Note C, page 250.

Were it not for the sailors who are bred in the United States fishing vessels, that nation never could man a fleet; and Mr de Roos's conclusions would have been correct, had we not given the Americans a participation in our fisheries. It is well known, that during the last war, the Americans never could have sent their

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ships of war to sea, if it were not for the vast number of English sailors, principally deserters, whom they hired; but their fisheries will henceforth make up the necessary crews, although with some difficulty at first, to man a formidable fleet. What the late Judge Haliburton of Nova Scotia has said, in a small but valuable pamphlet, written by him, "On the Importance of the Colonies," and from which Mr de Roos, in his narrative, has quoted some paragraphs, to prove that the American navy is not likely ever to become formidable, would also hold true, were it not for the advantages we have given them, by allowing them to fish on all our American coasts. There is no country that can more easily build a great fleet than the United States. The only difficulty with them would be to furnish sailors, and we have ourselves removed that difficulty.

Note D, page 252.

Among the Norwegian and Icelandic historical records, the discovery of a country, called by them Winland, on account of its abounding in grapes, is frequently mentioned; and that, in 1221, Eric, Bishop of Greenland, went to Winland to reform his countrymen, who had degenerated into savages; that he never returned, and that nothing more was heard of Winland for several centuries. It is very probable that the adventurous Norwegians discovered Newfoundland and Labrador; but that they made settlements in either, as they did in Greenland, is very doubtful. As to grapes abounding in Newfoundland, we may safely deny this. The vast quantities of wild cranberries, which are large, red, and juicy, might very naturally have been called grapes by the Norwegians, or Northmen.

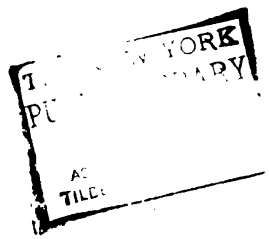
Robertson is of opinion that Newfoundland was settled by the Norwegians; and Mr Pinkerton is very positive on the subject. The latter considers that the Red Indians are their descendants. He, however, in another place, concludes that the whole of the race were destroyed by the Esquimaux. I regret to find so respectable a writer as Mr Pinkerton so frequently in error, and at times treating in the manner of historical truths, what can only be regarded, in respect to the Indians, as mere conjectures. The Beothics were, from the form of their implements, dress, and language, a distinct

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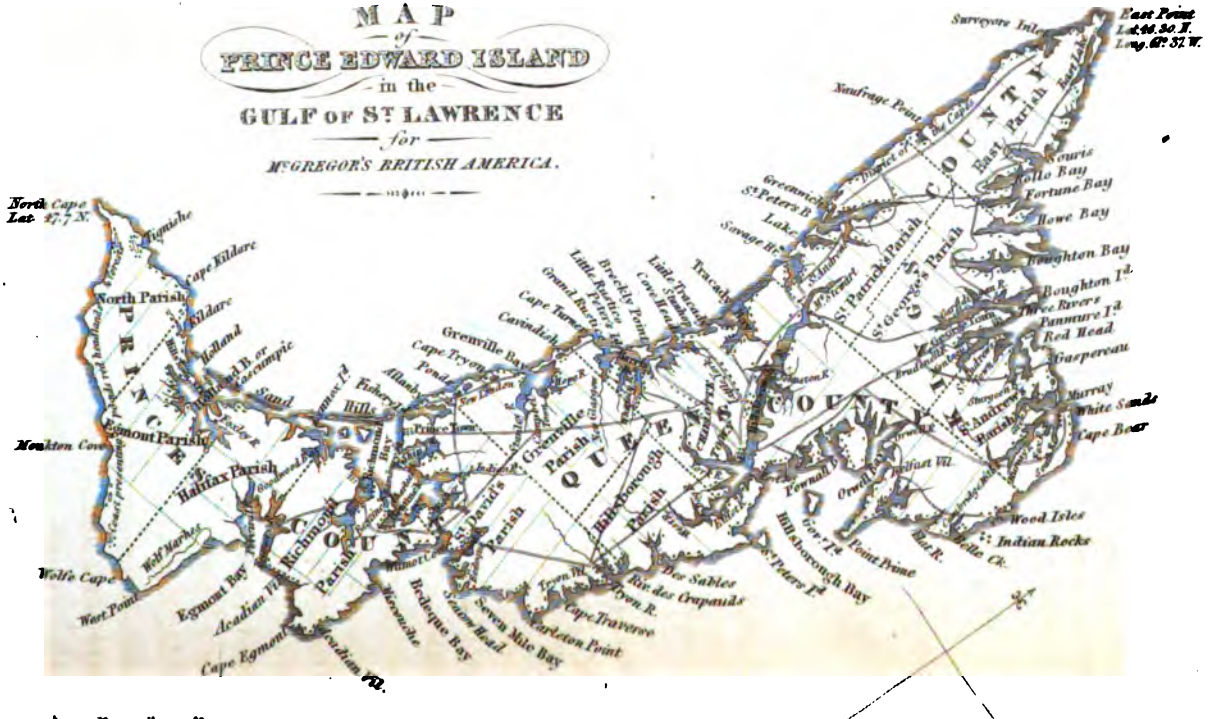
warlike tribe of North American Indians; but, from their features and stature, certainly of the same race, and not allied to the Esquimaux, as some writers have asserted.

If we are justified in concluding that any of the American tribes are of the Northmen, or European origin, we can only by comparison consider the Esquimaux as such: their stature, habits, and features being not only different from the aborigines of America, but closely resembling those of the Greenlanders, who are believed to be of European descent.

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MAP
of
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
in the
GULF of ST LAWRENCE
for
McGREGOR'S BRITISH AMERICA.
North Cape
Lat. 47.7 N.
East Point
Lat. 46.30 N.
Long. 62° 57 W.
PRINCE COUNTY
QUEEN'S COUNTY
KING'S COUNTY
Egmont Bay
Richmond Bay
Malpeque Bay
Cascumpec Bay
Hillsborough Bay
Rustico Bay
Cape Egmont
Cape Traverse
Cape Tryon
Cape Kildare
Wolf's Cape
Wolf Markets
Moulton Cove
Seven Mile Bay
Tracadie Bay
Boughton Bay
Murray Harbour
Indian Rocks
Wood Isles
Shipwreck Point
Miles

BOOK IV.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Position of Prince Edward Island—General Aspect of the Country—Counties, and Lesser Divisions—Description of Charlotte Town and the Principal Settlements.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND is situated in the Gulf of St Lawrence, within the latitudes of 46° and 47° 10′ N., and longitudes of 62° and 65° W. Its length, following a course through the centre of the island, is 140 miles; and its greatest breadth, thirty-four miles. It is separated from Nova Scotia by Northumberland Strait, which is only nine miles broad, between Cape Traverse and Cape Tormentine. Cape Breton lies within twenty-seven miles of the east point; and Cape Ray, the nearest point of Newfoundland, is 125 miles distant. The distances from Charlotte Town to the following places, are—to the Land's End, England, 2280 miles; to St John's, Newfoundland, 550 miles; to St John's, New Brunswick, by sea, 360 miles, and across the peninsula of Nova Scotia, 135 miles; to Quebec, 580 miles; to Halifax, through the

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Gut of Canso, 240 miles, and by Pictou, 140 miles; to Miramichi, 120 miles; to Pictou, 40 miles.

In coming within view of Prince Edward Island, its aspect is that of a level country, covered to the water's edge with trees, and the outline of its surface scarcely curved with the appearance of hills. On approaching nearer, and sailing round its shores, (especially on the north side,) the prospect becomes interesting, and presents small villages, cleared farms, red headlands, bays, and rivers which pierce the country; sandhills covered with grass; a gentle diversity of hill and dale, which the cleared parts open to view, and the undulation of surface occasioned by small lakes or ponds, which from the sea appear like so many valleys.

On landing and travelling through the country, its varied, though not highly romantic scenery, and its agricultural and other improvements, attract the attention of all who possess a taste for rural beauties. Owing to the manner in which it is intersected by various branches of the sea, there is no part at a greater distance from the ebbing and flowing of the tide than eight miles.

It abounds with streams and springs of the purest water; and it is remarked, that in digging wells, no instance of being disappointed in meeting with good water has occurred. There are no mountains in the island A chain of hills intersects the country between Disable and Grenville Bay; and, in different parts, the lands rise to moderate heights; but, in general, the surface of the island may be considered as devia-

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ting no more from the level than could be wished, for the purpose of agriculture.

Almost every part affords agreeable prospects and beautiful situations. In summer and autumn, the forests exhibit a rich and splendid foliage, varying from the deep green of the fir, to the lively tints of the birch and maple; and the character of the scenery at these seasons, displays a smiling loveliness and teeming fertility.

The island is divided into three counties, these again into parishes, and the whole subdivided into sixty-seven townships, containing about 20,000 acres each. The plot of a town, containing about 400 building lots, and the same number of pasture lots, are reserved in each county. These are, George Town, in King's County; Charlotte Town, in Queen's County; and Prince Town, in Prince County.

Charlotte Town, the seat of government, is situated on the north bank of Hillsborough river, near its confluence with the rivers Elliot and York. Its harbour is considered one of the best in the Gulf of St Lawrence. The passage into it leads from Northumberland Strait, to the west of Point Prime, between St Peter's and Governor's Islands, up Hillsborough Bay, to the entrance of the harbour. Here its breadth is little more than half a mile, within which it widens, and forms a safe, capacious basin, and then branches into three beautiful and navigable rivers. The harbour is commanded by different situations that might easily be fortified, so as to defend the town against any ordinary attack by water. At present, there is a

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battery in front of the town, near the barracks; another on Farming Bank; and a block-house, with some cannon, on the western point of the entrance.

Charlotte Town stands on ground which rises in gentle heights from the banks of the river, and contains about 350 dwelling-houses, and about 3400 inhabitants. The plan of the town is regular; the streets broad, and intersecting each other at right angles; five or six vacancies are reserved for squares; and many of the houses lately built are finished in a handsome style, and have a lively and pleasing appearance. The court-house—in which the Courts of Chancery, as well as the Court of Judicature, are held, and in which the Legislative Assembly also sit—the Episcopal church, the New Scotch church, and the Catholic and Methodist chapels, are the only public buildings. The barracks are pleasantly situated near the water, and a neat parade or square occupies the space between those of the officers and privates. The building lots are eighty-four feet in front, and run back 160 feet. To each of these a pasture-lot of twelve acres was attached in the original grants; and there was formerly a common, lying between the town and pasture-lots, which, however, the Lieutenant-Governor Fanning found convenient to grant away in lots to various individuals.

On entering and sailing up the harbour, Charlotte Town appears to much advantage, with a clean, lively, and prepossessing aspect, and much larger than it in reality is. This deception arises from its occupying

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an extensive surface in proportion to the number of houses, to most of which large gardens are attached.

Few places offer more agreeable walks, or prettier situations, than those in the vicinity of Charlotte Town. Among the latter, Spring Park, St Avard's, the seat of the Attorney-General, Mr Johnston; Fanning Bank, on which his excellency Governor Ready has made great improvements, and some farms lying between the town and York river, are conspicuous.

On the west side of the harbour lies the Fort, or Warren, Farm. This is perhaps the most beautiful situation on the island; and the prospect from it embraces a view of Charlotte Town, Hillsborough river for several miles, part of York and Elliot rivers, a great part of Hillsborough Bay, Governor's Island, and Point Prime. A small valley and pretty rivulet wind through the middle of its extensive clearings; and the face of this charming spot is agreeably varied into gently rising grounds, small vales, and level spaces. When the island was taken, the French had a garrison and extensive improvements in this place; and here the commandant chiefly resided. Afterwards, when the island was divided into townships, and granted away to persons who were considered to have claims on government, this tract was reserved for his majesty's use. Governor Patterson held possession of it while on the island, and expended a considerable sum in its improvement.

The late Abbé de Calonne (brother to the famous financier) afterwards obtained the use and possession

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of this place, during his residence on the island; and since then, the family of the late General Fanning have by some means obtained a grant of this valuable tract.*

During the summer and autumn months, the view from Charlotte Town is highly interesting. The blue mountains of Nova Scotia appearing in the distance; a long vista of the sea, through the entrance of the harbour, forming, with the basin, and part of Elliot, York, and Hillsborough rivers, a fine branching sheet of water; and the distant farms, partial clearings, grassy glades, intermingled with trees of various kinds, but chiefly the birch, beech, maple, and spruce fir, combine to form a landscape that would please even the most scrupulous of picturesque tourists.

No part of the island could have been more judiciously selected for its metropolis, than that which has been chosen for Charlotte Town; it being situated almost in the centre of the country, and of easy access, either by water, or by the different roads leading to it from the settlements.

* There has been much said about the claim of right to this property; and a wish not to hurt the feelings of private individuals prevents me from detailing particulars contained in original documents which I possess. I will, however, assert, that no grant of this property was made to M. de Calonne; but I believe he was offered it as an asylum for himself and a number of French refugees. He had, however, too much ambition to retreat like a hermit from the great world; and his grand purpose at the time, was to plan and effect a counter revolution in France. I have by me several letters written by his brother the Abbé, while on the island, to official persons there at the same time, which throw much light on this subject.

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George Town, or Three Rivers, is also situated near the junction of three fine rivers, on the south-east part of the island. Very little has been yet done in order to form a town in this place, although it has often been pointed out as better adapted for the seat of government than Charlotte Town. It has certainly a more immediate communication with the ocean, but it is not so conveniently situated for intercourse with many parts of the island. Its excellent harbour, however, and its very desirable situation for the cod and herring fisheries, will probably, at no very distant period, make it a place of considerable importance. It is well calculated for the centre of any trade carried on within the Gulf of St Lawrence. The harbour is not frozen over for some time after all the other harbours in the gulf, and it opens earlier in the spring. A few hours will carry a vessel from it to the Atlantic, through the Gut of Canso; and vessels can lay their course from thence to Three Rivers with a south-west wind, (which prevails in the summer,) which they cannot do to Charlotte Town. This harbour lies also more in the track to Quebec, and other places up the gulf. Its access is safe, having a fine broad and deep entrance, free from sand-bars, or indeed any danger; and can be easily distinguished by two islands, one on each side. Excellent fishing-grounds lie in its vicinity; and herrings enter it in large shoals, early in May. On Saturday evenings, or on Sunday mornings, the Acadian French fishing-shallops come in from the fishing-grounds, close to Three Rivers, to pass Sunday within the harbour.

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The entrance to Three Rivers Bay is between Boughton and Panmure islands. A sandy beach connects them with the main. Pilots are ready to attend when a signal is hoisted; and, although the channel is broad, and many masters of large ships venture in with the assistance of sounding, it is as well not to run the risk of grounding on some sandy spits. Within the bay there are several harbours; the best is Montague River.

The settlements contiguous to George Town, on Cardigan, Montague, and Brudnelle rivers, are rapidly extending, and the settlers are directing their attention more to agriculture than formerly. A considerable quantity of timber has, within the last twenty years, been exported from hence; and a number of superior ships have also been built here for the British market. At present, there are two well-established ship-yards, one at Brudnelle Point, where the French, under Count de Raymond, had an extensive fishery, and some hundreds of acres, now overgrown with trees, under cultivation. The other ship-yard is at Cardigan River. Several large and beautiful vessels have been built at each; but the late ruinous depression in the value of shipping has brought the business of constructing vessels here, as elsewhere, to a stand.

The district of country bordering on Three Rivers must, when populously settled, become, if not the first, one of the most important districts in the colony. Its great natural advantages cannot but eventually secure its prosperity.

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Prince Town (or more properly, the point of a peninsula so called) is situated on the south side of Richmond Bay, and on the north side of the island. There are no houses, however, erected on the building lots; and the pasture lots have long since been converted into farms, which form a large straggling settlement.

Darnley Basin lies between Prince Town and the point of Allanby, which forms the south side of the entrance to Richmond Bay. Along Allanby Point, and round the basin, a range of excellent farms extends, some of which stretch across the point, and have two water fronts, one on the basin, the other on the gulf shore.

The district of Richmond Bay, called by the French, Malpeque, and still generally known by that name, comprehends a number of settlements, the principal of which (after Prince Town and Darnley Basin) are, Ship-Yard, Indian River, St Eleanor's, Bentinck River, Grand River, and the village along the township No. 13.

Richmond Bay is ten miles in depth, and nine miles in breadth. The distance across the isthmus, between the head of this bay and Bedeque, on the opposite side of the island, is only one mile.

There are six islands lying within or across the entrance of Richmond Bay; and its shores are indented with numerous coves, creeks, and rivers. It has three entrances formed by the islands, but the easternmost is the only one that will admit shipping. This place is conveniently situated for cod and her-

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ring fisheries, and was resorted to by the New England fishermen before the American Revolution. During the last twenty years, several cargoes of timber have been exported from this port; and a number of ships and brigs have been built here for the English market.

The inhabitants of Richmond Bay are principally Scotch; many of whom, or their parents, emigrated along with Judge Stewart's family, in 1771, from Cantyre, in Scotland. They retain most of the habits, customs, and superstitions, then prevalent in their native country; so much so, that in mixing with them, I have heard old people, who remembered the amusements common at Christmas, Hallowe'en, and other occasions, fifty years ago, say they could fancy themselves carried back to that period. The old music, the old songs, the old tales of Covenanters and Papistry, the ghost stories of centuries past, are often heard in this district; and I must also add, that I have seen, at the kirk at Prince Town, and in its immediate vicinage, striking delineations of some of the most highly-coloured pictures in the Holy Fair of Burns. I may here observe generally, that customs and manners, which are nearly forgotten in Scotland, have become domiciliated in this district, and in some other parts of the island. There are a few English families, and a great number of Irish, settled among the other inhabitants at Richmond Bay. The Irish settlers were generally employed previously in the Newfoundland fisheries.

At St Eleanor's there was a popular settlement of

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Acadian French. Some difficulties about the tenures of their lands, occasioned them to abandon the place, and settle in other parts of the island.

The inhabitants of Richmond Bay are, generally speaking, a moral and orderly people. The majority profess the Presbyterian faith; and their clergymen are in connexion with the synod of Pictou. At Prince Town, where the Reverend Mr Keir, a man of exemplary piety and sincerity of character, has officiated for about twenty years, there is a very respectable kirk, and a grammar-school; and there are two other kirks on the opposite side of the bay. At St Eleanor's, there is a church erected for the Reverend Mr Jenkins, who has since removed to Charlotte Town. The Scotch Highlanders, and the French Acadians, have also Catholic chapels.

On Lennox Island, within Richmond Bay, the Indians, who are of the once numerous Micmac tribe, and profess the Roman Catholic religion, have a chapel and burying-place. This island, where their chief has a house, is their principal rendezvous; they assemble here about midsummer, on which occasion they meet their priest, or the bishop, who hears confessions, administers baptisms, marries those who are inclined to enter into that state, and makes other regulations for their conduct during the year. After remaining here a few weeks, the greater number resume their accustomed and favourite roving life, and wander along the shores, and through the woods of the neighbouring countries.

Cascumpeque is about sixteen miles north from

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Richmond Bay, and twenty-four miles from the north cape of the island. Its harbour is safe and convenient. The lands are well adapted for agriculture; and this place, by its advantageous situation, is well calculated for extensive fishing establishments. The population consists of Acadian French, and some English families; and the stores, houses, &c., of Mr Hill, the proprietor of the surrounding valuable and fertile lands, on the beautiful point at the harbour's entrance, are most conveniently situated for the trade and fisheries of the Gulf of St Lawrence.

New London, or the district of Grenville Bay, includes the settlements round the bay, and on the rivers that fall into it, and those at the ponds, between the harbour and Allanby Point. On the east lies the very pretty settlement called Cavendish. The harbour of New London will not admit vessels requiring more than twelve feet water; otherwise it is safe and convenient. It is formed by a ridge of sandy downs, stretching from Cavendish, four miles across the mouth of Grenville Bay, until it contracts the entrance on the west side to half a mile. The bar is dangerous; several vessels have been lost on it, but the crews have never perished.

Cape Tryon, three miles to the north, shelters the bar during north-westerly winds. The lands on the west side of this harbour have long been cultivated; and formerly there were some extensive establishments erected here for the purposes of carrying on the fisheries, but circumstances occurred which prevented their prosperity.

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The situation and beauty of the lands here, are equal, if not superior, to any spot on this side of the island. I never even fancied a more delightful walk than along the green swards, and among the clumps of wood, that extend from the west side of this harbour to Cape Tryon. The shore is indented with coves and beaches, which are separated again by high perpendicular cliffs. We have also, at the same time, a broad view of the ocean, in all its states of impetuous turbulence, gentle motion, or smooth serenity, and the charming beauty of the country, in the picturesque features of which, woods with luxuriant foliage, cultivated farms, and high sandy downs, covered with green grass, are conspicuous.

Harrington, or Grand Rustico Bay, has two entrances, and a harbour for small brigs and schooners. Here are two villages inhabited by Acadian French. The surrounding parts of the bay, with Whately and Hunter Rivers, have, within the last ten or twelve years, become populously settled, by an acquisition of useful and industrious peasantry from different parts of Scotland. There is an island lying across between the two entrances, part of which is covered with wood, and the rest, about three miles in extent, forms sandy downs, on which grows a sort of strong bent grass. On the west side of the harbour, there are on the point several buildings erected in 1814 by one Le Seur, who called himself a French refugee. He began a fishery, which he carried on until the fall of that year, and then absconded in a schooner, which he had previously purchased, but not paid for.

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He left, very adroitly, several people to whom he was much in debt; but the property he had in this place was, under judicious management, quite sufficient to pay them all. It was never discovered what this man was. Some considered him a spy of Napoleon. He had certainly the talents and address to conceal his own purposes; and his insinuating and genteel manners made him very popular. He even had a commission as captain in the militia given him by the governor.

On Hunter river, which falls into Harrington Bay, a very flourishing settlement, named New Glasgow, was planted in 1819 by Mr Cormack, the Newfoundland traveller. The settlers emigrated from the neighbourhood of Glasgow; and they have made extensive clearings and improvements since they were located.

Brackley is one of the most flourishing and pleasantly situated settlements on the island. It lies between Grand Rustico and Stanhope Cove. The inhabitants, who are in easy circumstances, and have all fine farms, which are their own property, are among the most industrious and exemplary people in the colony. It has a harbour for fishing-boats.

Little Rustico, or Stanhope Cove, is esteemed one of the most beautiful settlements on the island. Its situation is agreeable, and the prospects and exposures of many of the extensive farms are delightful. Its distance from Charlotte Town, by a good road across the island, is only eleven miles. The lands

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are the property of Sir James Montgomery and his brothers. The harbour will only admit small vessels.

The inhabitants, however, are not generally in a thriving condition. The facility of reaching Charlotte Town market, with a few trout or fresh herrings, or a dozen or two of eggs, to buy rum and tea, is usually said, in Charlotte Town, to be the cause of poverty in this settlement. They certainly cannot be selling eggs in Charlotte Town market and cultivating their lands at the same time.

Bedford, or Tracady Bay, is five miles to the eastward of Stanhope Cove. It is a harbour for schooners and small brigs, the entrance to which is strait, and lies at the west end of a narrow ridge of sand-hills, which stretch across from the east side of the bay.*

The inhabitants are chiefly Scotch Highlanders, or their descendants; and, having settled many years ago, they are unacquainted with improvements in agriculture, and are still but indifferent farmers. On the west side of the bay, and from that to Stanhope Cove, there was, when the island surrendered in 1759, a dense population. The late Captain Macdonald of Glenalladale removed to this place in 1772, with a

* The entrances to all the harbours on the north side of the island, are either at the end, or through narrow ridges of sandy downs;—thus, the entrances to the harbours of Cascumpeque, New London, Grand Rustico, and Tracady, are at the west end of such ridges; and the other harbours, except that of Richmond Bay, have their entrances through similar downs. Strangers are apt to be deceived when approaching these harbours, as they have a general resemblance. It is therefore advisable to have a pilot.

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colony of Highlanders, who settled round the harbour. The property still belongs to his family.

Savage Harbour lies a few miles to the eastward of Tracady. Its entrance is shallow, and will only admit boats. The lands are tolerably well settled, and the inhabitants are chiefly Highlanders. The distance across the island, between this place and Hillsborough River, is about two miles.

The Lake Settlement, situated between Savage Harbour and St Peter's, is a pretty, interesting place. The farms have extensive clearings, and front on a pond, or lagoon, which has an outlet to the gulf.

St Peter's is on the north side of the island, about thirty miles to the eastward of Charlotte Town. Its harbour, owing to a sandy bar across the entrance, will only admit small vessels.* There are a number of settlers on each side of its bay, which is about nine miles long; and the river Morell, falling into it from the south, is a fine rapid stream, frequented annually by salmon. The lands fronting on this bay belong principally to Messrs C. and E. Worrell. They reside on the property, where they are making considerable improvements, and have built granaries,

* A most worthy gentleman, but ill calculated, however, for a merchant, owned a brig, which he loaded at Liverpool with salt for St Peter's. He had lived sufficiently long at the last place to know that nothing but small fishing schooners could pass over the bar; yet he quite overlooked this in his calculation in loading his ship, until he arrived abreast of the harbour, where, fortunately, fine weather favoured him so far as to admit anchoring on the outside for a few days. The ship was then sent to seek for a deeper harbour to unload her cargo—I believe to Gaspé or Quebec.

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an immense barn, a very superior grist-mill, offices, &c., on the lands occupied by themselves. The lands round the bay and rivers have, however, been most wretchedly managed, although this part of the country was in a very flourishing condition, and well cultivated, when possessed by the French.

Greenwich, situated on a peninsula, between St Peter's Bay and the Gulf of St Lawrence, is a charming spot, with extensively cleared lands, once well cultivated. This estate is involved in a Chancery suit, not yet, I believe, decided; and the son of the original complainant died old and grey, five years ago, completely worn out in the cause. It justly belongs to Mr Cambridge of Bristol.

District of the Capes.—This district extends along the north shore of the island, from St Peter's to the east point. There are no harbours between these two places; but several ponds, or small lakes, intervene. For a considerable distance back from the gulf shore, the lands are entirely cleared, with the exception of detached spots or clumps of the spruce fir. The inhabitants are principally from the west of Scotland, and from the Hebrides, and their labour has been chiefly applied to agriculture. They raise, even with the old mode of husbandry, to which they tenaciously adhere, valuable crops; and the greater part of the wheat, barley, oats, and pork brought to Charlotte Town, is from this district. It has the advantage of having a regular supply of seaware (various marine weeds) thrown on its shore, which makes excellent manure, particularly for barley.

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Colville, Rollo, Fortune, and Boughton Bays, are small harbours, with thriving settlements, situated on the south-east of the island, between Three Rivers and the east point. The inhabitants are principally Highlanders and Acadian French.

Murray Harbour lies between Cape Bear and Three Rivers. It is well sheltered; but the entrance is intricate, and large ships can only take in part of their cargoes within the bar. Several cargoes of timber have been exported from this place, and a number of excellent ships, brigs, and small vessels, have been built here by Messrs Cambridge and Sons, whose extensive establishments, mills, ship-yards, &c., have for many years afforded employment to a number of people. The cultivation of the soil has, however, for a long time been neglected; but an accession of industrious people, who have settled here within the last few years, are making great improvements.

The lands in the townships abutting and adjoining Murray Harbour, are very fertile, and form an extensive district, extending from Three Rivers to the Earl of Selkirk's property, at Wood Island. There are some fine and beautiful farms fronting on the shores, and some small lagoons, particularly at Gaspereau pond, situated to the eastward of Murray Harbour.*

Belfast.—This district may be said to include the villages of Great and Little Belfast, Orwell, and Point Prime, with the settlements at Pinnette River, Flat River, Belle Creek, and Wood Islands. At

* Note A.

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the time the island was taken from the French, a few inhabitants were settled in this district; but from that period, the lands, in a great measure, remained unoccupied until the year 1803, when the late enterprising Earl of Selkirk arrived on the island with 800 emigrants, whom he settled along the fronts of the townships that now contain those flourishing settlements. His lordship brought his colony from the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, and by the convenience of the tenures under which he gave them lands, and by persevering industry on their part, these people have arrived at more comfort and happiness than they ever experienced before. The soil in this district is excellent; the population has increased in number, with the accession of friends and relatives chiefly, and the natural increase of the first colonists, to nearly 4000. They raise heavy crops, the overplus of which they carry either to Charlotte Town, Pictou, Halifax, or Newfoundland.

His lordship observes, in his able work on emigration—"I had undertaken to settle these lands with emigrants whose views were directed towards the United States; and, without any wish to increase the general spirit of emigration, I could not avoid giving more than ordinary advantages to those who should join me. * * * To induce people to embark in the undertaking, was, however, the least part of my task. The difficulties which a new settler has to struggle with, are so great and various, that in the oldest and best-established colonies they are not to be avoided altogether. * * * Of these discou-

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ragements the emigrant is seldom fully aware. He has a new set of ideas to acquire: the knowledge which his previous experience has accumulated can seldom be applied; his ignorance as to the circumstances of the country meet him on every occasion. * * * The combined effect of these accumulated difficulties is seen in the long infancy of most new-settled countries. * * * I will not assert that the people I took there [to Prince Edward Island] have totally escaped all difficulties and discouragements, but the arrangements for their accommodation have had so much success, that few, perhaps, in their situation, have suffered less, or have seen their difficulties so soon at an end. * * * These people, amounting to about eight hundred persons, of all ages, reached the island in their ships, on the 7th, 9th, and 27th August, 1803. It had been my intention to come to the island some time before any of the settlers, in order that every requisite preparation might be made. In this, however, a number of untoward circumstances occurred to disappoint me; and on arriving at the capital of the island, I learned that the ship of most importance had just arrived, and the passengers were landing at a place previously appointed for the purpose. * * * I lost no time in proceeding to the spot, where I found that the people had already lodged themselves in temporary wigwams (tents composed of poles and branches).

" The settlers had spread themselves along the shore for the distance of about half a mile, upon the site of an old French village, which had been de-

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stroyed and abandoned after the capture of the island by the British forces in 1758. The land, which had formerly been overgrown with wood, was overgrown again with thickets of young trees, interspersed with grassy glades. * * * I arrived at the place late in the evening, and it had then a very striking appearance. Each family had kindled a large fire near their wigwams, and round these were assembled groups of figures, whose peculiar national dress added to the singularity of the surrounding scene; confused heaps of baggage were everywhere piled together beside their wild habitations; and by the number of fires, the whole woods were illumined. At the end of the line of encampment I pitched my own tent, and was surrounded in the morning by a numerous assemblage of people, whose behaviour indicated that they looked to nothing less than a restoration of the happy days of clanship. * * * These hardy people thought little of the inconvenience they felt from the slightness of the shelter they put up for themselves."

His lordship then states numerous difficulties attending the location of the emigrants, and then proceeds:—"I could not but regret the time which had been lost; but I had satisfaction in reflecting that the settlers had begun the culture of their farms, with their little capitals unimpaired. * * * I quitted the island in September 1803, and after an extensive tour on the continent of America, returned at the end of the same month in the following year. It was with the utmost satisfaction I then found that my plans had been followed up with attention and judg-

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ment. * * * I found the settlers engaged in securing the harvest which their industry had produced. There were three or four families who had not gathered a crop adequate to their own supply; but many others had a considerable superabundance."

I had, while in America, frequent opportunities of knowing the condition of these colonists; and, if possessing land, good houses, large stocks of cattle, abundance of provisions, and a large overplus of produce to sell for articles of convenience, together with being free of debt, be considered to constitute independent circumstances, they are certainly in that state.

Tryon is situated about twenty miles west of Charlotte Town, nearly opposite to Bay de Verts, in Nova Scotia. It is one of the most populous, and considered the prettiest village on the island. A serpentine river winds through it; on each side of which are beautiful farms. The tide flows up about two miles; but the harbour will only admit of small schooners and boats, it having a dangerous bar at the entrance: extensive clearings were made here when possessed by the French.

Bedeque is situated on the south-west part of the island, about eighteen miles from Tryon. It is populously settled on the different sides of the two rivers into which the harbour branches. The harbour is well sheltered by a small island, near which ships anchor and load. There are two or three ship-building establishments here; and it has for some time been a shipping port for timber.

Egmont Bay lies to the west of Bedeque. It is

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a large open bay, sixteen miles broad from the west point to Cape Egmont, and about ten deep. Perceval, Enmore, and two other small rivers, fall into it; on the borders of which are excellent marshes. There is no harbour within this bay for large vessels; and as the shoals lie a considerable distance off, it is dangerous for strangers to venture in, even with small vessels. The inhabitants are chiefly Acadian French, who live in three small thriving villages, on the east side of the bay. The whole population consists only of thirty-nine families.*

* Coming down the Gulf of St Lawrence, from the Bay de Chaleur, in 1819, in a large whale boat, we were driven into this bay, but could not approach within a quarter of a mile of the shore, in consequence of its being there lined by a succession of narrow sand bars, with channels about four feet deep between them. An Acadian, nearly one hundred years old, came out to us on horseback, and carried us, one at a time, behind him on the horse to the shore. We met with great hospitality among the simple Acadians. I stopped in the old patriarch's house; and the bed in which the priest, who visited the village twice a-year, slept, was allotted to me.

There were none except the venerable Acadian and his wife living in the house. He laboured daily in the fields; and she not only frequently assisted him, but cooked, washed, and made and mended his clothes. He gave me much information about the early condition of the island, as he was born on it, and was present when it surrendered to the English, in 1758. Talking of himself, he said, "I am the father of every family" (twenty-four at that time) "in the village; for there is not one of those houses in which I have not either a son, daughter, grandson, or grand-daughter married; and I have also several great-grand-children. Look at my old wife and me," said he, "now living alone as we were when first married. We need not work, it is true, for our children would willingly provide us plenty, even if we had not money laid by. But we know, that if we did not work, we would soon die. Be-

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Hillsborough river enters the country in a north-easterly direction. The tide flows twenty miles farther up than Charlotte Town; and three small rivers branch off to the south.

The scenery at and near the head of this river, is rich and pretty. Mount Stewart, the property and present residence of John Stewart, Esq., late paymaster to the troops at Newfoundland, and Speaker of the present House of Assembly, is a most charming spot; and the prospect from the house, which stands on a rising ground, about half a mile from the river, is truly beautiful. Downwards, the view commands several windings of the Hillsborough, and part of Pisquit river: the edges of each are fringed with marsh grass, and fertile farms range along the banks, while trees of majestic birch, beech, and maple, grow luxuriantly on the south side, and spruce-fir, larch, beech, and poplar on the north, fill up the back-ground. Upwards, the meandering river, on which one may now and then see passengers crossing in a log canoe, or an Indian, with his family, paddling along in a bark one, together with a view of the large Catholic chapel at St Andrew's, the seat of the Catholic bishop,* and the surrounding farms and woods, form another agreeable landscape.

sides, we are in good health and strong, and therefore it would be a great sin to be idle. Neither of us were scarcely ever sick. I never had a headach; and I never took physic in my life." This man and his wife are, I believe, both still living.

* The Right Reverend Aneas M'Eacharen, titular Bishop of Rouen, an excellent and venerable character, equally esteemed by the members of every religious profession in the colony.

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York river penetrates the island in a north-westerly course, the tide flowing about nine miles up. On each side there is a straggling settlement; and many of the inhabitants have excellent farms, with a considerable portion of the land under cultivation.

Elliot river branches off nearly west from Charlotte Town harbour, the tide flowing about twelve miles up. A number of small streams fall into this river; and the lands on both sides exhibit beautiful farms, with rather a thickly-settled population. The scenery about this river has as much of the romantic character as is to be met with in any part of the island.

There are a number of other, though lesser settlements. The principal of these are—Tigniche, near the North Cape, the inhabitants of which are Acadian French; Crapaud and De Sable, both thriving fast, between Hillsborough Bay and Tryon; Cape Traverse and Seven Mile Bay, between Tryon and Bedeque; and the Acadian settlement at Cape Egmont. Settlements are also forming along the roads, particularly in the vicinity of Charlotte Town. The only tract of extent, bordering on the coast, without settlers, is that lying between the North Cape and the West Point. There are several fine streams and ponds in this district; and the soil is rich, and covered with lofty trees. Its only disadvantage is, having no harbour; but it is always safe to land in a boat, if the wind does not blow strongly on the shore. Fish of various kinds swarm along the coast.

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CHAPTER II.

Climate—Soil—Natural Productions—Wild Animals, &c.

THE climate of Prince Edward Island, owing to its lying within the Gulf of St Lawrence, partakes, in some measure, of the climate of the neighbouring countries; but the difference is greater than any one who has not lived in the colony would imagine.

In Lower Canada, the winter is nearly two months longer, the frosts more severe, and the snows deeper; while the temperature, during summer, is equally hot. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton, the frosts are equally severe, the transitions from one extreme of temperature to another more sudden, and fogs frequent along those parts that border on the Atlantic and Bay of Fundy.

The atmosphere of this island is noted for being free of fogs. A day foggy throughout seldom occurs during a year; and in general not more than four or five that are partially so. A misty fog appears sometimes on a summer or autumnal morning, occasioned by the exhalation of the dew that falls during night, but which the rising sun quickly dissipates.

The absence of fogs in this colony has been vari-

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ously accounted for, but never yet from what I conceive the true cause; and which I consider to be, in the first place, that the waters which wash the shores of the island do not come in immediate contact with those of a different temperature; and, secondly, that Cape Breton and Newfoundland, both of which are high and mountainous, lie between it and the Atlantic. These islands arrest the fogs, which would otherwise be driven by strong easterly winds from the banks to Prince Edward Island. Fogs are, it is true, occasionally met with at the entrance of the river St Lawrence; but these are produced by known natural causes. A strong current of cold water runs from the Atlantic through the strait of Belle Isle; its principal stream passes between the island of Anticosti and the coast of Labrador, and coming in contact with the warmer stream of the St Lawrence, a fog is produced.

Prince Edward Island lies so far within the deep bay, formed between Cape Rosier and the north cape of Cape Breton, that the waters which surround it do not mix within many miles of its shores with those of the Atlantic.

As regards the salubrity of the island, it is agreed by all who have lived any time on it, and have compared its climate with that of other countries, that there are few places where health is enjoyed with less interruption. What Mr Stewart, in his excellent account, at the time it was written, of Prince Edward Island, says of the climate, is, I think, strictly true:

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"The fevers and other diseases of the United States are unknown here; no person ever saw an intermittent fever produced on the island, nor will that complaint, when brought here, ever stand above a few days against the influence of the climate. I have seen thirty Hessian soldiers, who brought this disease from the southward, and who were so much reduced thereby as to be carried on shore in blankets, all recover in a very short time; few of them had any return or fit of the complaint after the first forty-eight hours from their landing on the island."

Pulmonary consumption, which is so common and so very destructive in the northern and central states of America, is not often met with here. Probably ten cases of this complaint have not occurred since the settlement of the colony. Colds and rheumatisms are the most common complaints: the first generally affect the head more than the breast, and the last seldom prove mortal. A very large proportion of the people live to old age, and then die of no acute disease, but by the gradual decay of nature.

"Deaths between twenty and fifty years of age are but few, when compared with those of most other countries; and I trust I do not exaggerate the fact, when I state, that not one person in fifty (all accidents included) dies in a year. It follows, from what has been said, that mankind must increase very fast in such a climate; accordingly, large families are almost universal. Industry always secures a comfortable subsistence, which encourages early marriages:

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the women are often grandmothers at forty; and the mother and daughter may each be seen with a child at the breast at the same time."*

The diseases at present commonly known, are usually the consequence of colds or intemperance, if we except consumptions, which I have observed in most cases to be constitutional; and the young women born on the island appear to be more subject to this malady than those who remove to the colony from Europe. The climate is decidedly salubrious. Bilious complaints are unknown; and I have conversed with several people who were affected with *ill* health previous to their settling in this colony, who afterwards enjoyed all the comforts of an unimpaired constitution.

The absence of damp weather and noxious exhalations, those certain generators of disease; and the island having no lakes, or few ponds of fresh water, while it is at the same time surrounded by the sea, will account satisfactorily for the excellence of its climate.

The general structure of the soil is, first, a thin layer of black or brown mould, composed of decayed vegetable substances; then, to the depth of a foot, or more, a light loam prevails, inclining in some places to a sandy, in others to a clayey character; below which, a stiff clay, resting on sandstone, predominates. The prevailing colour of both soil and stone is red.

* Account of Prince Edward Island, by John Stewart, Esq., late paymaster to the forces at Newfoundland. London, 1806.

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To this general character of the soil there are but few exceptions: these are the bogs, or swamps, which consist either of a soft spongy turf, or a deep layer of wet black mould, resting on white clay, or sand.

In its natural state, the quality of the soil may be readily ascertained by the description of wood growing on it; it being richest where the maple, beech, black birch, and a mixture of other trees, grow, and less fertile where the pine, spruce, larch, and other varieties of the fir tribe, are most numerous.

The soil is fertile; and there is scarcely a stone on the surface of the island that will impede the progress of the plough. There is no limestone nor gypsum, nor has coal yet been discovered, although indications of its existence are produced. Iron ore is by many thought to abound, but no specimens have as yet been discovered, although the soil is in different places impregnated with oxide of iron; and a sediment is lodged in the rivulets running from various springs, consisting of metallic oxides.

Red clay, of superior quality for bricks, abounds in all parts of the island; and a strong white clay, fit for potters' use, is met with, but not in great quantities. A solitary block of granite presents itself occasionally to the traveller; but two stones of this description are seldom found within a mile of each other.

Volney and some other writers have remarked, that the granite base of the Alleghany mountains extends so far as to form the rocky stratum of all the countries of America lying to the eastward of them To this, as a general rule, there is more than one

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exception. The base of Prince Edward Island, which is sandstone, appears to extend under the bed of Northumberland Strait, into the northern part of Nova Scotia, and into the eastern division of New Brunswick, until it is lost in its line of contact with the granite base of the Alleghanies, about the river Nipisighit.

On some of the bogs, or swamps, of this island, there is scarcely any thing but shrubs and moss growing; these are rather dry, and resemble the turf bogs in Ireland. Others again are wet, spongy, and deep, producing dwarf species of alder, long grass, and a variety of shrubs. Cattle are frequently, in the spring of the year, lost in these swamps. Such portions of these lands as have been drained, form excellent meadows.

There are other tracts called barrens, some of which, in a natural state, produce nothing but dry moss, or a few shrubs. The soil of these spots is a light brown, or whitish sand. Some of the lands formerly covered with pine forests, now incline to this character. Both swamps and barrens, however, bear but a small proportion to the whole surface of the island; and as they all may, with judicious management, be improved advantageously, it cannot be said that there is an acre of the whole incapable of cultivation. The marshes, which are overflowed by the tide, rear a strong nutritious grass, and, when dyked, yield heavy crops of wheat or hay.

Large tracts of the original pine forests have been destroyed by fires, which have raged over the island at

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different periods. In these places white birches, spruce-firs, poplars, and wild cherry-trees, have sprung up. The largest trees of this second growth that I have seen, were from twelve to fifteen inches diameter, and growing in places laid waste by a tremendous fire, which raged in 1750. At its first settlement, and previous to the destruction, by fire, at different periods, of much valuable timber, the island was altogether covered with wood, and contained forests of majestic pines. Trees of this genus still abound, but not in extensive groves; and from the quantity which has been exported to England, there is not more pine at present growing on the island than will be required by the inhabitants for house and ship-building, and other purposes. The principal kinds of other trees are spruce-fir, hemlock, beech, birch, and maple, growing in abundance; oak, elm, ash, and larch, are not plentiful, and the quality of the first very inferior.

Poplars, of great dimensions, are plentiful; white cedar is found growing in the northern parts. Many other kinds of trees are met with, such as dogwood, alder, wild cherry-tree, Indian pear-tree, &c., and most of the shrubs, wild fruits, herbs, and grasses, common to other parts of British North America. Sarsaparilla, ginseng, and probably many other medicinal plants, are plentiful in all parts of the island. Among the wild fruits, raspberries, strawberries, cranberries, which are very large, blueberries, and whortleberries, are astonishingly abundant.

The principal native quadrupeds are, bears, loup-

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cerviers, foxes, hares, otters, musquashes, minks, squirrels, weasels, &c.

For many years after the settlement of the colony, bears were very numerous, and exceedingly annoying and injurious to the inhabitants, destroying their black cattle, sheep, and hogs. They are now much reduced in number, and rarely met with. A premium for their destruction, as well as that of the loup-cervier, is granted by the colonial government.

The loup-cervier still commits great ravages among the sheep; and one will kill several of those innocent creatures during a night, as it sucks the blood only, leaving the flesh untouched.

Foxes and hares are numerous. Otters, martins, and musk-rats, being so long hunted on account of their skins, have become scarce. The flying, brown, and striped varieties of squirrels, are plentiful. Weasels and ermines are native animals, but very rarely seen.

Formerly, mice were in some seasons so very numerous, as to destroy the greater part of the corn about a week before it ripened. Within the last twenty years, little injury has been done by these mischievous animals, although they have been known in such swarms, previous to that period, as to cut down whole fields of wheat in one night.

For many years after the settlement of the colony, walruses, or sea-cows, frequented different parts along the shores, and the numbers killed were not only considerable, but they afforded a source of advantageous enterprise to the inhabitants. Their teeth,

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from fifteen inches to two feet in length, were considered as fine a quality of ivory as those of the elephant; and their skins, about an inch in thickness, were cut into stripes for traces, and used on the island, or exported to Quebec. They afforded also excellent oil. None of these animals have appeared near the shores of the island for thirty years, but are still seen occasionally at the Magdalene Islands, and other places to the northward.

Seals of the description called harbour seal, appear in the bays, and round the shores, during summer and autumn; and in the spring, immense numbers sometimes come down on the ice from the northward. These are the same kind as the ice seals of Newfoundland.

Most of the birds described in a former chapter frequent this island; and owls, crows, ravens, woodpeckers, partridges, with some others, remain during the whole year.

Partridges are larger, and considered finer, than in England. A provincial law prohibits the shooting of them between the first of April and the first of September. Wild pigeons arrive in great flocks in summer from the southward, and breed in the woods.

Wild geese appear in March, and, after remaining five or six weeks, proceed to the northward to breed, from whence they return in September, and leave for the southward in November. Brent geese and wild ducks are plentiful.

There are no game laws, unless the provincial act for preserving partridges during four months be

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considered such; nor does it appear that persons can be hindered from shooting, even on lands under cultivation, unless by proceeding against them as trespassers.

The only reptiles known on the island are brown and striped snakes, neither of which are venomous, and the red viper, toad, bull-frog, and green-frog. There are several beautiful varieties of the butterfly, which, with locusts, grasshoppers, crickets, horned-beetle, bug-adder, black fly, adder fly, horse fly, sand fly, mosquito, ant, horned wasp, humble bee, fire fly, and a numerous variety of spiders, are the principal insects.

Mosquitoes and sand flies are only annoying during the heat of summer, in the neighbourhood of marshes, and in the woods; where the lands are cleared to any extent, they are seldom troublesome.

The varieties of fishes that swarm in the harbours and rivers, or around the shores, and that abound on the different fishing banks in the vicinage of the island, are numerous, each abounding in great plenty, and of the same kind and quality as those already described.

The varieties of shell-fish are oysters, clams, mussels, razor shell-fish, wilks, lobsters, crabs, shrimps, &c.

The oysters are considered the finest in America, and equally delicious as those taken on the English shores. There are two or three varieties, the largest of which is from six to fifteen inches long. There were so many cargoes taken away annually to Que-

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bec and Halifax, that the legislative assembly passed an act, four years ago, prohibiting their export for some time.

Lobsters are very plentiful, and, when in season, excellent.

The kinds of fish usually brought to Charlotte Town market, with which, however, it is but badly supplied, are cod, haddock, mackerel, herring, salmon, trout, eels, perch, smelts, &c. No market can be more easily or regularly supplied with fish than that of Charlotte Town; yet, from indolence, and the ease with which the labouring classes can procure food from the soil, it is the worst fish-market in the world.

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CHAPTER III.

Agricultural Productions—Seed-time—Harvest—Horned Cattle—Sheep—Swine—Horses—Scotch Highlanders slovenly Farmers—Manner of Clearing and Cultivating Forest Lands—Consequence of Fires in the Woods—Manures—Agricultural Society—Habitations of New Settlers, &c.

THE excellence of its soil, its climate, and the configuration of its surface, adapt the lands of Prince Eward Island more particularly for agriculture than for any other purpose.

All kinds of grain and vegetables raised in England, ripen in perfection. Wheat is raised in abundance for the consumption of the inhabitants, and a surplus is exported to Nova Scotia. Both summer and winter rye, and buckwheat, produce weighty crops; but the culture of these grains is scarcely attended to. Barley and oats thrive well, and are, in weight and quality, equal to any met with in the English markets, and superior to what are produced in the United States.

Beans of all kinds yield plentiful returns. Peas, when not injured by worms, which is often the case, thrive well; and turnips are sometimes liable to injury from flies and worms. In no country do parsnips, carrots, beets, mangel-wurzel, or potatoes, yield

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more bountiful crops. Cucumbers, salads, cabbages, cauliflowers, asparagus, and indeed all culinary vegetables common in England, arrive at perfection. Cherries, plums, damsons, black, red, and white currants, ripen perfectly, and are large and delicious. Gooseberries do not always succeed, but probably from improper management.

The apples raised are inferior in quality, but certainly from want of attention, as many of the trees planted by the French, previous to the conquest of the island in 1758, are still bearing fruit; and some fine samples of apples are produced by those farmers who have taken pains in rearing the trees.

Indian corn, or maize, is occasionally planted, but it does not by any means thrive so well as in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, nor do I consider it so congenial to the soil.

Flax is raised, of excellent quality, and manufactured by the farmers' wives into linen for domestic use. This article might be cultivated extensively for exportation.

Hemp will grow, but not to the same perfection as in Upper Canada, or some parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The principal grasses are timothy, red and white clover, and a kind of soft indigenous upland grass, of which sheep are very fond; also marsh grasses, on which young and dry cattle are fed during the winter months.

As a few cold days and wet weather frequently occur in the latter end of April, or the first week

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of May, wheat or oats are seldom sown until the first of the latter month. Barley will ripen if sown before the 20th of June, although it is generally sown earlier. Potatoes are planted about the last of May, or before the middle of June, and often later. Turnip seed is sown about the middle of July; some prefer sowing it the first week in August, in which case the leaves are not so liable to injury from worms. Gardening commences early in May, and generally combines the different departments of fruits, flowers, and vegetables.

Haymaking begins in the latter end of July, and as the weather is commonly very dry at this time, it is attended with little trouble in curing. Hay is sometimes put away under cover, but oftener made up into stacks or ricks. Experienced farmers say, that the common run of old settlers on the island dry their hay before they stack it. Barley is reaped in August; there are two varieties of it, five-rowed and two-rowed ears. The wheat and oat harvest commences sometimes before, but generally after the first of September. Some use a cradle for cutting their grain, and afterwards make it up into sheaves and stooks, but the common way is to reap and lay it up in sheaves, and then gather and stack it in the same manner as in England.

Potatoes and turnips are left undug until the middle or end of October: the first are generally ploughed up, except on new land, where the hoe alone is used. Parsnips may remain in the ground during winter,

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and are finer when dug up in spring than at any other period.

Milch cows, and such horses and cattle as require most care, are housed in November; but December is the usual month for housing cattle regularly. Sheep thrive better by being left out all winter; but they require to be fed, and it is necessary to have a shelter without a roof, to guard against the cold winds and snow drift.

Black cattle are generally smaller than in England: a good ox will weigh from eight to nine hundred pounds, but the common run will not exceed six or seven hundred. The beef is usually very fine and tender.

Sheep thrive remarkably well; but, until lately, very little care was observed in improving the breed. The late Attorney-General, Mr Johnston, kept a flock of fine sheep, equal to any in England, on his excellently cultivated farm near Charlotte Town; and since that time, other farmers are following the example, from observing that the quantity of wool they produced was more than double the weight yielded by the common breed. The mutton, however, of the old breed, is usually fat and well-flavoured.

Swine seem to thrive here as well as in any country, and the pork brought to Charlotte Town by the farmers, is probably equal in general to that met with in the Irish market; but from want of proper care in rearing, and possessing a good breed of pigs, one half the number raised on the island are tall, long-snouted animals, resembling greyhounds nearly

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as much as they do the better kind of hogs; and when, as they generally are, left during summer to range uncontrolled through the woods, they are as wild and swift as foxes.

The horses are, with few exceptions, small, and capable of performing long journeys, and enduring great fatigue, with much spirit. During summer, it is usual to take them off the grass, and ride them the same day thirty or forty miles without feeding, frequently on bad roads, then turn them loose to feed on grass during night, and ride them back on the following day: all this is performed frequently without apparent injury to the animal. The old Canadian breed, originally from Normandy, are the hardiest horses, and seem as if formed for the severe usage they undergo. Their owners take them almost every week during winter to Charlotte Town, twenty or thirty miles, and leave them tied, often without food, to a post or fence for several hours, and return home with them the same night; the horse hungry and sober, but the master rarely in the latter state. I have been told by an old Acadian Frenchman, that for several years after the conquest of the island, a vast number of horses were running in a wild state about the eastern parts. Such horses as are taken good care of, and have been trained, make very agreeable saddle, or carriage horses. The breed is likely now to improve fast, from those introduced by Colonel Ready, the present governor; and this may be said of horned cattle, sheep, and hogs; for, when last on the island, in 1828, I was astonished at the

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improvement in the horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep exhibited at the agricultural show, and also at the excellence of the wheat, oats, and other produce.

The greater number of farmers, particularly the Highland Scotch, keep by far too many cattle for the quantity of provender they usually have to feed them with during winter. These people think if they can manage to carry their cattle through the winter, they are doing well; but the consequence is, that their cattle, especially milch cows, are in such lean condition in spring, that they are not in tolerable order until July. Until milch cows also are prevented from ranging at large, as almost all the cattle are allowed to do, and until they are better fed during winter, one half the quantity of butter and cheese that might be expected, will not be made on the island. Those who keep their cows within enclosures are sensible of this. The prejudices of the old settlers, however, as regards this, and other customs and habits, must necessarily give way to the force of example set before them by the superior management of many farmers who follow the most approved modes of husbandry and grazing.

Much may also be expected from the exertions of agricultural societies, established since Governor Ready's appointment to the administration. Cattle shows, and exhibitions of agricultural produce, are established. Prizes are given to those who produce the best specimens of each. It is also pleasing to observe the improvement in the mode of cultivating the lands, which has spread over the colony during

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the last few years, and which may be attributed principally to the force of example, set by a few of the old settlers, chiefly the loyalists and Lowland Scotch, and by an acquisition of industrious and frugal settlers from Yorkshire, in England, and from Dumfries-shire and Perthshire, in Scotland.

The principal disadvantage connected with this island, and in fact the only one of any importance, is the length of the winters, which renders it necessary to have a large store of hay for supporting live stock; and which also, from the abrupt opening of spring and summer, abridges the season for sowing and planting. These disadvantages are, however, felt with equal severity in Prussia, and over a great part of Germany, where the people employed in agricultural pursuits form the majority of the inhabitants.

About a ton of hay, with straw for each, taking large and small together, is requisite to winter black cattle properly. The winter season has also many advantages—wood and firing poles are easily brought from the forests, over the smooth slippery roads made by the frosts and snows, and distances are shortened by the bays and rivers being frozen over. The ground is also considered to be fertilized by deep snows and frosts; and there are few farmers who consider the winter an impediment to agriculture, otherwise than the spring opening so suddenly upon them, and the astonishing quickness of vegetation, leaving them only five or six weeks for preparing the soil, and sowing and planting. When we consider, however, that the autumn and fall are

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much finer, and of longer duration than in Europe, and the winter setting in generally much later, the farmers have, in reality, little cause to complain of the seasons, as they have abundant time to plough all the grounds in the fall, which is, at the same time, known to be the most proper season for American tillage.

The common plan of laying out farms in this colony, is in lots containing one hundred acres each, having a front of ten chains, either on the sea-shore, a bay, river, or road, and running one hundred chains back. This plan, from the farms being in strips instead of square blocks, is often objected to; but it has many advantages, by giving a greater number of settlers the benefits of roads, shores, and running streams.

It is curious and interesting to observe the progress which a new settler makes in clearing and cultivating a wood farm, from the period he commences in the forest, until he has reclaimed a sufficient quantity of land to enable him to follow the mode of cultivation he practised in his native country. As the same course is, with little variation, followed by all new settlers in every part of America, the following description may, to avoid repetition, be considered applicable to all the British American settlements:—

The first object is to select the farm among such vacant lands as are most desirable, and after obtaining the necessary tenure, the settler commences, usually assisted in his first operations by the nearest

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inhabitants, by cutting down the trees on the site of his intended habitation, and those growing on the ground immediately adjoining. This operation is performed with the axe, by cutting a notch on each side of the tree, about two feet above the ground, and rather more than half through on the side it is intended the tree should fall on. The lower edges of these notches are cut horizontally, the upper making an angle of about 60° with the ground. The trees are all felled in the same direction, and after lopping off the principal branches, cut into ten or twelve feet lengths. On the spot on which the house is to be erected, these junks are rolled away, and the smaller parts cleared off, or burnt.

The habitations which the new settlers first erect, are all nearly in the same style, and in imitation of, or altogether like, the dwellings of an American backwoodsman, constructed in the rudest manner. Round logs, from fifteen to twenty feet long, without the least dressing, are laid horizontally over each other, and notched in at the corners to allow them to come, along the walls, within about an inch of each other. One is first laid on each side to begin the walls, then one at each end, and the building is raised in this manner, by a succession of logs crossing and binding each other at the corners, until the wall is six or seven feet high. The seams are closed with moss or clay; three or four rafters are then raised to support the roof, which is covered with boards, or more frequently with the rinds of birch or fir-trees, and thatched with spruce branches, or, if near the sea-

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coast, with a long marine grass, which is found in quantities along the shores. Poles are laid over this thatch, tied together with birch withes, to keep the whole securely down. A wooden frame-work, placed on a slight foundation of stone roughly raised a few feet above the ground, leads through the roof, which, with its sides closed up with clay and straw kneaded together, forms the chimney. A space large enough for a door, and another for a window, is cut through the walls; and in the centre of the cottage, a square pit or cellar is dug, for the purpose of preserving potatoes or other vegetables during winter; over this pit, a floor of boards, or logs hewed flat on the upper side, is laid, and another over head, to form a sort of garret. When the door is hung, a window sash, with six or nine, or sometimes twelve panes of glass, is fixed, and one, two, or three truckle beds are put up: the habitation is then considered ready to receive the new settler and his family. Although such a dwelling has certainly nothing handsome, comfortable, or even attractive, unless it be its rudeness in appearance, yet it is by no means so miserable a lodging as the habitations of the poorer peasantry in Ireland, and in some parts of England and Scotland. In a few years, however, a much better house is built, with two or more rooms, by all steady industrious settlers.*

* The manner of building these habitations, and the mode of clearing and cultivating forest lands, may be considered equally applicable to all the other colonies.

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Previous to commencing the cultivation of wood lands, the trees that are cut down, lopped, and cut into lengths, are, when the proper season arrives, generally in May, set on fire, which consumes all the branches and small wood. The logs are then either piled in heaps and burnt, or rolled away for fencing. Those who can afford the expense, use oxen to haul off the large unconsumed timber. The surface of the ground, the remaining wood, is all black and charred; working on it, and preparing it for the seed, is as disagreeable probably as any labour in which a man can be engaged. Men, women, and children, however, must employ themselves in gathering and burning the rubbish, and in such parts of labour as the strength of each adapts them to. If the ground be intended for grain, it is sown, without tillage, over the surface, and the seed covered with a hoe. By some a triangular harrow is used, in place of the hoe, to shorten labour. Others break up the earth with a one-handled plough, (the old Dutch plough,) which has the share and coulter locked into each other, drawn also by oxen, while a man attends with an axe, to cut the roots in its way. Little regard is paid in this case, to making straight furrows, the object being no more than to work up the ground. With such rude preparation, however, three successive good crops are raised without any manure. Potatoes are planted in round hollows, scooped four or five inches deep, and about twenty in circumference, in which three or five sets are planted, and covered over with a hoe. Indian corn, cucumbers, pumpkins, pease, and

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beans, are cultivated on new lands, in the same manner as potatoes. Grain of all kinds, turnip, hemp, flax, and grass seeds, are sown over the surface, and covered by means of a hoe, rake, or harrow. Wheat is usually sown on the same ground, the year after potatoes, without ploughing, but covering the seed with a rake or harrow; and oats are sown on the same land the following year. Some farmers, and it is certainly a prudent plan, sow timothy, or clover seed, the second year, along with the wheat, and afterwards let the ground remain under grass until the stumps of the trees can be easily got out, which usually requires three or four years. With a little additional labour, these obstructions to cultivation might be removed the second year. The roots of spruce, birch, and beech decay soonest; those of pine and hemlock scarcely decay in an age. After the stumps are removed from the soil, and those natural hillocks, called cradle hills,* which render the whole of the forests of America full of inequalities of from one to three feet high, are levelled, the plough may always be used, and the system of husbandry followed that is most approved of in England or Scotland.

When the soil is exhausted by cropping, which, on alluvial lands, is scarcely ever the case, various manures may be procured and applied. In many parts of America, limestone, gypsum, &c. are abundant; but little else except stable dung is ever used.

* These tumuli have been formed during the growth of the forest trees, by the extension of their large roots, and the portion of the trunks under ground, swelling the earth gradually into hillocks.

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Composts are rarely known; and different manures, that would fertilize the soil, are so much disregarded, that, generally speaking, the cultivation of the soil is conducted in so slovenly a manner, that it appears astonishing how many of the settlers raise enough to support their families. In this island, within many of the bays and rivers, numerous banks of mussel-mud abound, which consists of mussels, shells, and mud composed of decayed vegetable and other substances. This forms an extremely rich manure, containing about forty-five parts of the carbonate of lime, and imparts extraordinary fertility for ten or twelve years to the soil. Sea-weed, or ware, which is thrown on the shores, especially on the north side of the island, in great quantities, is another excellent manure, particularly for barley crops; and even the common mud, which abounds in the creeks, may be applied as a manure with advantage.

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CHAPTER IV.

Trade, &c.

WHEN this island was possessed by the French, the population being unimportant, little trade was carried on by the inhabitants; and the government, aware that its superior natural advantages would drain off most of the settlers at and near Louisburg, discouraged its fisheries, by not allowing them to be carried on except in one or two harbours. The inhabitants were, in consequence, confined to agriculture.

On the colony being settled by the British, a trade, of no great extent, however, was carried on in the articles of fish, oil, sea-cow skins, and seal-skins, which were exported to Quebec, Halifax, and Boston. The people then engaged in the fisheries were principally Acadian French, who built them small shallops and boats on the island.

As the best fishing banks within the Gulf of St Lawrence lie in the immediate vicinage of this island, it seems, at first, rather surprising that extensive fisheries have not before this time been established. There have been, it is true, some attempts of the kind made, which, from different causes, have failed. The American revolutionary war affected the first

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trials, and the others fell through from mismanagement, want of capital, and circumstances peculiar to the natural state of the colony. The last cause might naturally be considered as a decided advantage over Newfoundland, for carrying on the fisheries, when we discover that it arises from the island producing great plenty of all kinds of provisions for fisheries, abundance of wood for building vessels and boats, and numerous safe and convenient harbours. The fact is, that the prime necessaries of life being procured with such ease from the soil, and small vessels being so readily built, for carrying overplus produce from the different harbours to where it is wanted, and for which various articles of luxury are obtained, form the great obstacle at present to the success of fishing establishments. This objection will also continue until the country becomes so populous that a livelihood can be obtained from the sea, with much the same labour, or price of labour, as from the soil; for at present it is out of the question for a merchant who would supply people for fishing voyages, to depend on the industry of those whom he employed or trusted, as is the case in Newfoundland, where the fisheries have so long formed the primary occupation of the inhabitants.

The timber trade has been for many years of some importance, by employing a number of ships and men; but, as regards the prosperity of the colony, it must be considered rather as an impediment to its improvement than an advantage, by diverting the inhabitants from agriculture, demoralizing their habits, and from its enabling them to procure ardent spirits

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with little difficulty, which in too many instances has led to drunkenness, poverty, and loss of health.

A trade from which the island has derived, and will probably continue to receive, considerable benefit, is that of supplying Newfoundland with schooners for the seal and cod fisheries, black cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, oats, potatoes, turnips, &c.; the returns for which are made either in money, West India produce, or such other articles as may best answer. Agricultural produce is also exported to Halifax, Miramichi, and other places in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Beef, pork, sheep, hams, cheese, oats, potatoes, flour, and fish, are occasionally exported to Bermuda.

The branch of trade in which the largest capital has been invested, and that which has given employment to the greatest number of men, while it has at the same time been of great benefit to the colony, although to none of the merchants engaged in it, was the building of ships for the British market. More than one hundred and fifty ships, registering from one hundred and fifty to six hundred tons, have been built within the last few years in different parts of the island. It must be admitted, that many of these ships have been built by careless and unprincipled workmen; but the greater number are fine substantial vessels, sailing now principally from the ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Plymouth.

The wood of this colony used in ship-building is, if allowed proper time to season, of superior quality, although a most unfair prejudice has been hatched

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and kept up against it, as well as against that growing in all our American colonies. It is, however, a well-known fact, that vessels built in this island, from fifteen to twenty years ago, are still substantial and tight: this circumstance alone should be sufficient to remove the most inveterate prejudice.

When we view the position of Prince Edward Island, in regard to the countries bordering on the Gulf of St Lawrence, the excellence of its harbours for fishing stations, and take into account that the whole of its surface may, with little exception, be considered fertile and easily-cultivated soil, it does not certainly require the spirit of prophecy to perceive, that unless political arrangements may interfere with its prosperity, it will at no very remote period, or as soon as its population increases to about one hundred thousand inhabitants, become a valuable agricultural as well as commercial country. But before the trade of the island can either flourish or maintain a regular or respectable character, several alterations and improvements must take place. A system ruinous to the cultivators of the soil, and injurious to the credit of the merchants and shopkeepers, grew out of circumstances which might have been, during the early settlement of the colony, in many instances necessary, and perhaps benevolent. This at first was no more than giving credit for a few indispensable articles to emigrants. During the war, it became a systematic business to sell rum, tobacco, tea, and various articles, on credit to the farmer, at enormous advances, which for some years swallowed

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up the whole fruits of his industry, leaving but a bare subsistence for his family.

I have been repeatedly told that a shopkeeper, who had at that time little opposition in his business, always enquired of a new customer who wanted a gallon of rum, a little tea, or a few gallons of molasses, on credit, if he possessed a cow; and if it turned out that he did, the fat shopkeeper grunted out, "Hah, well, let him have it." At that time, and long after, when Newfoundland, in consequence of the war, was precariously supplied with fresh meat, a cow was an object of profitable importance to a Charlotte Town shopkeeper.

At length shopkeepers multiplied, and the system of selling goods to the farmers on credit rather increased than diminished. But the shopkeepers must raise money to remit, or their own credit must end; and farmers, especially after the war, could not pay them. A list of debts was accordingly made out by the shopkeeper, and those under five pounds given to a magistrate to sue for immediately, while the rest were probably given to an attorney to recover. In a country where specie is exceedingly scarce, a vast quantity of property is sacrificed even to satisfy the demand for costs; and it has often happened, that the most respectable and good-natured shopkeepers have, after suing for their debts, had to pay not only the expenses, but to let the debt itself remain over for another year. This last observation is, however, more applicable to those who were in a more general business than mere shopkeeping.

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The system of giving credit gave birth to another evil, which combined in itself the elements of scheming, overreaching, evading the fulfilment of contracts, and petty litigation. This state of things was ruinous to reputable merchants, who had spirit enough to attempt the fisheries, or to conduct business on a general and respectable scale; and when the contracts which people entered into with them, for building vessels, or furnishing cargoes of timber, or indeed any other engagement, were not fulfilled, such was the condition of justice, that redress was seldom to be had. The merchants engaged in ship-building felt the full weight of all these evils; and the shopkeepers must now bear with the difficulties attending payment for the goods they sell, when bills are not to be had, and when the current specie of the island, if it were even plentiful, can only be remitted at a loss of 25 to 30 per cent.

This state of things must continue until there is at least a sufficient quantity, in value, of agricultural produce and fish, to export as payment of the imports. Very moderate industry, and an honest degree of punctuality, would bring this about. If the proprietors of the lands would take payments of the rents due them in wheat, oats, and barley, at such a price as would bear the expense of exporting to England, the prosperity, and the trade of the island would be rapidly increased, the rents would be better paid, as there would then be no excuse on the part of the tenant, and the value of the lands would in a very short time be doubled. There is nothing but the raising of

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sufficient agricultural productions for staple export commodity can ever create any prosperous trade in this colony. Its fisheries can only thrive when it has a dense population, as a subsistence is too easily obtained from the soil to tempt men away to the more laborious business of fishing.

Ship-building, unless it be the building of vessels for the carrying trade of the colony, and a few schooners for the Newfoundland fisheries, is at an end.

The selling of goods on credit to the farmers must be limited, and litigation also discouraged, before trade can thrive, or before spirited men can enter into business with any degree of confidence.

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CHAPTER V.

Society—Amusements—Pursuits of the Inhabitants—English Settlers—Scotch Highlanders Irish American Loyalists—Acadian French—Micmac Indians, &c.—Religion—Education—Administration of Justice—Prospects for New Settlers, &c.

SOCIETY in any country, as is well known, takes its tone from the spirit and character of its government, and from the education, pursuits, professions, and religion of its inhabitants. The population of Charlotte Town is composed of English, Scotch, and *Irish*, who have at different times settled on the island, and the descendants of the first settlers, part of whom were American loyalists, the rest emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland. There are scarcely three families in the town that came from the same part of other countries; and there is consequently, from their education and habits having been dissimilar, a diversity of manners among them, very unlike the sameness in language and habits observed in the lesser towns of the United Kingdom.

During the administration of Governor Patterson, and of his successors, General Fanning, and Governor Desbarres, the best circle of society in Charlotte Town was not only more extensive in numbers than at present, but allowed to be both elegant and respect-

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able; and however much the members who composed it might have differed in their views and opinions in regard to the political affairs of the colony, they did not allow either to interfere with public amusements or private hospitality. Indeed, the politeness and attention with which respectable strangers were received, became proverbial.

During the course of Governor Smith's long administration, those social and kindly feelings which render society delightful, and which are necessary to make a residence in any place agreeable, unhappily weakened and languished in the same ratio as the number of respectable residents diminished. Some of the leading people left the colony in disgust; others by their deaths left blanks, at that period not readily to be filled up.

The last American war gave animation and vigour to society; and the loyalty of the inhabitants, under many unpleasant circumstances of misrule and overbearing government, manifested particularly on some of the review days at Charlotte Town, was remarkably conspicuous. Several companies of militia went to great expense in finding handsome uniforms; and they also took great pride in acquiring a mastery in military exercises. The artillery company, the cavalry company, and some of the light companies, became remarkably alert in going through their movements and exercises. An act of seeming caprice, however, on the part of the governor, which removed their favourite officers, and the order for placing Captain Barrington of the regulars under arrest, apparently

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for countenancing them, destroyed the pride which animated the militia.

The amusements of Charlotte Town, although not on so extensive a scale, are in imitation of those at Halifax, which will be described more fully hereafter, when treating of Nova Scotia. During winter, assemblies are usual, once a month, or oftener. An amateur theatre, very respectably fitted up, affords an opportunity of spending some pleasant hours. Picnic parties* are common during summer and winter. Dinner parties were at one time usual, but have not been so much so for some time past. The principal gentlemen of Charlotte Town generally dine together, at one of the hotels, on the anniversaries of the titular saints of each of the three kingdoms, and also during the sittings of the colonial legislature, and of the courts of law. The ice, during winter, frequently affords excellent skating. Shooting and fishing are other sources of amusement; and annual races, near Charlotte Town, have for some time been fairly supported. A public subscription library, on a respectable footing, affords, either to those who read merely for amusement, or to such as wish to keep pace, in the acquirement of knowledge, with the growing intelligence of the world, a variety of entertaining and standard works. There is also a very well-conducted weekly paper, published at Charlotte Town. As the expense of keeping a horse is trifling, almost every housekeeper has one or two; and during win-

* Note B.

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ter, it is a favourite amusement among all classes to drive in cabrioles, which are slight open carriages set on runners, which slip easily and rapidly over the snow and ice.

The inhabitants of Charlotte Town support themselves by various means. Those connected with the government offices, custom-house, &c., receive their pay from government; for the colony does not pay its civil list, nor would it at present be prudent to require the legislature to provide for the same, as the improvement of the colony, by opening roads, erecting bridges, and the encouragement of agriculture, to which the colonial revenue is appropriated, would be retarded. The legislature have voted a sum annually to the present worthy Governor, but probably not so much as they should, as he spends his full salary, as well as the sum voted by the Assembly, in the country; and the whole is barely sufficient to support the respectability of the government.

Many of the inhabitants are engaged in trade; but the most extensive merchants having been ruined by their heavy speculations in ships, the present trade of Charlotte Town is confined to the selling of various kinds of British goods, and West India produce, for money, or, in the way of barter, for agricultural produce. The other inhabitants follow various kinds of handicraft, or support themselves by keeping taverns, or dram-shops.

When travelling through the settlements, we discover the inhabitants of Prince Edward Island to consist of Englishmen, who, though fewer than any

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others in numbers, are found from almost every county in England; Scotchmen, who form more than half of the whole population, from the Highlands, Hebrides, and the southern counties; Irishmen from different parts of the Emerald Isle; American loyalists; and a few Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. The whole population may be estimated at thirty-five thousand.

The English settlers, although for some time discontented with their condition, are generally found to thrive, particularly those from Yorkshire; and they are much more attentive to in-door comfort and cleanliness than most other new settlers.

The Highland Scotch, particularly those who settled first in the colony, and their descendants, are exceedingly regardless of domestic cleanliness or neatness, while they are at the same time in much better circumstances than they would be in their native country. The Lowland Scotch make probably the best settlers, at least those who have during late years removed to the island may be considered so; and the Perthshire Highlanders, as well as those sent to the colony by the late Earl of Selkirk, may also be classed among the most thriving part of the population. The American loyalists, who removed to the island after the revolutionary war, are generally most industrious in their occupations; and although frequently, in consequence of following too many pursuits, not so substantial in their means as those who live by farming alone, yet they have, with few exceptions, good houses, and live very comfortably. They

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are extremely ingenious, building their own houses, are carpenters and joiners, make their own shoes, ploughs, harrows, carts, sledges, cabrioles, &c. The women spin, knit, and weave linens, cottons, and woollen cloth for domestic use.

The Irish emigrants soon better their condition in this colony; but they are certainly a less steady class of settlers than any other.

There are about 5000 Acadian French on the island, who are principally the descendants of the French who were settled in Nova Scotia before the conquest of Cape Breton; they profess the Catholic religion. Their priests are educated in Canada; and by their example, as well as precepts, teach morals and propriety to their flocks. These people are not in such easy circumstances as the other inhabitants of the island. Those who confine themselves to agriculture are, it is true, more affluent, perhaps sufficiently so for people in their station, especially when we consider that few of them can either read or write. At the villages of Rustico, they follow so many different pursuits, that they cannot possibly succeed. At one time they are employed building vessels, at another cutting timber in the woods, then for a few weeks farming, then fishing, and too often idling their time at Charlotte Town. It follows, that they are poor, while the Acadians, in other parts of the island, although their mode of husbandry, from which the force of example will not induce them to depart, is rude and tardy, acquire what renders their condition independent.

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The Indians who wander about the colony, are now few in number; probably not more than thirty families are seen on the island. They are part of the remnant of the once numerous Mic-mac tribe; profess the Roman Catholic religion; and have a chapel and burying-place, as already observed, on Lennox Island, Richmond Bay.

The inhabitants of the colony, particularly the old farmers, are hospitable, kind, and obliging, and, generally speaking, a moral people. Litigation, which the timber business, and the credit given by the tavern-keepers and small shopkeepers, have produced, and the low price of rum, form the sole causes of immorality, and the most baneful evils connected with the island; and it is much and sincerely to be regretted, that many of the magistrates, and some of the attorneys, have fostered, rather than discouraged, these causes of iniquity and of any common wretchedness that can be discovered in the colony.

The farmers are employed during winter in attending to their cattle, thrashing out their corn, cutting and hauling home fire-wood for winter use, and a stock of fuel for summer; these occupations, with many other little matters connected with his farm, house, and markets, engage the constant attention of a managing, industrious man. Those, however, who think they will succeed better by attempting more, go into the woods to hew timber for exportation, or neglect their farms to become carpenters in the ship-yards, which has ruined many.

The farmers' wives and daughters are generally very

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industrious, decorous, and correct, and strictly domestic and attentive to household duties. They assist in the labours of the farm during seed-time, hay-making, and harvest; and, during winter, prepare their flax and wool for spinning and knitting, and many of them also weave their home-spun cloth.

Hitherto almost all the farmers have caught the fish required for their own consumption; and it is generally necessary for new settlers to do so; but those who have been some time settled on their farms, will find it more profitable to attend altogether to husbandry, and buy the fish they want from others. Formerly a considerable quantity of sugar was procured by the inhabitants from the sap of the maple-tree. At present there is scarcely any made except by the Acadians and Indians.

The different denominations of religion that have places of worship, are the Church of England, as established by law; the Kirk of Scotland; Anti-burghers, or Seceders from the Kirk of Scotland; Roman Catholics; Methodists, and Baptists. All the members of these professions associate together as neighbours, and frequently attend the places of worship of each other, with great good feeling. All religions are free; the Roman Catholics alone were, until lately, precluded from being members of the Assembly, or voting at elections; but this disability, happily for the colonies, no longer exists.

The members of the Church of England are not numerous, although those of most other professions attend the service at St Paul's Church, Charlotte

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Town. Indeed the right of property in this edifice is considered as equally vested in the members of the Kirk of Scotland, which has hitherto prevented its being consecrated; and the Bishop of Nova Scotia seemed convinced of this being the case, when he visited this part of his diocese in 1826. There is another English church at St Eleanor's, a handsome building, erected for the reverend Mr Jenkins, who has lately succeeded the late worthy Rector of Charlotte Town, the reverend Mr Desbrisay, who officiated about forty years, beloved and venerated by all who knew him.

The first place of worship built on the island, directly in connexion with the Kirk of Scotland, stands near Pinnette River, in the centre of the flourishing settlement planted by the late Earl of Selkirk. This church was built in 1826; and the exemplary character and ministration of the reverend Mr MacLennan, a gentleman of education and ability, who preaches both in Gaelic and English, will preserve or improve the morals of a people brought up in their native country under a due sense of correctness and piety. A large and well-planned church, for a minister of the Kirk of Scotland, has lately been built at Charlotte Town. The congregation which will attend this church, when opened, will be very large. The Anti-burghers have ten places of worship; the Methodists about the same number; and the Baptists have two or three.

The Roman Catholics have a large chapel at St Andrews, eighteen miles from Charlotte Town, where

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Bishop MacEacheran resides. This venerable pastor has, with the Catholics of this island, those of New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and the Magdalen Islands, under his care. There is also, besides, a handsome chapel at Charlotte Town, and about twelve others in different settlements. It has been frequently asserted in these kingdoms, that the inhabitants of this and other American colonies were in the most deplorable want of religious instruction. Such will not, *I think*, appear, as respects this island, from the above statement; and such is certainly not the case.* The inhabitants generally are as well informed in religious and other matters, as the people of any other country. Those born on the island are remarkably apt to learn, and singularly quick of apprehension; and there are very few of the young people, except among the Acadians, who cannot read and write.

There is at Charlotte Town a very respectable grammar-school, a school on the Madras system, and schools in most of the settlements for elementary instruction. The Legislative Assembly vote money for the partial support of these schools.

The constitution of the island is nearly a transcript of that of England, and, in all civil matters, inde-

* The inhabitants of this colony were lately disturbed in many places by a young female, who, giving out that she was inspired from above, left her service to expound the Bible. She preached, or rather raved, loud, long, and passionate harangues. I do not know what were her particular tenets. She called herself a Brienite; and my knowledge of sectarianism does not extend to an acquaintance with any apostate, or religion-founder, of the name of Brien. His disciple called herself Martha Jago.

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pendent of any jurisdiction in America. The government and legislature are vested in a lieutenant-governor, who represents the king; a council, which acts in an executive as well as legislative capacity; and a House of Assembly, of eighteen representatives elected by the people, and who conduct their proceedings according to the forms of the British House of Commons. The governor is chancellor of the Court of Chancery; the chief-justice and attorney-general are appointed by the king; and the high-sheriff is appointed annually by the local government. The practice of the Court of Chancery is the same as in England; but the power given it has been most wantonly exercised. The present governor, however, has too much sense to admit of any overbearing or oppressive proceedings in this court. The Supreme Court of Judicature, is that in which all criminal and civil matters of consequence are tried, by a jury of twelve men; and the practice of which is regulated by that of the Court of King's Bench. Matters of small debt are decided by special magistrates; and justices of the peace take cognizance, as in England, of all breaches of the peace.

As to the prospects which this colony may present to persons in the United Kingdom who are desirous to emigrate, they will, I hope, appear pointed out free from bias in the foregoing pages, to which I will only add, that the lands, as already stated, having originally been granted away in large tracts, not more than 20,000 acres, if so much, are at present held by the crown. Woodlands, in convenient situations, may,

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however, be purchased for from 10s. to L.2, per acre; and leases, in perpetuity, or, what amounts to the same thing, for 999 years, can be obtained for the annual rent of from 1s. to 2s. per acre, and in some situations for less. So that, taking into consideration the advantages of residing in the vicinity of well-disposed society, the opportunity that is afforded of having children instructed in the rudiments of education; of roads communicating between all the settlements; of corn-mills and saw-mills being almost everywhere in the neighbourhood; and having the convenience and benefit, by living near the shipping ports, of ready markets for the produce of the land or sea, it may be reasonably concluded, that the terms on which lands are now to be had in this island, are much more favourable than those on which they can be had in the United States.

The value of land, however, cannot long remain so low in this island, as it must rise along with the natural increase of the population. The prices of live stock and other articles vary from the lowest to the highest of the following prices:—A good horse, for saddle or harness, L.20 to L.35. A serviceable horse, for farmer's work, and of the Canadian breed, L.10 to L.18. A yoke of oxen, L.10 to L.20, according to the size. A cow, L.4 to L.7. A calf, 12s. to 18s. A wedder sheep, 10s. to 15s. An ewe and lamb in the spring, 15s. to 18s. The price of pigs depends on size and breed. Turkeys, 2s. to 3s. Stubble geese, 1s. 6d. to 3s. Ducks, 9d. to 1s. 3d. Fowls, 6d. to 10d. Fresh beef, 2d. to 4½d.; sometimes in spring,

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for about a week or two, as high as 6d. Pork, 2½d. to 5d. Mutton, 2d. to 5d. Veal, 2d. to 5d. Butter, 8d. to 1s. Cheese, 6d. to 10d. Partridges, 4d. to 6d. Hares, in abundance, 6d. Codfish, fresh, weighing from 12lbs. to 20lbs., 6d. each. Salmon, 2s. to 2s. 6d. each. Herrings, fresh, 3d. to 8d. per dozen. Lobsters, very fine, ½d. to 1d. each; other kinds of fish in proportion. Ham, 12s. to 25s. per cwt. Wheat, 4s. to 6s. per bushel. Oats, 1s. 3d. to 2s. Barley, 2s. to 3s. Potatoes, 10d. to 1s. 3d. Turnips, 1s. to 1s. 3d. Carrots, cabbages, and other vegetables, are usually very low. Rum, 3s. 6d. to 5s. per gallon. Port wine, 8s. to 12s. Madeira, 10s. to 15s. Brandy, 7s. to 9s. Hollands, 6s. to 8s., all duty paid. Good souchong tea, 4s. to 6s. Good hyson, 5s. to 7s. Sugar, 6d. to 8d. per lb. These prices are in Halifax currency, nominally more, but always one-tenth, and sometimes one-sixth, less in value than British sterling.

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CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of its History—Condition under the Government of France—Settlement by the British—Erected into a distinct Colonial Government—Governors Patterson, Fanning, Desbarres, Smith, Colonel Ready.

THE first land Cabot met with after leaving Newfoundland, appears to have been this island, which he discovered on the 24th June, 1497, (St John's day,) and called it St John's Island. On the right of this discovery, the English neglected to make any claim; and the French, after the settlement of Canada, took possession of it, as within the limits of New France, and as having been discovered, in 1523, by Verazani. It appears to have been granted, in 1663, by the company of New France, together with the Magdalen, Bird, and Brion isles, to the Sieur Doublet, a captain in the French navy, to be held by him in vassalage of the Company of Miscou.

The Sieur's associates were two companies of fishing adventurers, from the towns of Grenville and St Maloes, who never made any permanent settlement on the island, except trifling fishing-posts at two or three places.

After the peace of Utrecht, many of the French, who lived in Acadia, came and settled on this island;

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and others flocked to it from Cape Breton, on finding they could have the advantage of a fertile soil, as well as the benefit of a plentiful fishery; but so great was the apprehension of the French government that these great natural advantages would drain off the fishermen settled at the important harbour of Louisburg, that the inhabitants were prohibited from fishing, except at two or three harbours. After this, the French garrison at Louisburg received from this island grain, vegetables, and cattle; and two commissaries were stationed at different places for collecting and shipping the same.

From the observations of a French officer, who visited this island in 1752, we may have some idea of its condition before it was taken by the British forces. He says, "St John's is the largest of all the islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and has the advantage of Cape Breton in point of fertility. It has safe harbours, plenty of wood, and as great a convenience for fishing as any place on the coast. It had been altogether neglected, as well as Cape Breton, until, necessity having shown the French the utility of the latter, their eyes were also opened in regard to the former. They have since been at pains to plant it, though not enough, considering its advantageous situation.

"Though the island of St John is subject to no particular commandant, he receives his orders from the governor of Cape Breton, and administers justice conjunctly with the sub-delegate of the intendant of New France. They reside at Port la Joye," (now

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Charlotte Town,) " and the governor of Louisburg furnishes them with a garrison of sixty men.

" It was from this place we set out in the beginning of the month of August, 1752. We ascended the river to the north-east seven leagues, up to its very source, from whence we proceeded to the harbour of St Peter's, after having made a carriage of four leagues across a plain, well cultivated, and abounding in all sorts of grain." After remaining some days at St Peter's, he visited the harbours of Fortune, De la Souris, and Matieu; " the neighbouring lands of which," he continues, " are exceeding good and proper for culture. We found several sorts of trees, with a prodigious number of foxes, martens, hares, partridges, &c. The rivers abound in fish, and are bordered with pasture lands, which produce exceeding good grass. The inhabitants came over here from Acadia, during the last war, and are about eight and forty in number. After coasting along, we doubled the east point, which we found deserted, because a fire had obliged the inhabitants to abandon it, in order to go and settle two leagues farther upon the north side.

" We continued our course six leagues, until we arrived at the Pool de Naufrage. The coast, though very level, presents the eye with nothing but a country laid waste by fire; and farther on it is covered with woods. We met with but one inhabitant, who told us the lands about the Pool were exceeding good, and easy to cultivate, and that every thing grows there in great plenty. Of this he gave us a demonstration

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that afforded us a singular pleasure; this was a small quantity of wheat he had sown that year, and indeed nothing could be more beautiful than the ears, which were longer and fuller than any I had seen in Europe.

" This place took the name of Pool de Naufrage, from a French ship that had been cast away on the coast. The vessel was lost four leagues out at sea; but a few passengers saved themselves upon the wreck, and were the first that settled at the harbour of St Peter's. The coast swarms with all sorts of game, and with a variety of the very best fish." This writer, after briefly describing places at that time settled, namely, Port la Joye, Point Prime, St Peter's, Savage Harbour, Fortune, Souris, Matieu, Trois Rivières, Tracadie, Racico (Rustico), Malpec (Richmond Bay), Cascampec, Bedec, Rivières aux Blonds (Tryon), Rivières des Crapauds, and Des Sables, farther observes, " The plantation of this island is of great consequence, as well in regard to the fishery, as to the commerce which the inhabitants may carry on in the interior parts; but to render it more solid and durable, they should attend to the more essential parts, namely, to agriculture, and pasturage, for the breeding and maintaining of all sorts of cattle, and especially sheep: by keeping them together in folds, the upper lands might be improved, and the meadows and corn-fields laid out; from whence the inhabitants would reap a plentiful harvest of all kinds of grain. For if they had but the proper means of making these improvements, their own lands would abundantly supply all their wants,

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and they would be beholden to foreigners for nothing but salt, lines, hooks, and other fishing-tackle.

"Here they have likewise a vast quantity of plaice, thornbacks, mackerel, and herrings. In several pools and lakes along the downs, they have excellent trout, and such a prodigious quantity of eels, that three men might fill three hogsheads of them in four and twenty hours. Lastly, you meet in all parts of the island with great plenty of game. It is therefore surprising that so plentiful a country should have so long been overlooked by the French." *

From the foregoing extracts, it is probable that the French government would not have allowed the natural resources of this island to have remained dormant, if they had retained its sovereignty.

In 1758, this island surrendered to Great Britain, when its population is stated to have been 10,000; but an old Acadian, who is still living, and was then on the island, told me that he recollected well the number of families in all the settlements, and that the population could not have exceeded 6000. Lieutenant-Colonel Rollo was sent from Louisburg, by General Amherst, to take possession of the island; and, to the eternal disgrace of the French governor, a vast number of English scalps were found hung up in his house. The island, for many years pre-

* Genuine Letters and Memoirs relating to the Natural, Civil, and Commercial History of the Islands of Cape Breton and St John's, from the first settlement there, to the taking of Louisburg by the English in 1758, by an impartial Frenchman. London translation, 1761.

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ceding, was the principal resort of the Micmac Indians; and, from the immense quantity of oyster shells on the banks of rivers and bays in the neighbourhood of oyster beds, where the savages generally pitched their wigwams or tents, we may conclude that it was their rendezvous for many centuries. In several places, these shells, which are partly in a pulverised state, cover several acres to the depth of from one to five or six feet.

The old Acadian French, driven from Nova Scotia, assimilated themselves at that time in a great measure to the habits of the Indians. Some of these Acadians were sent to Canada, others to the southern colonies.

At the peace of 1763, this colony and Cape Breton were annexed to the government of Nova Scotia. In 1764, a general survey of the British empire in America was begun by order of government, and that of this island completed in 1776.

Some difference having arisen as to the plan of settling it, Lord Egremont, then First Lord of the Admiralty, proposed doing so on a feudal plan, according to which, his Lordship was to be lord paramount of the colony, which was to be divided into twelve baronies, to be held of him. Each baron was to erect a castle, to maintain a certain number of men, who, with under tenants, were to perform suit and service. This idle scheme was very properly rejected; and the lands of the colony being considered too valuable to be granted away indiscriminately to individuals, like the rest of the newly-

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acquired territories in America, the island was divided into sixty-seven townships, of about 20,000 acres each, which were granted, by recommendation of the Board of Trade and Plantations, to certain persons who were considered to have claims on the government.

By the terms of the first grant, a quit-rent was reserved to his Majesty of six shillings per hundred acres on some, of four shillings on others, and of two shillings per hundred acres on the remaining townships, payable on the Feast of St Michael. A reservation was made at the same time of all such parts to his Majesty as had then been set apart, or should thereafter be set apart, for erecting fortifications, building wharfs, enclosing naval yards, or laying out highways for the convenience of communication from one part of the island to another; and of all mines of gold, silver, and coals. Also a reservation on each township for church and school lands, and for a fishing on the sea-coast, within the distance of 500 feet from high-water mark.

The grantees of each township were to settle the same within ten years from the date of their grants, in the proportion of one person to every 200 acres, one-third of which, in this proportion, was to be settled in four years, with Protestants from the continent of Europe, or who had resided for two years in America, antecedent to the date of the respective grant of each township.*

* At that period, an idea was seriously entertained, that these kingdoms would be depopulated by emigration to America; and the conditions stipulated in the large grants of land made to va-

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Thus was the whole of this valuable colony, except the above small reservations, and three others for intended county towns, given away in one day. Great expectations were formed of this plan for its settlement, from the flattering report drawn up by Captain Holland, surveyor-general of North America. But many of the proprietors, from necessity, or other motives, sold their lands to persons who were either unable, or unwilling, to settle them on the original plan; and the colony falling in this manner into the hands of a few individuals, has been the great cause of its not having been long ago populously settled. It was not until lands in convenient situations in the neighbouring colonies were located, that the lands of this island were considered worth the value set on them by the proprietors; and the very prejudice against settling on lands unless held in free soccage from the crown, has had a powerful influence in directing emigrants to other places

In 1768, a majority of the proprietors presented a petition to his Majesty, praying that the island might be erected into a separate government from that of Nova Scotia. This was granted, and Walter Patterson, Esq. appointed governor, who, with the other officers of government, arrived on the island in 1770, at which time there were not living on it more than 150 families, and only five resident proprietors. Shortly after his arrival, Governor Patterson planted

rious individuals, of settling them with foreigners, were occasioned by this opinion.

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a number of Acadian French along the front of lot 17, (St Eleanor's,) and the proprietors of lot 18 (fronting on Richmond Bay) brought several families from Argyleshire, who were settled on this township in 1770 and 1772. The settlement of New London, Rustico, and Elliot River, began in 1773; and Cove Head, and lot 59 at Three Rivers, were settled early by the late Chief Baron Montgomery, who did more than any other proprietor, at that time, for the settlers.

Tracady was planted with about 300 Highlanders by the late Captain Macdonald; and a few other places were partially settled about the same period.

The first House of Assembly met in 1773, by his Majesty's royal commission, which gave a complete constitution to the colony. The remainder of Governor Patterson's administration, which ended in 1789, was filled up with angry differences between himself and the proprietors; and he resorted to measures, on the ground of realizing crown or quit-rents, that were considered ill-judged and improper. In other respects he was a man of kind and benevolent character.

During the American revolutionary war, several of the enemy's armed vessels were captured and carried to Charlotte Town; and the frigates that brought out the Quebec convoys, generally spent part of the summer on this station. Barracks were at the same time erected, to accommodate four provincial companies sent from New York. The late General Fanning succeeded Governor Patterson; and although his administration was productive of no advantage in

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promoting the prosperity of the colony, it was not apparently injurious to private individuals. His ruling passion, during his administration, was that of acquiring landed property in the colony, and he succeeded in securing to himself some of the best tracts, without proceeding to any violent measures against the proprietors; but he was considered the most severe landlord in the colony, in respect to rents and terms, which, with the common objections of new settlers to become tenants in wilderness lands, retarded the improvement and settlement of the island. He was born and brought up in the United States; and he owed his fortune to accidental circumstances, the advantages of which he had the finesse to seize. Soon after his appointment to this government, two provincial corps were raised, by order of his Majesty, for the protection of the island; and the barracks, as they now (1829) stand, were rebuilt, by order of the Duke of Kent. Three troops of volunteer cavalry were also formed; and the name of the island changed, in 1799, from St John's, and called, by an act of the colonial legislature, Prince Edward, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, then commanding the army in America.

Governor Desbarres, who had previously been Lieutenant-Governor of Cape Breton, and who succeeded General Fanning, was a man of considerable talent, liberal education, and well known as an expert and correct hydrographer. He possessed also many kind and generous qualities; but, from being very old, (having been a captain of foot at the siege of Que-

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bec,) designing men acquired an influence over him, which led him to do a number of foolish things, and some unjust ones. The settlement of the country, and its general improvement during his administration, were more rapid than for some years after.

He was succeeded, in 1813, by Charles Douglas Smith, Esq., a brother of Sir Sydney Smith. The period at which he entered on the administration was as propitious as he could wish, the country being in a condition to enable him to direct all its resources to the general benefit of the colony. Had he taken any interest in the welfare of the country committed to his care, he might have still governed it with credit to himself, and satisfaction to the people, instead of making his administration obnoxious to almost every individual in the colony. For three years previous to his removal, the colonial legislature was not suffered to assemble; and the proceedings instituted in 1823, (which will ever be recollected as a period of calamity in the history of the colony,) occasioned a simultaneous feeling in the public mind, which made the inhabitants persevere in the proper constitutional way to effect his dismissal from office. A requisition for convening county meetings was made to the High Sheriff,* by the principal people on the island. These

* The High Sheriff of the colony is appointed, as in the counties of England, annually, and invested, by virtue of his commission and office, with precisely the same powers and duties. I had the honour to hold the appointment this year (1823); and on receiving a requisition, signed by the principal persons in the colony, to convene county meetings, for the purpose of petitioning his Majesty for the

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meetings were held and conducted with great propriety, decorum, and unfeigned feelings of loyalty. Resolutions, embodying charges against the Governor, were unanimously agreed to, and a committee appointed by each of the county meetings, to prepare a petition to his Majesty for the removal of the Governor and Chief Justice. These petitions were grounded on the charges contained in the resolutions of the county meeting, and were signed by almost every landholder and householder in the colony. John Stewart, Esq., one of the committee of Queen's

redress of grievances, I considered it my bounden duty, under existing circumstances, to afford the inhabitants the constitutional privilege of doing so, and gave public notice of the same. On this, his excellency the Governor immediately held a council, the majority of the members of which, being appointed by himself, concurred with him in forbidding me to sanction the county meetings, of which I received official notice. I felt, however, clearly convinced that I could not, in conformity to the oath I had taken on entering upon the duties of my office, but allow his Majesty's subjects the privilege of petition. As a dernier resort, the Governor then attempted to supersede me the day before the meeting of the Supreme Court of Judicature, directing my deputy, who had given no sureties, to take upon him the duty of "acting sheriff," and whose first act was to erase from the grand jury list, which I had only an hour before returned into the Crown Office, the names of John Stewart, Esq. and another gentleman, then in court, as jurors, in obedience to my summons. As this interfered with trial by jury, on the Attorney-General rising, and, in his forcibly impressive manner, expressing his positive disapprobation of what had been done, and the alarming state of justice under such circumstances, the Chief Justice was lost in his usual absence of energy, the court was thrown into confusion, and no legal business of any importance ventured upon in the colony, until the Governor and Chief Justice were dismissed from their offices.

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county, was appointed agent for the island, to carry home the petitions. Previously, however, to his leaving, the Governor thought fit, as if to crush the whole proceedings by a *coup de main*, to issue attachments out of the Court of Chancery, against Mr Stewart, and the other gentlemen who formed the committee for Queen's county, under pretence of their being guilty of contempt of that court, by taking upon them to state, in one of the resolutions of the county meetings, the grievous truth, that the Governor had sanctioned illegal fees in that court, since his appointing his son-in-law, a lieutenant on the half-pay of the 98th regiment, to the offices of master and registrar. Mr Stewart, however, escaped over to Nova Scotia with the petitions, and the necessary evidence to support the charges they contained; and, at the advanced age of sixty-six years, came to England, in the month of December. He succeeded, soon after his arrival in London, in having the Governor and Chief Justice removed from their offices. The Governor, meantime, arrested the other gentlemen of the committee, and had them brought up before himself as chancellor, and ordered them into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. But, from the great assemblage of people at Charlotte Town on that day, and dreading that the inhabitants would become desperate if their representatives were confined in the cells prepared for them in the common prison, he did not venture to commit them. He, at the same time, suspended the highly-respected and learned Attorney-General, Mr Johnston, merely for having the hardi-

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hood to express in court, when the members of the committee, who were brought to the bar, had been ordered into custody without being heard, that it was novel law to him to hear an order made for committing gentlemen who had the misfortune to be brought to the bar of court on an implied charge, without being allowed the privilege of defending themselves, except by the tardy course of petitioning, while they must at the same time remain in custody.

After this, Governor Smith remained within the barrack gates, apparently inactive as respected the local affairs of the colony, until he left the colony on the arrival of his successor, Colonel Ready.

The Attorney-General was soon after reinstated in his office. Writs for a new election of members for the Representative Assembly were issued; and Mr Stewart, who returned to the colony in the same ship with the Governor, was chosen speaker of the House of Assembly. During the first session of which, twenty-three acts of great importance to the country were passed, and added to the code of colonial laws.

Governor Ready has since been in England, but has returned again to the island, the improvement and prosperity of which appeared, with him, paramount to every other consideration. The roads, all over the island, have been widened, and rendered fit for carriages. New bridges have been erected, and the old ones repaired. The legislature have appropriated money for aiding the support of schools in Charlotte Town, and the county settlements. Agriculture, and the breeding of cattle, are encouraged; and what has

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been effected in so short a period, proves how much might have formerly been done, without any expense but the proper application of the colonial revenue.

Governor Ready, in order to teach by the force of example, is a farmer himself. When last in England, he sent a beautiful full-bred stallion and mare to the island; an agricultural society has been established under his auspices; and the cultivation of the soil, fostered by his government, is extending rapidly over all parts of the colony.

The island has been at last so far prosperous, and much will hereafter depend on the inhabitants themselves. Let not their energies and industry be divided by petty bickering in private society, by family quarrels, by jealous feelings, or by contemptible political squabbles. Much has been done for them, but they must still do much more for themselves. They possess one of the most beautiful spots of the habitable globe; and their happiness may be secured by industry, economy, unanimity, punctuality to engagements, and an aversion to litigation.

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NOTES TO BOOK IV.

Note A, page 300.

At this place there lived lately a most respectable farmer, William Graham. He emigrated about sixty years ago from Annandale, and by industry secured plenty and comfort on the large farm which he had occupied for fifty years. His mind was a sort of chronological register, and he was one of the best tellers of a plain story I ever knew. The most detailed, and the most interesting, except Sir Walter Scott's, account of the "Battle of Dryfe Sands," was related to me by "honest Willie Graham," as he was usually called. I have just learned that my excellent acquaintance died soon after I left America.

Note B, page 341.

Pic-nic excursions are much in vogue all over America. To show how far these differ from any thing to which they may be compared in England, it may be sufficient to observe, that pic-nic parties generally consist of families of respectability, with their friends, who are on a perfectly intimate footing with each other. In summer, some romantic spot is fixed upon, to which the party proceed; if by water, which is most commonly the case, in an open boat; or if by land, in gigs, or in calashes, and on horseback. The ladies consider it as within their particular province to furnish the eatables. The gentlemen provide wines and spirits. At these parties, there is usually less restraint, and more enjoyment, than at the assemblies. On some grassy glade, shaded by the luxuriant branches of forest trees, and not far from a clear spring or rivulet, the contents of

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well-filled baskets are disclosed, feasting on which forms certainly the most substantial part of their day's enjoyment; but perhaps the most agreeable is that which succeeds, when the party divides for the pleasure of walking; and there are undoubtedly worse occupations in the world, than wandering with a pretty woman through the skirts of a wood, or along the margin of the sea, enjoying "sweet converse," and the delights of the open air and surrounding scenery. As the evening approaches, they reassemble, and the party, followed by their servants, bringing along the fragments of the pic-nic, return to the boat, in which they embark.

The evenings at this season are usually clear, agreeably warm, and tranquil; the sea calm and unruffled; and as neither the wine nor the wreck of the fowls, hams, &c., are forgotten, a repetition of the pic-nic may be said to take place on the water.

It sometimes happens, that in returning from these parties, the tide has ebbed so far that the boat cannot approach within a hundred yards of the shore; but, as it would be extremely ungallant to allow the ladies to remain any time without landing, the gentlemen, let their rank in society be what it may, (if even members of his Majesty's Colonial Council, Judges of the Supreme Court, or the principal officers of his Majesty's customs,) all get into the water; and although often sinking at every step more than a foot in the mud, each carries a lady in his arms to dry *terra firma*.

The rendezvous for winter pic-nics is usually a respectable farm-house, some miles distant in the country. No small part of the pleasure of these excursions is enjoyed in driving to the appointed place with a lady, in a well-furred and cushioned cabriole, drawn over the snow or ice by one or two horses. These carriages take but two persons; the gentleman drives, as there is no seat in front for a servant. If the ice be smooth and glibby, and if the wind blows across the cabriole, it is frequently turned round, bringing the horse up at the same time with it, although generally going at great speed. These carriages, in turning corners, or passing over uneven roads, frequently overturn, leaving the passengers behind on the snow, but scarcely ever injured, although annoyed by the laugh which their awkward situation irresistibly excites in the by-standers.

As servants are seldom brought to attend at these winter parties, the gentlemen, as soon as they hand their fair companions out of

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the carriages, and usher them into the house, leave them for a short time to see their horses properly taken care of. By the time they return, the ladies have disencumbered themselves of muffs, cloaks, and pelisses; and the frosty and bracing temperature of the season having by this time produced a corresponding sharpness of appetite, the pic-nic, to which they now all sit down, is enjoyed with all possible zest and good humour. Soon after, a country dance is announced; the music strikes up, and the party, "tripping it on the light fantastic toe," seldom breaks up before daylight the following morning. The night is thus, with eating, drinking, and dancing, spent in high delight; and when the hour of departure draws nigh, the ladies retire to wrap themselves up in their winter habiliments, while the gentlemen have their cabrioles brought to the door; and then each drives home with the lady who honoured him with *her company*.

Note C, page 343.

A FARMER from Yorkshire, who settled a few years ago on lands belonging to Sir James Montgomery, in Prince Edward Island, with which I had at the time something to do, was complaining one day of his hard work and hard living at the same time. He said, with a sigh that reminded one of the murmuring children of Israel when longing for the "flesh-pots of Egypt," "Aye, measter, if I wur in Yorkshire neow, Ize had some good fat beakin poys." This same man has since surmounted his difficulties, and may have "fat bacon pies" as often as he pleases.

Note D, page 343.

I HAVE frequently heard many of the old settlers declare their belief in the power of witches, and the influence of what they term an "evil eye," in such cases as being offered a fair price for a horse or cow, and refusing it, and the animal dying, or some accident happening to it soon after. When their cows give less milk than

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usual, it is not uncommon to impute the cause to the infernal agency of some unlucky old woman.

Several years ago one of the settlers went to a magistrate and lodged a complaint against his neighbour, alleging that he was guilty of witchcraft. The magistrate was silly enough, but probably through ignorance, to summon the accused man before him, who was, however, declared innocent of holding any intercourse with his Satanic majesty. The man insisted on a written statement from the magistrate to that effect, which, as was related to me by a very respectable gentleman in the colony, ended in a kind of accidental rhyme, and in the following words:

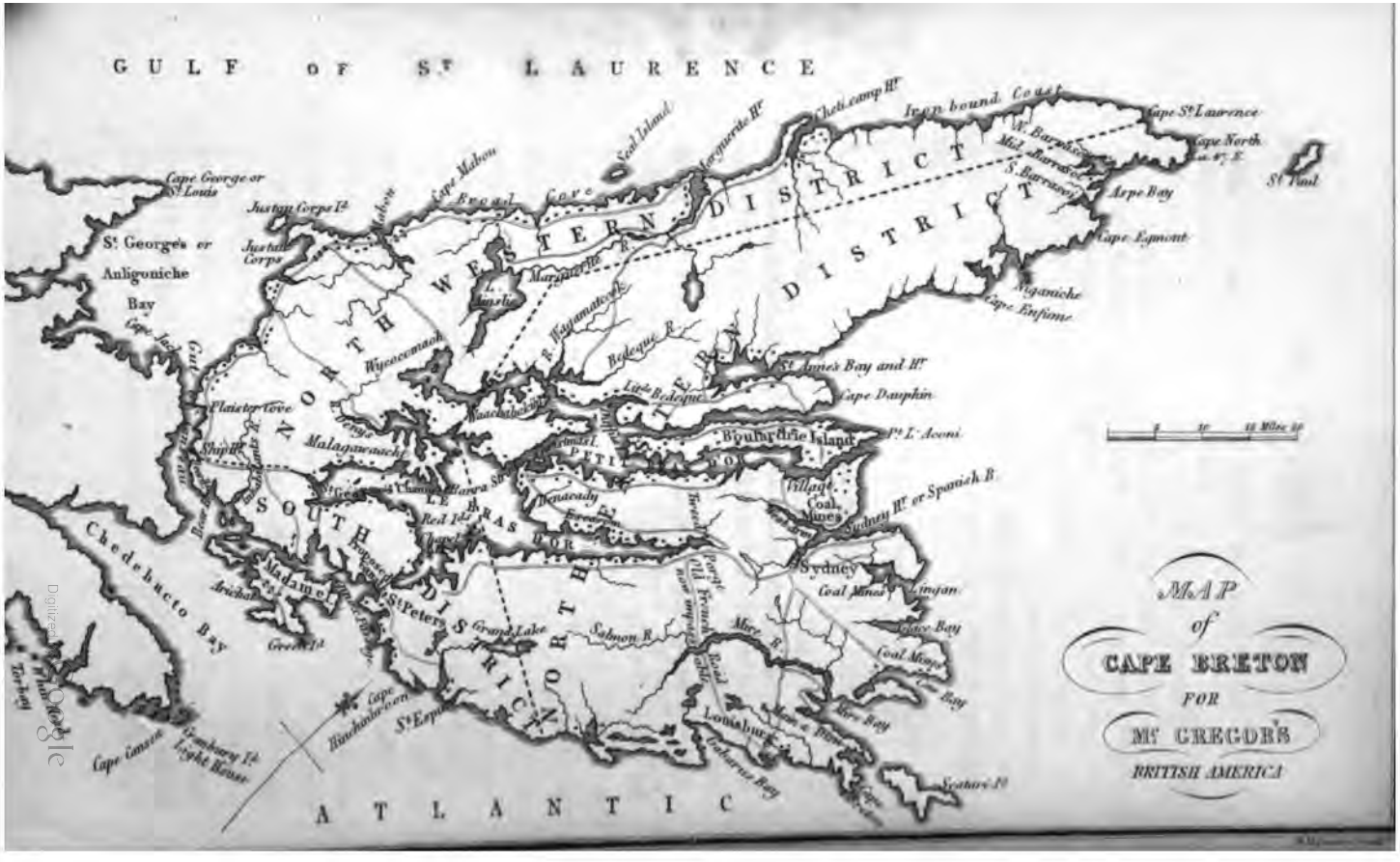
"Of witchcraft he's as free
As man can be.
William M'Kie, J. P."

An old man at Richmond Bay, who gave out that he was gifted with the second sight, was so far infatuated, that being on the shore on a calm day in summer, near where a young man at the time had turned over in a broken canoe, quite within the reach of this old man to save him, he calmly allowed him to drown, in consequence, as he said, of a supernatural sight which his "gift" had enabled him to perceive a few days before.

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THE NEW YO
ONS

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GULF OF ST LAURENCE
SOUTH WESTERN DISTRICT
EASTERN DISTRICT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT
ATLANTIC
Cape George or St Louis
St George's or Arisgoniche Bay
Justin Corps Ld
Cape Mabou
Broad Cove
Seal Island
Margaree R.
Chetticamp Hr
Inverbound Coast
Cape St Laurence
Cape North
Mid. Barrasois
S. Barrasois
St Paul
Arpe Bay
Cape Egmont
Niganiche
Cape Enfume
St James's Bay and Hr
Cape Dauphin
Bouladrie Island
Pt L'Acconi
Plaister Cove
Malagawatch
Sydney Hr or Spanish B.
Village Coal Mines
Sydney
Sydney Coal Mines
Lingan
Glace Bay
Coal Mines
Bay
Chedabucto Bay
Madame
St Peters
Grand Lake
Salmon R.
Louisburg
Scatarie Id
Cape Canso
Canseau Harbour
Light House
Cape Rinchambeau
St Esprit
MAP of CAPE BRETON FOR Mr GREGOR'S BRITISH AMERICA

BOOK V.

CAPE BRETON.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Situation—Configuration and General Description—Sketch of its History.

CAPE BRETON is bounded on the south and east by the Atlantic ocean, and on the north and north-west by the Gulf of St Lawrence. The Gut of Canseau separates it on the west from Nova Scotia, and forms also a deep and safe passage into the gulf; to which, however, the principal entrance, 57 miles in width, is between Cape Ray, in Newfoundland, and the north cape of Cape Breton.

The aspect of Cape Breton is romantic and mountainous. The coast, washed by the Gulf of St Lawrence, is of dangerous access, and without harbours, and its iron-faced cliffs are high, and in many places perpendicular. On the Atlantic, the shores are broken and rugged, but indented with numerous harbours and bays. A vast inlet, named the Bras d'Or, entering by two narrow passages, and afterwards spreading into

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numerous bays and arms, nearly divides the island into two.

Woods, with the exceptions of small patches cleared for cultivation, and such spots as are thrown open where rocks occupy the surface, cover the whole island. The trees are of much the same kind and description as those in Prince Edward Island, unless it be on the sea-coast and mountains, in which situations they are of a dwarfish character.

It is usually conjectured that this island has been detached from the continent of America by some violent convulsion. This, like most speculative opinions for which we have no historical data, will most likely ever remain uncertain. The Gut of Canseau, which divides Cape Breton from Nova Scotia, is not, for a distance of five leagues, more than a mile and a half wide, and in some places less. The Highlands also, rising on each side rather abruptly, make the width of the strait to seem much less, and impart to it, at the same time, the appearance of an immense fissure laid open by the explosion of some tremendous agency.

There is not, however, a striking resemblance in the geological structure of the opposite shores of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia; but this is no uncommon circumstance in nature; and we often, in America, meet with a chain of granite predominating on one side of a river, and a calcarious region prevailing on the other.

The geology and mineralogy of Cape Breton, can only be said to be known in outline. From all that I have observed, however, and from all the information

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I have been able to obtain, I may remark, that almost all the rocks named in the discordant nomenclature of Werner, are found in this island.

Among the primitive rocks, granite prevails in the peninsular country south-east of the Bras d'Or; and it probably forms the nucleus of the Highlands between this inlet and the Gulf of St Lawrence. Sienite, trap, mica, clayslate, and occasionally quartz, also appear on the Gulf coast.

Primitive trap, sienite, mica-slate, and clayslate, show themselves, together with transition limestone, greywacke, gypsum, and coal, generally in all parts of the island.

The class of flœtz rocks appears, however, to be the most numerous; and coal exists in such abundance, that persons unacquainted with geology have stated seriously to me that they considered this mineral formed the base of the whole island. Coal, in a field, or fields, of vast extent, abounds in the south-eastern division of the island, surrounded by carboniferous limestone, new red sandstone, &c. The quality of this coal is excellently adapted for common fire-places.

The extent or quality of the coal fields north of the Bras d'Or, have not been ascertained. Gypsum occurs in great plenty along the shores of the Bras d'Or, at the Gut of Canseau, on the Gulf coast, and in some other parts of the island.

We may conclude, from the strongly saturated salt springs which are found in different places, that the rock-salt formation is extensive. Iron ore, in various

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forms, iron pyrites, red ochre, &c., exist in great abundance. Pieces of copper ore, lead, &c., have also been found, and various other minerals will probably be discovered.

The varieties of fish which abound in the seas surrounding Cape Breton, are of the same kind as those already described, as are also the birds and wild animals.* The latter are the moose-deer, cariboo, bear, beaver, loup-cervier, fox, hare, marten, otter, musquash, mink, squirrel, racoon, porcupine, and weasel.

Moose-deer have now become scarce, in consequence of the vast numbers slaughtered at one time by the English, merely for the sake of their skins. Cariboo deer are still plentiful, and pursued principally by the Indians. Various kinds of wild fowls, foxes, and hares, are very numerous, and afford abundant sport.

Salmon, and remarkably large trout, are plentiful in the rivers; and there are few countries that offer greater temptations to the followers of honest Izaak Walton.

The soil in many places is thin, rocky, and unfit for cultivation; in others, wet, and inclining to the character of mossy bogs. In the interior, on the borders of the Bras d'Or Lake and its inlets, and along the numerous streams that rise in the mountains and which wind through the country to the sea, there are extensive tracts of excellent land; and, on the north-

* Mr Haliburton states, that "remains of vast animals are found, which, it would appear, formerly ranged in the vicinity of the Bras d'Or. Enormous bones, resembling thigh-bones, six feet in length, are reported to have been seen lying at the bottom of the lake."

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west coast, also in the valleys, and along the small rivers, low lands with deep and rich soils prevail.

The land fit for profitable cultivation on the island may be considered about 500,000 acres, a great part of which is alluvial. The whole of the lands afford good pasturage, and great numbers of black cattle and sheep might be reared. From the humidity of the climate, especially on the Atlantic coast, wheat is liable, in ripening, to casual failures, which would likely not be the case if the country were extensively opened, by clearing away the woods, as cultivation and exposure to the sun would dry up the ground more readily, and early frosts would not be so frequent. Barley, buck-wheat, potatoes, and all culinary vegetables may be raised in abundance; and I believe hemp and flax would succeed here as well as in Russia or Canada.

The climate of Cape Breton differs from that of Prince Edward Island, in its being subject, particularly on the Atlantic coast, to fogs; and, in the inland parts, to a more humid atmosphere, which may be accounted for by its geographical position, and the interior abounding with lakes and arms of the sea; while the soil, owing to its stiffness, does not so readily absorb the rain, nor the water which remains on the ground after the snow melts. Fogs are not, however, frequent in the interior, or within the Bras d'Or, and a clear sky is visible generally, even when fogs prevail, which seldom rise high from the surface of the land or sea.

The bays and rivers which open to the Atlantic,

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are not so long frozen over as those within the gulf: the difference at the beginning and termination of winter, may be considered at each period from fifteen to twenty days. On the Atlantic coast of Cape Breton, wet weather prevails much more during the year than in Prince Edward Island or Canada. The climate, however, is salubrious; and, while unhealthy subjects are exceedingly rare, instances of longevity from ninety to one hundred years are common.

It has been said that Cape Breton obtained its name from the first discoverers being natives of Brittany; but this is not true, as it was first discovered by Cabot, and afterwards by Verazani, who named it Isle du Cap. The name of Cape Breton it received from its most easterly point, which projects into the sea between Louisburg and Scatari, being first so called, and afterwards extended to the whole island. In 1713, it was called by the French, Isle Royale; but it remained unplanted until 1714, when the French of Newfoundland and Acadia made some settlements on it near the shore, where each person built according to his fancy, as he found ground convenient for drying cod-fish, and for small gardens.

In 1715, Louis XIV., after having been long contending with the united powers of Europe, made an offer to Queen Anne of part of the French possessions in North America, in order to detach Great Britain from that formidable alliance; and, by the treaty of Utrecht,* the British became possessed of Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, and Acadia (Nova Scotia.) In

* Note A.

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short, all France could do was to preserve Canada, the islands of Cape Breton and St John (Prince Edward.)

Cape Breton had, before this time, been considered altogether unfit for making any settlement on. In summer time, it was frequented by a few fishermen; and during winter, the inhabitants of Acadia resorted thither for the purpose of trading for furs with the Indians.

But the French, in order partly to repair the loss they sustained,—as it was of the utmost consequence not to be entirely driven out of the cod-fishing,—and also to preserve a post that would enable them to command the mouth of the River St Lawrence, by which a communication was kept open with Canada, were by such solid considerations induced to colonize Cape Breton, and to build the town and fortify the harbour of Louisburg.

The Seneglay, a French ship-of-war, commanded by M. de Contreville, arrived at Louisburg on the 13th August, 1713, and took possession of it, but it was not fortified until 1720. It was taken by the British forces from New England, in 1745, at which time they built a fort at Indian Bay, where they discovered coal, and opened a pit. The command of these forces, amounting to 4000, was given to William Pepperal,* a colonel of militia, but brought up to trade, and extensively engaged in commerce. His affability, and the excellence of his character, made him very popular among these volunteer troops.

There was something of the spirit of the crusades

* Afterwards created a Baronet.

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in this expedition. The famous Mr Whitfield supplied them with the motto, "Nil desperandum Christo duce," for their banner; and the military feeling of these forces was probably acted upon as much by fanaticism as by love of country.

Commodore Warren, after some delay, joined the transports from New England; and after a siege of forty-nine days, during which the provincials distinguished themselves by their endurance and bravery, Louisburg surrendered on the 18th of June. Commodore Warren, a few days before, captured the Vigilant of 74 guns, commanded by the Marquis de la Maison Forte, with a great supply of stores; and some time after, two French East India ships, and a South Sea ship, valued at L.600,000, were decoyed into Louisburg, by hoisting the French flag in the usual place.

St John's Island fell into the possession of England a little after; and the inhabitants were transported to France. Some English, on that occasion, ventured incautiously into the country, where they were surprised by the Indians, and twenty-eight were either massacred or made prisoners.

The stores, merchandise, fish, &c. taken in Louisburg, were of immense value; and the importance of this place to France, as a rendezvous for its West and East India fleets, and as the head-quarters of their fisheries, was of vast consequence. Privateers were also fitted out here to disturb our fisheries, and to infest our colonial coasts. The Micmac Indians resorted here with the scalps of the English who

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became the victims of their cruelty; and although the French pretended to consider them an independent people, they even countenanced, during peace, the aggressions of the savages on the English.

Cape Breton was restored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in return for Madras, and remained in possession of that power until the surrender of Louisburg, on the 26th July, 1758, to the British forces under the command of General Amherst and Brigadier-Generals Lawrence and Wolfe, and the fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen.

The French, commanded by M. de Drucourt, defended Louisburg, from the 8th of July until its capitulation, with extraordinary bravery, against a powerful fleet, consisting of twenty-three ships of the line, eighteen frigates, with sloops of war and transports amounting to one hundred and fifty-seven ships, and against 16,000 land forces. On this occasion, Madame de Drucourt behaved with great heroism, appearing daily on the ramparts, animating the soldiers in the unceasing duty which the defence of the place required.

The merchants, and the greater part of the inhabitants of Louisburg, were, after its capture, sent to France in English vessels. But the officers of government, the military and naval officers, soldiers, marines, and sailors, in number 5720, were transported as prisoners of war to England. The stores and ammunition, besides 227 pieces of artillery, found in Louisburg, were of great value.

The following description of the then metropolis

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of Cape Breton, was written by a gentleman who was residing in Louisburg during the siege.* "The French began to fortify this town in 1720. It is built on a neck of land which juts out into the sea south-east of the island. It is of an oblong figure, and nearly a league in circumference. The streets are wide and regular; and near the principal fort and citadel, there is a handsome parade. To the north of the town there are three gates, and a spacious quay. They have likewise constructed a kind of bridges, called in French *calles*, (wharfs,) which project considerably into the sea, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading goods.

"The fortifications consist of two bastions, called the King's and Queen's, and two demi-bastions, distinguished by the names of Dauphin and Princess. These two out-works are commanded by several eminences. The houses are almost all of wood; the stone ones have been built at the king's expense, and are designed for the accommodation of the troops and officers. When the English were masters of the town, in 1745, they built very considerable caserns. The French transplanted the materials of their stone buildings, as well as their other works, from Europe.

"There is hardly a settlement that has been attended with more expense to the French nation than this of Louisburg. It is certain that they have laid out above thirty millions of livres; and so cogent

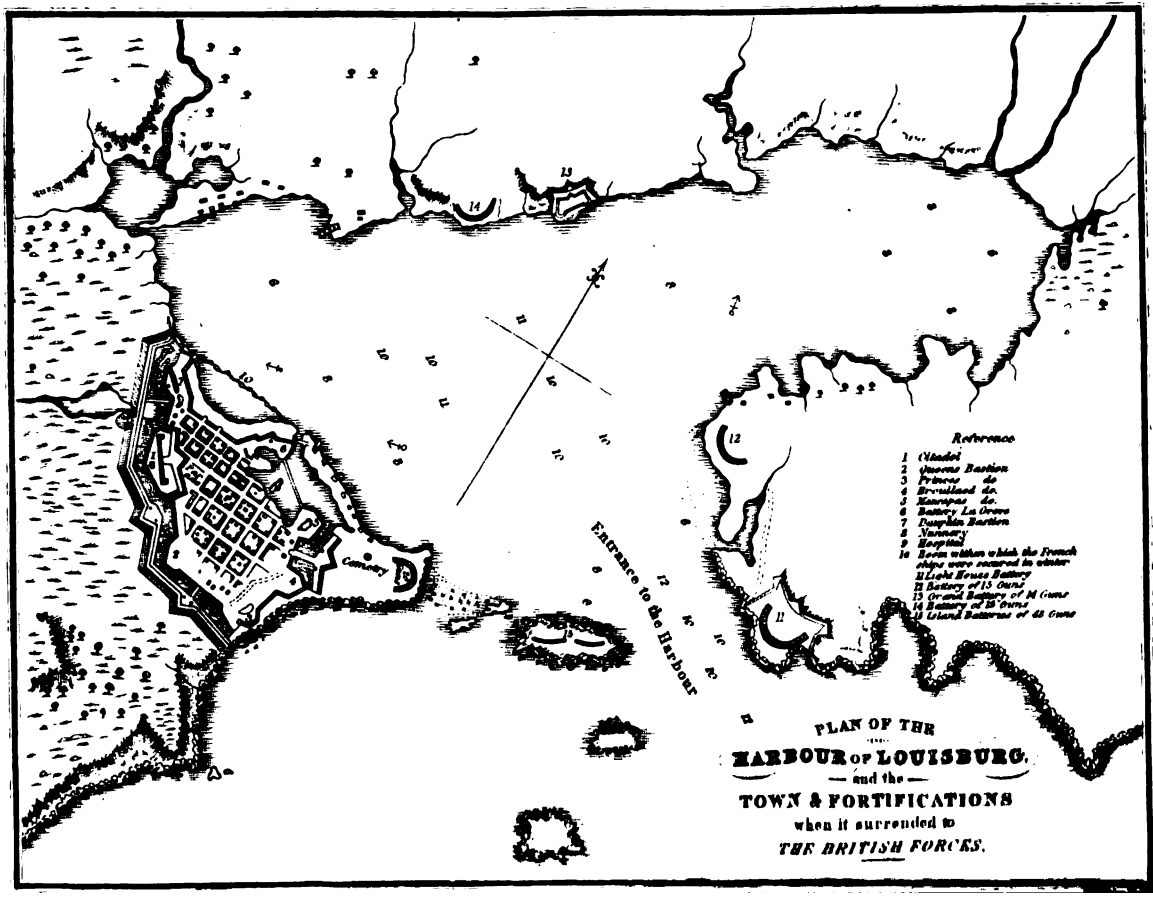
* Genuine Letters and Memoirs relating to the Natural, Civil, and Commercial History of the Islands of Cape Breton and St John, by an impartial Frenchman. English translation. London, 1761.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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Reference
1 Citadel
2 Queens Bastion
3 Princes do
4 Brouillard do.
5 Kempos do.
6 Battery La Grave
7 Dauphin Bastion
8 Nunnery
9 Hospital
10 Room within which the French ships were secured in winter
11 Light House Battery
12 Battery of 15 Guns
13 Ground Battery of 16 Guns
14 Battery of 16 Guns
15 Island Batteries of 28 Guns
Entrance to the Harbour
PLAN OF THE
HARBOUR OF LOUISBURG,
— and the —
TOWN & FORTIFICATIONS
when it surrender'd to
THE BRITISH FORCES.

were the motives which induced them to put this scheme into execution, that the preservation of Louisburg will always be considered as an object of too great importance not to sacrifice every thing to it. Cape Breton protects the whole French trade of North America, and is of equal consequence in regard to their commerce in the West Indies. If they had no settlement in this part of North America, their vessels returning from St Domingo or Martinique, would no longer be safe on the great bank of Newfoundland, particularly in time of war; lastly, as it is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of St Lawrence, it absolutely commands the river of that name.

"The entrance of the harbour of Louisburg is defended by a battery, level with the surface of the water. It is planted opposite the light-house, on the other side of the grande-tene, and consists of thirty-six pieces of cannon, all of them four-and-twenty pounders. The harbour is also defended by a cavalier, called by the name of Maurepas, which has twelve embrasures. The royal battery, situated at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town, is mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, twenty-eight of which are thirty-six pounders, and two are eighteen pounders. It commands the sea, the town, and the bottom of the bay. The port of Louisburg is at least a league in length, and upwards of a quarter of a league in its smallest breadth. There is very good holding-ground, and generally from six to ten fathoms water. They have a very safe and convenient place to careen their ships, where they may also be laid up

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in winter, only taking proper precautions against the ice."

The island battery, not mentioned in the above description, commanding the harbour, mounted thirty guns, and some other batteries were also planted before the siege. The town was surrounded, with the exception of about two hundred yards of the sea of most difficult access, by a broad stone rampart, thirty feet high, and a wide ditch. An extensive marshy bog in rear, rendered the approach by land both difficult and dangerous.

The population of Louisburg at this time, exclusive of the troops, was about 5000. The administration was lodged in a governor and supreme council. There was also a bailiwick, or court of law, and a court of admiralty. It had an hospital for invalid soldiers and sailors, " which was served by six brothers of the charitable fraternity, of whose conduct, as well as that of the Recollet friars, and other spiritual directors in Cape Breton, complaints were frequently made by the French inhabitants, and by the English of Nova Scotia, who charged them with the direction of the atrocities committed by the Indians." The nuns of Louisburg called themselves of the community of Quebec; their province was to superintend the education of young girls. There were two handsome churches in the town, one of which was within the citadel; and several other public buildings.

The British government, fearing that Louisburg might again fall into the power of the French, or-

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dered the town and fortifications to be demolished, and it has ever since remained in ruins, notwithstanding its excellent harbour, and the extraordinary importance attached at the time to its conquest.

During the period that France held the colony, the inhabitants were chiefly engaged in the fisheries. In this trade were employed near 600 vessels, exclusive of boats, and between 27,000 and 28,000 seamen; and the French ministry considered this fishery a more valuable source of wealth and power to France than the possession of the mines of Mexico and Peru would be. The principal settlements at that time were within the Bras d'Or, at Port Dauphin (St Ann's), Spanish Bay (now Sydney), Port Toulouse (St Peter's), Arichat, Petit de Grat, and River Inhabitants.

Cape Breton, after its conquest, remained neglected by the British; thinking it unworthy of settlement, and only fearful that it might again be taken possession of by France. Twenty years had elapsed, and no progress had been made of any consequence towards colonizing it. A few fishermen, who planted themselves at some of the harbours, and whose existence was scarcely known, formed its only inhabitants. During this time, it was an appendage to the Government of Nova Scotia.

Soon after the peace which followed the American revolutionary war, Cape Breton was made a distinct government from Nova Scotia, and its administration vested in Lieutenant Governor Desbarres, and an executive council. Sydney was laid out and built for

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the metropolis of the island; in which place the lieutenant-governor resided, the courts of law were held, and a garrison was stationed under the command of a captain or subaltern officer. With the exception of Governor Desbarres, who founded Sydney, the different rulers were said to consider it wiser policy to make their power more subservient to their own particular views, than to the improvement and settlement of the colony, which prevented its prosperity during their administration; and it has, subsequent to the appointment of Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, in 1820, to the government of Nova Scotia, been re-annexed, as a county sending two members to represent it in general assembly, to that province.

General Kempt, previous to his promotion to the chief command in America, directed much of his attention to the improvement of Cape Breton. Roads have been traced, or opened, to facilitate the intercourse between the settlements; the location of lands placed under regulations which give ready possession to new settlers; and all that could be effected by the provincial government, has been extended to this island. Its settlement by the English could scarcely be said to have commenced until after the American revolution, when several families of loyalists removed to Cape Breton. Emigration from the Highlands and islands of Scotland, which commenced in 1800, has continued from that period to add some hundreds annually to the population.

Cape Breton is still, however, much less improved,

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and has a smaller population, in proportion to its superficies, with the exception of Newfoundland and Labrador, than any of the British North American colonies. When the mighty importance attached to it by France, the abundant fisheries on its coasts, its numerous harbours, and its producing plenty of wood for building vessels and boats, and also a soil capable of producing grain, vegetables, and excellent grazing, together with its coal mines, are taken into consideration, it appears difficult to account for this colony having been so long neglected, while the attention of government has been directed to the colonization of countries so distant as the Cape of Good Hope, and Van Dieman's Land, except by supposing that the advantages and resources of British America have been imperfectly understood, not only by government, but by individuals desirous to emigrate.

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CHAPTER II.

Description of Sydney and other Principal Settlements, &c. &c.

SYDNEY, which is considered the metropolis, or county town, of Cape Breton, was founded by Governor Desbarres in 1823. It is situated a few miles south of the entrance to Bras d'Or, on a point of land lying between a small river which branches to the south, and the larger continuation of Dartmouth river; and about two miles above the junction of the latter river with the west arm of Sydney, or Spanish Bay. It was, previously to the re-annexion of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, the residence of the lieutenant-governors. Its situation is very beautiful, having a steep bank, with deep water on the west, from which the site of the town descends gently to the east. The surrounding scenery, presenting woods, water, cultivated land, and some other picturesque features, is interesting and pretty, but not romantic; the town is regularly planned, contains from sixty to seventy houses, rather handsomely built, with gardens attached, and a population of about five hundred.

The government buildings are the barracks, stores, and government-house, at the north end of the town.

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There is a court-house, market, church, a Dissenting and Catholic chapel. The courts for the county and district are held at Sydney; causes are decided according to the laws of England, and the provincial statutes of Nova Scotia. A captain or subaltern officer, with a detachment of from thirty to forty soldiers, are stationed here for protecting the town.

The harbour of Sydney has a bar at its entrance, but there is sufficiently deep water over it for large ships, and there is abundant room and good anchorage at Dartmouth river on the west side of the town, and at the West Arm.

Few places have improved or prospered less than Sydney since it was first built, although it possesses many advantages. It is conveniently situated for the fisheries, and the adjacent lands are adapted for agriculture and grazing. Timber, suitable for building houses and fishing-craft, is abundant; and the coal mines in its immediate neighbourhood are another eminent advantage. It is probably not the most judiciously situated for the chief town in the colony; and in consequence of the island being now under the government of Nova Scotia, Arichat will continue to be, as it now is, the most flourishing settlement.

The coal trade has been the chief business carried on from Sydney; the mines, however, on the north side of the bay, and without the bar, are very inconvenient for shipping; and the mode of drawing them from the mines, and conveying them on shipboard, has hitherto been tedious and awkward. Proper

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machinery will, no doubt, be immediately used, and some safe plan to protect the vessels from the sea, adopted by the " Albion Mining Company," who now possess the mines, and who have also opened a coal mine at Lingan Bay, some miles to the southward.

The inhabitants around Sydney Bay and rivers are Scotch emigrants, some Irish, disbanded soldiers, and families of American loyalists. At the West Arm there is a settlement of Acadian French.

The coast from Sydney to Louisburg presents abrupt cliffs, low beaches, bays, rivers, and a few islands. The principal places are, Lingan Bay, which is scarcely more than a boat harbour, but the lands are good, and settled principally by Irish; Glace Bay, which has also a few Irish inhabitants; and Cow Bay, at which there are a few families of loyalists.

Coal is very abundant along the whole of this coast; and a precipitous cliff, intersected by a thick stratum of that mineral, presents its transformation in many places into cinders, by a fire that continued burning for some years. This story has crept into some of our late geographical works, with the augmentation of the fire not having been extinguished since the English took Louisburg in 1745.

Mirè Bay and River intersect the island for about thirty miles. This bay has only a harbour for very small vessels. For a boat, or shore fishery, it is very convenient. The adjoining lands are not generally adapted for agriculture, but afford excellent

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pasturage. An injudicious grant of 100,000 acres of land, has prevented the settlement of the country bordering on this beautiful river; and the population consists only of a few families of American loyalists.

Scatari Island, a point for which vessels bound from Britain to North America have usually shaped their course, lies a few miles south-east of Mirè Bay. It is triangular in shape; its sides about five miles long; and its soil barren, but well calculated for an extensive fishery. It is not inhabited, at least not permanently. Within Scatari is Main à Dieu or Minadon Harbour, at which there is a settlement of industrious fishermen, who, after the cod fishery is over, employ themselves with their vessels in carrying coals from Sydney to Halifax, &c.

Louisburg has been, ever since its demolition, a place so truly insignificant, that it might be passed over by merely observing that its harbour is safe and spacious; and that it is most conveniently situated on the south side of the island for the fisheries, and a port of rendezvous for a naval squadron.

But it has assumed, and maintains, a classic position in history, that requires more than ordinary notice.

The harbour of Louisburg is in latitude 45° 54′ N., and longitude 59° 52′ W. Its entrance, a little more than a quarter of a mile in width, leads between some small rocky islets, and a bold point on the north-east side, on which stand the ruins of the French light-house, and the foundations of two bat-

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teries. A delusive entrance presents itself from the sea between the islands and the western point on which Louisburg stood; but a rocky ledge, covered with a few feet of water, extends across it, and renders the passage impracticable, while it also defends the harbour most completely against the heavy rolling sea of the Atlantic.

Within, a capacious basin, nearly three miles in length, and about a mile in width, with excellent holding ground, forms one of the best harbours in the world.

A few rivulets run into the harbour, which afford fresh water; and a beach and some other parts are well adapted for the landing and drying of fish. The surrounding lands are bleak, rugged, and barren, and only a few slight traces remain of what was cultivated by the French. A few dwarfish firs, birches, shrubs, moss, and grass, appear growing among the rocks, and greater fertility is only met with some miles back in the country. In fact, Louisburg has no natural advantage but its fine harbour, its watering-places, and its convenient position for the rendezvous of a navy, and for the fisheries.

The ruins of Louisburg repose on a point of land projecting from the western coast; against one side of which the roaring surges of the ocean roll and foam, while the other is laved by the calm waters of the harbour; on both shores, the land, near the sea, is low, and rises gently to the site formerly occupied by the citadel. Stretching across this point, separating the area of Louisburg from a small pond and

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morass that lie between it and the rocky hills, we discover the walls, sloping glacis, and ruined bastions.

These are, in most places, covered with a turf of grass and moss; and the wide broken gaps, which were blown open by gunpowder, remind us of the destruction of these regular and formidable works of defence. The remains of all the batteries, and the foundations of many of the public buildings, the stockades, and, in calm weather, the sunken ships of war, are still to be seen.

The strong and capacious magazines, in which were once deposited vast stores of military combustibles, are still nearly entire, but almost hidden by the accumulation of earth and turf. They afford, at the same time, warm and safe shelter for the flocks of sheep that now feed on the site of Louisburg, and whose tracks lead us to the entrance of these casements.

Between the site of a battery on the extreme point, and a pond in front of the ruins of Maurepas bastion, may be traced the burying-ground; in which repose the ashes of many a courageous and distinguished French officer, mingled with those of the brave troops and sailors who fell in defending Louisburg against two formidable sieges. Here also have been laid the remains of the priest, friar, and civilian, together with those of the pious nun, fashionable lady, and the humble wife of the fisherman.

On treading over the grounds of Louisburg, that mind must be indeed cold, and little to be envied, which does not feel the full force of the observations

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of Doctor Johnson when surveying the ruins of Iona. We observe in Louisburg the desolation which destiny entailed on the splendid cities of the ancient world. All is silent, excepting the reverberation of the sea, as the waves roll in along the beach, or the bleating of the scattered sheep, as they gather towards their resting abodes, when the solitude of evening approaches.

A few huts, the habitations of poor unambitious fishermen, form only a melancholy contrast to the superb edifices, scientific fortifications, naval grandeur, military pomp, and commercial activity of which Louisburg was once the splendid theatre.

From Louisburg to St Peter's, the coast of Cape Breton is naked and rocky, and the soil only in a few places fit for cultivation, until we arrive at St Esprit, where the country assumes a more fertile appearance. Gabarus Bay, at which there are a few families of American loyalists, subsisting by fishing, and cultivating some small spots of ground, and three other small harbours, where a few fishermen reside, are the only settlements that intervene.

At St Esprit and Grand River, the inhabitants are Scottish emigrants. Settlements are also forming on the fertile lands around the lakes that discharge into Grand River. There is at Ardoise, between Cape Hinchinbrooke and St Peter's, a settlement of Acadian French, who follow the cod and herring fisheries.

St Peter's Bay, and the whole course of Lennox passage to the Gut of Canseau, exhibits broken indented shores, innumerable coves, harbours, and

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islands. The population of these places consists chiefly of Acadian French, who follow the fisheries, and cultivate also small patches of land.

St Peter's Bay and settlement are situated to the east of Lennox Passage. The French called this place Port Toulouse; and to it the Indians of Acadia and Cape Breton brought their furs to exchange for European commodities. The distance across the isthmus, between the head of this bay and the Bras d'Or Lake, is about 900 yards. It was surveyed, under the direction of government, by Mr Hall, a civil engineer, from whose report it appears that there would be little difficulty in opening a canal communication between all parts of the Bras d'Or and the Atlantic, through this neck of land.—The estimated expense is L.17,150.

Numberless advantages to Cape Breton would result from the completion of such an undertaking; and St Peter's would then become the focus of intercourse with all parts of the island.

People going and coming between different places within Bras d'Or, and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, frequently haul their boats with horses or oxen across this portage; and the Indians carry their bark canoes over it on their heads.

At the head of Grand Anse harbour, which branches off from Lennox Passage, there is a Scotch settlement, the inhabitants of which follow agricultural pursuits, and the lands are considered of good quality.

Rivière des Habitans, or, as we now call it, River

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Inhabitants, along the banks of which there were extensively cultivated farms when Cape Breton was taken, falls into a bay of the same name at the northern end of Lennox Passage. The lands on each side of this river are fertile, and have been settled for many years. The interior lands are also excellent, and covered with luxuriant woods.

Arichat is situated on the south side of Madame Island, which is divided by Lennox Passage from Cape Breton. It lies near the south entrance of the Gut of Canseau, opposite Cranberry Island, on which there is a light-house. Its harbour is safely sheltered, and has a sufficient depth of water for the largest ships. The population of this place is increasing fast; the present number of inhabitants may be estimated at two thousand, consisting principally of Acadian French, who are engaged in the fisheries and coasting trade.

It is a port of entry under that of Halifax, and must be considered the most important and thriving place in Cape Breton. The town, or rather long village, with its chapels, court-house, dwelling-houses, stores, wharfs, and fishing-craft, has a pleasing, industrious, and trading appearance. The fishery is here conducted to an important extent; and several cargoes of dry cod and pickled fish are annually exported to Spain, Portugal, to the countries within the Mediterranean, to the West Indies, and to Halifax. The mercantile houses who support this fishery, are, with two or three exceptions, managed by people from Guernsey or Jersey.

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The island of Madame is about sixteen miles long, and from six to eight broad. Its soil is thin and rocky, yet the inhabitants derive essential advantage from what it produces. There are several small harbours, besides Arichat, along its shores, which afford shelter and convenience to the fishing vessels. A road crosses this island from Arichat to Grand Digne, at which place there is a ferry, less than a mile over, to the mainland, from roads communicating with St Peter's, Bras d'Or, and River Inhabitants.

The Gut of Canseau, generally spelt Canso, and called by the French the Strait of Fronsac, is a narrow strait which detaches Cape Breton from the continent of America. The passage from the Atlantic to its southern entrance, leads between Cape Canseau and Green Island, across Chedabucto Bay. Its length from Sandy Point to Cape Jack is about twenty-one miles, and its breadth about a mile. There are several coves and places within it, where ships may anchor with safety, and be sheltered from all winds: of these, Ship Harbour is the best.

The features of the scenery, on each side of this extraordinary strait, are unusually grand and mountainous, and stretch and rise to the utmost extent of romantic boldness. As it is considered the most convenient, as well as safest passage to and from the Gulf of St Lawrence, ships, brigs, and a variety of small vessels, under sail, mingle incessantly, during summer and autumn, with the wildness of its picturesque sublimity. The mountains are covered with trees to their summits; rocks jut out from the banks;

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habitations are scattered near the shores on each side, where the lands have also been partially cleared and cultivated. At Ship Harbour, and near Plaster Paris Cove, are two or three fishing plantations, or depôts for salt, fishing-tackle, &c., and stores for receiving dry and pickled fish.

The tides in this strait are so irregular as to baffle all calculation; and, apparently governed by the winds, flow several days in one direction.

The Gut of Canseau possesses eminent advantages for a rallying point of communication with all parts of America. Vessels from Quebec, and all places within the Gulf of St Lawrence, pass frequently through this strait, on their passage to and from the West Indies, and to and from different parts of North and South America. Ships sailing from Europe for the lower ports in the Gulf, generally prefer the passage of Canseau; and through it many of the United States' vessels engaged in the fisheries, and those that now go for the coals of the Albion mines to Pictou, enter and return. A good carriage road might also, at the usual expense, be made from the Nova Scotia side of the Gut to Truro, at the head of the Bay of Fundy; from whence roads diverge to Halifax, Pictou, and New Brunswick, which may from the last place be continued to Canada. Lastly, the Gut of Canseau is of safe access, and may be approached generally without the apprehension of danger.

The coast of Cape Breton, from the Strait of Canseau to Port Hood, is as densely settled as any part of the island. The houses and farms of the inha-

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bitants, are observed from the sea, ascending, in detached openings made in the forest, over each other, to the tops of the hills and mountains. The settlers that line the coast to Marguerite, or Salmon River, are, with the exception of a few families, the descendants of loyalists, all Scotch Highlanders, or rather islanders, of the poorer sort, who have secured the means of existence, but who seem indifferent about greater comfort or affluence.

Port Hood, or Justau-Corp Harbour, lies eighteen miles north of the Gut of Canseau, and is formed by an island, and a jutting point of land, which shelter it from all winds. This place is well situated for fishing; and the lands in its neighbourhood are tolerably good, particularly for pasturage.

The harbour is safe, capacious, and admits large ships. The inhabitants employ themselves in agricultural pursuits occasionally, by catching herring and cod; and dog-fish, which are very plentiful, for the oil of their livers. They also send several schooners annually with cattle to the Newfoundland market. Since the time that Cape Breton was divided into districts, the court for the western district has been held at this place. There is a tolerable road from Port Hood to a branch of the Bras d'Or, another along the coast to the Gut of Canseau, and a path, rather than a road, leads to Marguerite.

Mabau River, about six miles from Port Hood, has a harbour for shallops; and the lands abutting on this river are fertile, and settled by Scotch and American loyalists.

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From Cape Mabau, which is an abrupt and mountainous headland, to Marguerite, the coast assumes the form of a bold mountainous amphitheatre, called by the inhabitants Broad Cove, into which several small streams run. This part of the country is rather populously settled; and the lands, particularly the interval of Broad Cove, are considered fertile.

Marguerite River is settled, along its banks, by Acadian French, who might live most comfortably, by applying their labour solely to the cultivation of the beautiful fertile lands that extend along this fine stream, and to the raising of cattle; but they cannot, it would seem, resist the infatuated propensity of the Acadians for fishing, and making coasting voyages with their shallops. Salmon are usually plentiful at Marguerite, and from this circumstance it is frequently called Salmon River.

Cheticamp Harbour is seventeen miles to the northward of Marguerite. The intermediate coast is settled by Acadians. This harbour admits schooners only; and a fishing, carried on by Jersey merchants, has been for many years established in this place. The inhabitants are also Acadian French.

Along the iron-bound, precipitous, and dreadful coast which extends from Cheticamp to the North Cape, there are only six or eight families settled. This is a terrible shore to approach; and as many vessels, in proportion to the number passing, have been wrecked along its precipitous cliffs, with the destruction, except in very few instances, of all on board, as on any coast in the world. The lands, however, at a little

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distance from the sea, among the valleys, and along some streams, indicate great fertility.

Between Cape Lawrence and Cape North, there is a bay eight miles wide; and although it does not seem a mile in depth, from the sea, it is in reality about three miles deep.

Aspè Bay lies between Cape North and Cape Egmont, on the Atlantic coast. It has only a harbour for boats, but it has a remarkably fine beach;* and the inhabitants, who are settled round the lagoons formed within the beach, employ themselves in the pursuits of farming and fishing. The soil of the lands, particularly at some distance back from the shores, is rich and fertile; but being under the influence of the bank fogs, the success of wheat crops is very uncertain. Near Cape Enfumè, at Nigonish, or Ingoniche, there is a settlement of fishermen.

Cape Enfumè (Smoky Cape) is the highest headland in Cape Breton. Its elevation is not known; and on passing it twice, I had not the means of ascertaining its altitude; but, from comparison, its summit appeared to me about 1800 feet above the level of the sea, and higher than any mountain that is seen from the sea in the British colonies.

Twenty miles to the southward lie St Anne's Bay

* Mr Haliburton of Nova Scotia states, that "the sand" of this beach, "in some places, is found black, glittering, and weighty. It instantly arranges its particles in beautiful order upon the magnet, and appears to be iron, nearly pure. Coins, to a large amount, are thrown up from the ocean, the remains of some vessel with specie foundered here."

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and Harbour, which are separated from the principal entrance to Bras d'Or, by the high peninsula of Cape Dauphin. This bay is ten miles deep, to the narrows, which lead to a safe and capacious harbour, eight miles in extreme length, and three in its most extreme breadth, but not more than one in some places. It has excellent anchorage, water sufficiently deep for the largest ships, and the high lands which surround the harbour and its narrow entrance, protect it from all winds. This place, formerly called Port Dauphin, was first chosen by France in preference to Louisburg; but in consequence of the latter opening immediately to the ocean, it was fixed upon, and the former abandoned. The beauty of St Anne's Harbour, branching into two principal arms, and several coves and creeks, and the bold, yet fertile features of its scenery, must be admired by all who visit the place. It remained, after the conquest of Cape Breton, long unsettled. A few families planted themselves on the south side, near the entrance, more than twenty years ago; and within the last twelve years, the lands abutting on the harbour and rivers have all been granted to Scotch emigrants, who have made greater improvements than any settlers on the island.

Bras d'Or (Golden Arm) inlet enters Cape Breton a few miles north of Sydney, and penetrates the island for about fifty miles. It branches, in its course, into numerous bays, rivers, and creeks, also lays open to maritime intercourse the most valuable lands in the colony. It has two entrances, termed Great and Little Bras d'Or. The former, leading between Cape

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Dauphin and Boulardrie Island, is deep, and safely navigated by the largest ships. The latter, entering on the south side of the same island, is rendered impassable, except to small vessels, by a dangerous bar.

Boulardrie Island, called after a French nobleman of that name, is about twenty miles in length, and from one to two in breadth; and, lying longitudinally between these entrances, protracts them into straits of the same extent. That of Great Bras d'Or, or the main entrance, is faced on the north-west by high lands, presenting cliffs and rocks, chiefly of gypsum, which frown wildly over its waters. The passage of Little Bras d'Or, to the south-west, is, for the first seven miles from the Atlantic, narrow, crooked, and of barren aspect. It then widens to more than double the breadth of the other strait, until both meet at the western end of Boulardrie, where they unite with Petit Bras d'Or.

Boulardrie Island is rather populously inhabited by Scotch Highlanders and numbers of Irish fishermen, who were formerly employed at Newfoundland, and who now carry on a boat fishing near the great entrance.

From Petit Bras d'Or Lake, Bedeque Inlet parts off to the west, and passing through St Patrick's channel, branches into several creeks and coves, and then, contracting to a narrow strait, opens again into a capacious sheet of water, nearly twenty miles long, and from one to three broad, with scenery beautifully diversified by irregular coves, jutting points, and an undulated country. This branch still retains the Indian

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name Whycocomah. The inhabitants are principally Scotch islanders, settled along the shores, and not in the most thriving condition, although nothing but the proper application of their labour is necessary to secure them independence and comparative affluence. Several cargoes of timber have been exported from Whycocomah.

The shores of Petit Bras d'Or are settled, but most populously on the south side, by emigrants from the Hebrides.

The narrow passage which connects Petit Bras d'Or and Le Bras d'Or, has been named the Strait of Barra, from the circumstance of the inhabitants settled in its vicinity, or their fathers, having emigrated from the island of Barra, one of the Hebrides.

Le Bras d'Or, or, as it is usually called, Great Bras d'Or Lake, opens suddenly to a great width, and afterwards branches into four large arms. It is about twenty miles in extreme length, and fifteen in breadth.

The east arm, or St Andrew's, bends off a few miles to the south-east of Barra Strait, and extends in a north-easterly direction abou twenty miles, from Benakaady to Tweed Porge basin at its head. Its shores are indented with coves and creeks. On the north shore, at the harbour of Escasoni, which lies within a cluster of islands, there is a tract of land occupied by the Micmac Indians, some of whom are stationary, cultivate the ground, and possess some cattle. All the other lands fronting on this arm, are occupied by Scotch Highlanders. Opposite a headland, which forms the extremity of the south shore

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of St Andrew's Bay, are the Red Islands, from which the south branch, or arm, formed into various channels by the islands it contains, extends about twelve miles, until arrested by the narrow isthmus which separates it from the waters of St Peter's Bay.

St George's Channel, or the west arm, lies a few miles farther west. It is about six miles broad, and fifteen miles deep from the inlets bearing the Indian name Malaga-waacht. This bay contains several islands; its shores are thinly settled, principally by Scotch islanders. The lands on the north side are high, and form a mountainous ridge, which separates this bay from the inlet of River Denys.

This last branch breaks off abruptly from the north shore of Barra Strait, and forms, first, a broad bay, then contracts, and winds through intricate passages among islands for some miles, and opens again into a basin, along which there are several inlets, and at its head receives the waters of a beautiful winding river. The inhabitants are principally emigrants from the Hebrides. Both the soil and timber of the lands fronting on this inlet are excellent.

The waters of the Bras d'Or are in many places forty fathoms, and in some places sixty fathoms deep, and afford many capacious safe harbours. It abounds with cod, which are caught at all seasons, (in the winter, through a hole cut in the ice,) besides various other kinds of fish.

The scenery of this vast inlet is in some places beautifully picturesque, and in some others, monotonous and uninteresting, but in many parts, of a

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sublime character, which exhibits the sombre gloom of pine forests, the luxuriant verdure of broad valleys and wooded mountains, and the wild features of lofty promontories frowning in stubborn ruggedness over the waters of the rivers and inlets.

Innumerable, but generally very small lakes, and a multiplicity of streams of fresh water, are met with in the interior, but chiefly in the southern divisions of the island.

Marguerite, or Ainslie Lake, is the largest sheet of fresh water in Cape Breton. It is only, however, about twelve miles long, and from three to four in breadth. The lands surrounding it indicate fertility; and their cultivation by Scotch Highlanders has lately commenced. A stream runs from it, which forms Marguerite River.

The roads of Cape Breton are still few in number, and in bad condition. Roads lead from Sydney to Lingan, Cow Bay, Mirè River, Manadon, Louisburg, the Coal Mines, Boulardrie Ferry, Barra Strait, and St Peter's; from Great Bras d'Or, again, to St Ann's, Bedeque, and from thence to Marguerite. Arichat communicates by the ferry across Lennox Strait, and by roads, with St Peter's and Sydney, with the Bras d'Or, River Inhabitants, and the Gut of Canseau, from which there is a road along the Gulf coast as far as Cheticamp.

Broad Cove communicates with Lake Marguerite by a road; and roads lead between Port Hood and Whycocomah and River Denys.

Most of these roads are little better than paths,

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while some of them are scarcely more than blazed through, with fallen trees cut away; but a rapidly increasing population will soon provide the labour, and judicious measures will only be necessary to make good roads between all the settlements.

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CHAPTER III.

Population—Characteristics and Pursuits of the Inhabitants—Agriculture, Trade, &c.

THE population of Cape Breton, estimated at from 25,000 to 30,000, consists of people from various countries, and those born on the island.

Scotch, from the Western Highlands and isles of Scotland, form the greater proportion of the inhabitants, and are found in settlements within the Bras d'Or, along the shores of the Gut of Canseau and the coast, to the harbour of Justua Corps, at Cape Mabou, and on the Atlantic shore at St Esprit. Several families, the descendants of American loyalists, are settled in different places, and form an industrious class of the inhabitants. Numbers of Irish, who, in the first instance, generally emigrated to Newfoundland, are scattered among the settlers; and a few English, Jerseymen, and Dutch, are mixed with the other inhabitants.

Acadian French are, next to the Scotch, the most numerous class; and their settlements are chiefly at Arichat, Petit de Grat, Ardoise, Little Bras d'Or, Marguerite, and Cheticamp. About 300 Micmac Indians wander through the woods and along the shores. They have six reservations of land in different parts

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of the island, but they do not hold the same by any tenure but that of possession and sufferance. These tracts are at Escasoni, Chapel Island,* River Denys, Wagama-takook, Whycocomah, within the Bras d'Or, and at Marguerite. One or more of these places are their rallying points, where they meet during summer, and where some families remain stationary. These possess some cattle, and cultivate a little Indian corn, and a few potatoes.

From the badness and want of roads, and the consequent difficulty of travelling, that intercourse which is so common in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, between the inhabitants of one settlement and another, does not exist in Cape Breton; nor is there yet the same facility of having children instructed in the rudiments of education, while society is also in a more simple state than in any of the other colonies. There is scarcely a good school in the colony, if one or two at Sydney and Arichat be not exceptions. It is complained of by the inhabitants, that no provision is made by the colonial legislature for establishing good schools, although the present condition of the island warrants the same.

The inhabitants, especially the Acadians, and Scotch and Irish Catholics, adhere to the tenets of

* On this island they have a chapel and burying-ground. They received a present of some red paint for the former, I believe from the provincial government; but the colour, which, in most cases, the Indians admire, did not please in this instance; their objection, as they expressed it in English, was, "Because certain make chapel look all same as one store;" warehouses in America being usually painted with red ochre and oil.

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the faith which has descended to them from their forefathers, and have the service of their church performed in almost all the settlements, by priests educated in Canada. There can scarcely be said to be any stationary clergymen of other persuasions, except at Sydney ; and lately a Presbyterian pastor was fixed at St Ann's, among the orderly and industrious people settled there. Presbyterian, and, more commonly, Methodist preachers, go occasionally among the inhabitants, to preach and baptize.

The colony, being now, however, a component part of the province of Nova Scotia, begins already to feel the advantage of the connexion. It is probable the benefits of instruction may, in a few years, be received in every part of the island. Travelling by land through the country will also, in a short period, be rendered less difficult. As the country becomes more populously settled, the inhabitants will improve in their mode of husbandry, gradually change their habits of living, become more industrious, and feel a pride in having their houses neatly built, as well as comfortably furnished ; neither of which is at present generally the case, although it is well ascertained that nothing but industry and good management is required to enable them to obtain all the necessaries and conveniences of life.

The Scotch Highlanders and islanders, who form the majority of the population, are not mixed with settlers by whose example they might be stimulated to exertion, and from whom they might learn a better system of agriculture and domestic management.

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Contented to exist as their progenitors did, they seem careless about living in a more comfortable, cleanly, and respectable style. It is, however, satisfactory and pleasing to know, that neither beggary, nor the want of necessary food and clothing, can be discovered on the island.*

With few exceptions, the general characteristics of the people are honesty and hospitality; but many of the inhabitants about the Gut of Canseau, and a few in the vicinity of the North Cape, are considered as infamous characters as any who exist unpunished. These were probably the most worthless people in the countries from whence they came; and, living in this colony, until the last few years, almost without the limits of justice, their principles have not likely undergone a favourable change.

Agriculture, generally speaking, is in a most slovenly and barbarous condition. The inhabitants, it is true, within the Bras d'Or, and at a few places along the gulf shore, subsist principally by cultivating the soil, and rearing cattle and sheep; but wherever there are harbours for fishing or exporting timber, the farmers soon acquire the propensity, so common in America, of dabbling in pursuits unconnected with agriculture, such as fishing, hewing timber, building schooners, &c.

The Acadian French leave the cultivation of the soil, in a great measure, to the management of their wives, daughters, and younger sons. The quality of the soil in most places where they are settled, except at

* Note B.

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Marguerite and Cheticamp, justifies the pursuits of men who follow fishing, or employ themselves in carrying freights coastwise in their schooners and shallops. These vessels are built more for the purpose of sailing fast than for carrying large cargoes; they are slightly constructed, little iron being used for the fastenings, nor do they consider one-fourth part of the cordage necessary that is required in vessels of the same size rigged in England. They have only three sails, frequently but one cable, and nothing in the shape of spare rope or sails, in case of accidents; notwithstanding which, they are often out in heavy gales, in which they make, according to the sailors' phrase, "good weather of it;" and they are scarcely ever shipwrecked.

The fisheries have long formed the chief source from which the inhabitants have obtained the means of subsistence, as well as the most valuable branch of commercial importance. The Acadians are those chiefly employed; they fish in their shallops and boats. Herrings and mackerel, a portion of which they pickle, constitute a great share of their catch; but the quantity so cured is uncertain, a great part being taken away by the traders, and much carried to Halifax, a small portion of which is only considered to be entered at the custom-house at Cape Breton.

This trade could be carried on to any extent, if the merchants could meet the Americans and French on equal terms at foreign markets. The position of Cape Breton is equal to that of Newfoundland for the cod, and particularly for the herring and mackerel fish-

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eries; but the business at this place has never been conducted on the systematic plan, which long-established usage has made peculiar to the latter colony.

From fifteen to twenty cargoes of timber have been annually exported for some years, from Sydney, and from harbours within the Bras d'Or, to England. The ships that took out emigrants, brought back cargoes of timber. Some vessels have also been built on the island, but the present low value of shipping will arrest the further progress of this business. Plaster of Paris, or gypsum, was, for many years, exported from the Gut of Canseau to the United States of America; but the Americans are now supplied with that article from the Bay of Fundy. Live cattle, butter, cheese, potatoes, and oats, have become articles of export, for some time past, to Halifax and Newfoundland. Coal has also been an article of export to the neighbouring colonies for some years.

The vessels belonging to Cape Breton, about 150 in all, are principally shallops and schooners from 30 to 80 tons, and a few vessels that register from 100 to 200 tons. The shallops and schooners are chiefly the property of the Acadian French, who also own probably more than half the fishing boats. The number of the latter may be estimated at 600, exclusive of those used for the double purpose of fishing and passage boats, by the Highland Scotch.

If Louisburg had not been demolished, it is very probable that Cape Breton would at this time have been a populous and flourishing colony. To the levelling of that town and fortress may justly be attributed

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the oblivion which has so long enveloped this valuable and important island.

To Great Britain, its possession is of the utmost consequence. The naval power of France, it is well known, began to decline from the time they were driven out of the North American fisheries by the conquest of Louisburg; and the Americans of the United States would consider Cape Breton a boon more valuable to them, as a nation, than any of our West India islands. Did they but once obtain it as a fishing station, and as a position to command the surrounding seas and coasts, their navy would, I fear, in a few years, have sufficient physical strength to cope with any power in Europe, not even excepting England. Let not the British nation, therefore, lose sight of this colony. It is capable of supporting from one to three hundred thousand. If it were once populously settled, the inhabitants would adhere steadily to certain regular pursuits. The farmers would follow agriculture alone, and the fishermen would, at the same time, find it advantageous to persevere in fishing, as the pursuit in which, by habit and experience, they had acquired the most perfect knowledge. Particular care should, however, be taken to render the inhabitants readily effective as a militia, to defend the colony in the event of its being attacked. The farmers would then be prepared to defend their own property, which is probably the cause for which a militia will most bravely fight. The fishermen may at all times, from the hazardous business they follow, be considered hardy and dauntless seamen.

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CHAPTER IV.

Description of St Paul's Island, and of the Isle of Sable.

THE extent and surface of St Paul's Island, or rather rock, for it is little more, would be undeserving of notice, were it not the passive sullen cause of probably more serious disasters than any spot of the same size on the face of the globe. It rises, black and steep, out of the principal entrance to the Gulf of St Lawrence, in a direct line between Cape Ray, in Newfoundland, and the north cape of Cape Breton, about ten miles distant from the latter. Its length is about a mile and a half, its breadth less than half a mile, and its height nearly 100 yards above the level of the sea, appearing with three hills. The water is very deep close to the rocks; and it has a steep beechy cove on the north-west, where a boat may sometimes land, and also a cove on the north-east side. Some small spots of a mossy kind, between the rocks, retain water, which oozes again through the crevices of the rocks, and in some places forms small rivulets. As there is tolerable anchorage on both sides of the island, those who are acquainted frequently run under the lee of it for shelter. This was practised by the American privateers during the last war. The situation of this island is what renders it so danger-

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ous. When fogs prevail in the spring, and tempestuous long dark nights in the fall, many fine ships that we know of, and many more that we never heard of, otherwise than by the remnants of their wrecks, have, with their crews, perished on this inhospitable rock. So frequent have shipwrecks been upon this island, that the fishermen of Cheticamp resort to it every spring for the purpose of collecting whatever may be found. The dangerous coast of Cape Breton, between Cape North and Cheticamp, having long been fatal to numberless ships and their crews, many leaving Quebec, and all parts within the gulf, in the fall, from the dread of striking the cliffs of that shore, and keeping too far off, have dashed against St Paul's. Eight or nine large ships, with their crews, have perished on it during the last six or seven years. A few years ago, a transport, with two hundred lives, perished. Many of the bodies, men, women, and children, floated ashore along the coast of Cape Breton.

Among the rocks in the water, and on the surface of the island, human bones are thickly scattered. Not less than fourteen large anchors have very lately been counted lying at the bottom of the sea. This number must be small in proportion to those imbedded in the sand, or otherwise hid from sight. A good light-house, provided with a great gun, to be used in thick weather, might have prevented most of these wrecks, and saved the lives of the crews and passengers.*

* There is scarcely a more melancholy catastrophe than that of the ship Jessie, which occurred in 1823. This vessel, with Mr

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The legislature of Canada have this year agreed, in conjunction with the other colonies, to erect a light-house on this dread spot, which will, doubtless, be the cause of saving thousands of lives, besides a vast amount of property.

The Isle of Sable, long terrible, and often fatal to

Donald Mackay, the owner, and some other passengers, and the master and crew, twenty-six in number, left the harbour of Three Rivers, in Prince Edward Island; and as the ship was observed off the coast of Cape Breton, near Cheticamp, during a snow-storm on the 27th of December, it is probable she struck in the night on St Paul's Island.

In the month of May following, (no account having before been received of the vessel,) it was reported that some fishermen had discovered the wreck of a ship, and a number of bodies, on St Paul's Island. On this report, a schooner was dispatched thence from Charlotte Town, the people on board of which found the wreck of the Jessie, and the bodies of eleven men, who must have perished by the intense cold soon after landing; the remainder of the crew, it is likely, were either washed overboard by the surf, or lost in attempting to get up the cliff. The bodies of Mr Mackay and the master were carried to Charlotte Town; nothing could be more melancholy than their funerals, which were attended by the greatest concourse of people ever known in Charlotte Town to accompany the remains of any person to the mansions of the dead. I had for some years enjoyed the friendship of this gentleman. I was one of the last that parted with him on leaving the island; and six months afterwards I saw his body laid in the grave. When I say that few men have left the world more regretted by his acquaintance, that in his manners he was truly a gentleman, and that he possessed, in an eminent degree, all the kind and good qualities which gain the hearts and the esteem of men, no one who knew him will say that I exaggerate. He was born in Scotland, served his Majesty for some years, was taken on the coast of France, and detained ten years a prisoner in that country.

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American navigators, lies about the usual track of vessels bound to and from Europe to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the United States. By late careful observations, its east end is in 43° 59′ north latitude, and in 59° 42′ west longitude; and the west point in 43° 57′ latitude, and in 60° 17′ longitude. It is little else than a collection of sand rising in hills, or, as the sailors term them, hummocks. One of these is about a hundred feet high, and said to be increasing in size. There is not a tree nor a shrub larger than a whortleberry-bush on the island. It produces a strong natural bent grass, and, in the hollows, abundance of cranberries. Its form is that of a crescent, the hollow of which is on the north side, and consequently the most dangerous. The north-east reef, or bar, is about a mile and a half wide, and extends twenty-eight miles, over the whole length of which the sea breaks in stormy weather. The north-west reef stretches out eight miles. Both have been dreadfully fatal to ships bound to and from North America. Although the majority of the crews have perished, yet this island has not been quite so destructive of human life as St Paul's. In 1801, the legislature of Nova Scotia, greatly to their honour, passed an act, empowering the governor to make provision for establishing some families on Sable Island, to afford relief to those who escaped from the wrecks, and to prevent plunder. Two years ago, the British government, on the representation of Sir James Kempt, added L.400 a-year to the amount annually granted by Nova Scotia, to support this most humane esta-

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blishment. During the late war, the American government issued an order, forbidding their armed vessels to intercept or injure vessels bound to or from Sable Island. Since 1802, forty-two ships have been wrecked on it; probably some others were lost on the reefs without being heard of: the number lost previously must have been very great.

The Honourable Michael Wallace of Halifax, who has occasionally, with great satisfaction, administered the government of Nova Scotia, has, since the formation of the establishment at Sable Island, gratuitously directed its management. The superintendent, Edward Hodgson, who has been on the island since 1804, was appointed by Mr Wallace; and, with his family, consisting of four sons and a daughter, and four or five servants, form the members of the establishment. The business of the superintendent is to use his utmost exertion to save the lives and property of those who may be wrecked. A vessel visits the island periodically with provisions, and to bring off those who may be cast on its shores. The goods and materials saved from wrecks are carried to Halifax, and sold for the benefit of all concerned, retaining the usual salvage. There have been no less than three hundred people on the island at one time, and the stock of provisions kept at the depot, has always proved sufficient. After a storm, the superintendent sends his people to traverse the shores in every direction; and in the event of vessels being carried ashore by the currents, or running on in thick weather, a party travels round

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the island weekly. It has no harbour; but a large lagoon, eighteen miles long, and more than half a mile wide, is formed by a sandy ridge thrown up by the sea. It has been named Lake Wallace. A storm some years ago broke through the sandy ridge, and formed an inlet, which for some time afforded a harbour for small coasters; but a subsequent storm closed it up again, and shut in two small American fishing vessels. There is at present only a mere brook running from it into the sea. About the middle of the north side of the lake, stands the house of the superintendent, and the stores for provisions, &c., and goods and materials saved from wrecks. On the high hill adjoining, there is a signal-staff made out of the spritsail yard of the French frigate, L'Africane, wrecked in 1822, from which signals are made to vessels in distress. At each end of the lake there is a small house, in which are deposited directions to find the depot, and the means of kindling a fire. Nothing is planted on the island except a few cabbages, which, cultivated with much care, have arrived at maturity. The climate, however, is not so severe as that of Nova Scotia.

One great cause of shipwreck is the current running to the south-west, between the coast of America and the Gulf Stream, which frequently carries vessels much further west than their reckoning. There is always a vast quantity of drift timber ashore on the island.

The horrors of a storm on this island are described as truly terrible. The whole island trembles and

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vibrates, as the mighty ocean strikes and breaks along its whole length. The sand is whirled and swept round the hills, the bars shift, and the island seems prepared to separate, and retreat from before the fury of the winds, and the thunders of the Atlantic.

It appears, however, that although some have considered that the island is decreasing, it in reality gains in one place what it loses in another. The site of the residence of the first superintendent is now three miles out in the sea, and covered with two fathoms water. The storms frequently expose to view human skeletons, and pieces of wrecks that have been buried many years.

Notwithstanding the unstable and barren nature of this ridge of sandy downs, for it is nothing more, it was thought worthy of settlement by the French before they attempted to plant any part of the continent of America. The Marquis de la Roche landed forty malefactors on it, in 1598, to establish a colony. He then proceeded to the coast of Nova Scotia, but effecting nothing, and, being unable to deliver the wretches left on Sable Island, he returned to France, where he is said to have died soon after of a broken heart.

These people would have perished for want of food, had not a number of sheep escaped from a vessel that was wrecked soon after; and Henry IV. sent a vessel to take them off, seven years afterwards, when he was so moved with their haggard appearance, dressed rudely in skins, that he not only pardoned them, but gave each fifty crowns to begin the world with.

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The Portuguese sent some cattle to the place, at a very early period, for the relief of those who escaped from wrecks, which increased fast; but they are said to have been all killed by worthless avaricious men, for their hides and tallow. It was again stocked with cattle more than once, which were also destroyed; and, in consequence, horses were sent there, the race of which are still in considerable numbers (about 300) on the island. The young ones are shot for provisions when required; but as they are remarkably wild, it is exceedingly difficult to approach within gun-shot of them. The manes of the old ones reach frequently to their knees. Rabbits were also sent to the island, which have multiplied astonishingly fast. Aquatic birds in great numbers frequent the island, and hatch their young on it. Seals of the species Phoca-ursina, resort to the island, principally about the north-east bar, for the purpose of bringing forth their young. They are very large, and are frequently killed by the servants of the superintendent.

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NOTES TO BOOK V.

Note A, page 376.

Of all our treaties with foreign nations, there is none so creditable to English negotiation as the treaty of Utrecht. This celebrated treaty was managed and concluded by the more celebrated Lord Bolingbroke; and, with whatever blemishes either justice or malice may have shaded his character, never did any minister secure more effectually the interests and honour of his country, or at so little cost.

The treaty of 1763, which secured Cape Breton, St John's Island, and Canada, to England, was also glorious, in respect to the territories it added to the British empire; but these acquisitions were previously secured by the power of our naval and military forces.

How different will both everlastingly appear in history to the treaty of Paris, (1814,) when our ministers might have dictated any stipulation they pleased, without violating British honour, or international justice! But let us ask how the ratification of that treaty was managed? The observation made to me by a distinguished American statesman and philosopher, whom I met in Canada, may perhaps supply an answer. We were conversing on the relations of Great Britain with Europe and America, and particularly on the arrangements agreed to by the treaty of Paris. "Sir," said he, "a treaty is an agreement between two or more nations, with various stipulations, provisoes, and considerations. It is, in fact, a bargain, in which something is, or has been given, and something has been, or is received in return. Now, sir, let me ask you, What has your country received as an equivalent for what she has spent for, or given to foreign states? What did you receive from France for the blood and treasure you wasted on her account? Why did you not at least retain her West India islands, and the Isle of Bour-

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bon? and why did you give them a naval and fishing station worth more than them all, St Pierre, and Miquelon, and the best part of the coast of Newfoundland? For what equivalent did you give Java to Holland; your ministers could not be ignorant of its immense value, at least not if they could endure to listen to the able and satisfactory representations of Sir Stamford Raffles, when they agreed to so impolitic a concession? What did you get from Spain? What from Portugal, for the expense of defending them? Could you not have held Cuba, Madeira, and the Western Islands, as pledges, until they redeemed a reasonable portion of the debt due by them to your country? But your ministers seemed to have forgotten all in the delirium of victory, in the giddy fever created by royal attentions, and they negotiated, not as if the British army occupied Paris, but as if the legions of France held possession of London. In an evil hour you lost every thing by a treaty which your victories and treasures placed within your grasp. But the genius of Bolingbroke and Chatham had forsaken, and Canning had not yet acquired influence in your negotiations."

Note B, p. 409.

The majority of the inhabitants of Cape Breton, particularly in the Bras d'Or settlements, being from the Outer Hebrides, we still discover their habits, manners, and customs, much the same as we find them at the present day among the people of Lewis, Uist, and Barra; and the necessary experience of all these islanders in managing boats, is a great advantage to them on arriving in Cape Breton, where, until they raise crops, they can always secure at least as good a living as they previously enjoyed, by the means of fishing.

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BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Remarks on Intercolonial and Transatlantic Steam Navigation.

THE mutual advantages which one country derives from another, increase in value and magnitude according to the increased facility of mutual intercourse and transportation. This fact is so well established by experience, as to become an evident truism; and, that all important places between which an intercourse by steam navigation is established, derive, in consequence, vast mutual benefits, is also a fact equally evident.

When a communication is opened with a country, that will enable us to visit it in a certain given period of time, the intercourse is increased in the same ratio as the certainty of arriving at, or returning from, that country more speedily, is greater than by any previous mode of conveyance.

In the same ratio, according to this rule, does the interchanging of the commodities of different countries increase; consequently, the prosperity of the

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inhabitants is advanced, by affording them more plentiful resources, and the political value of such countries equally augmented by increasing general industry and commerce. For, when the means of receiving intelligence from, and visiting, distant countries, are rendered certain and speedy, mutual transactions and adventurous undertakings are entered into with much greater faith and spirit, than when the intercourse depends on the uncertain length of voyages subject to the direction of winds and currents, and to the duration or frequency of calms.

These considerations apply most forcibly to the amazingly vast advantages that would inevitably attend the establishment of a *line* of Transatlantic steam-packets,—not only as respects his Majesty's empire in North America, but also as regards the United Kingdom, and particularly as bearing on the great movements of emigration.

If we are safe in forming conclusions according to the experience of the last fifteen years, we are also safe in saying, that steam is the power which will supplant all others in the magnitude and rapidity of its operations. Although we may not be quite so sanguine as Mr M'Taggart about making a voyage by steam from Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, (with a cargo of cutlery, printed cottons, and crockery,) across the Atlantic, and then up the rivers and lakes of the St Lawrence, and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific and China—an undertaking far from being impossible—yet steam is the mighty giant that Great Britain can send forth to bring her

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possessions in America and the West Indies within half the distance, morally speaking, that they now are to Europe. It is this giant that may enable England to grasp more effectually the vast resources of her maritime colonies,—and those of the Canadas,—and, west of the great lakes, those of the regions of Athabāsca and Assinboins.*

Since the establishment of steam navigation along the coasts of Great Britain, and between England and the continent, and particularly between England, Scotland and Ireland, the consequent advantages are too well known, and too justly appreciated, to be questioned.

If we visit the United States, we find all their coasts and rivers navigated by innumerable steam-vessels. There are more than 300 navigating the Mississippi and the Ohio. The magnificence of the steam-vessels on the Hudson is not surpassed, if equalled, in Europe; they are, in fact, splendid floating movable hotels. A few years ago, small sloops, *bateaux*, and canoes, were the only vessels that navigated the St Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal, and British manufactures were usually sold from twenty to forty per cent higher at the latter than at the former place. At present there are eight or ten powerful steam-vessels, equal in beauty, swiftness, and magnitude, and superior, in accommodations for passengers, to our steam-ships in these kingdoms, plying between Quebec and Montreal, and commodities are, in consequence, now purchased at equal prices at both places. It is not long since the

* Note AA.

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ferry from Montreal to La Prairie, the usual route to the United States, was crossed in a wooden canoe. Passengers, horses, and carriages, are at present carried over in spacious and beautiful steam-boats. The Uttawa, and the lakes of Canada, are also navigated by steam-vessels. A steam-ship, of about 1200* tons, belonging to the St Lawrence Steam Navigation Company, is nearly ready to navigate the seas between Halifax and Quebec, touching at the points marked in the general map. There are two steam-boats belonging to the General Mining Company at Pictou; there is another employed at Halifax; and three at St John's, New Brunswick,—one of which goes daily between that city and Fredericton, another crosses to Annapolis, from which stage-coaches run to Halifax, and a third plies between St John's, St Andrew's, and the United States. All this has been done in a few years; and as certainly as the population of our colonies will increase, so will also the number of vessels propelled by steam power.

A company was formed in London, under an act of Parliament, in 1825, for the purpose of navigating the Atlantic with steam-packets. In 1826, a great number of the shareholders of that year either withdrew or sold out. The fine steam-ship they purchased was also sold, and bought by the Dutch government, who employed it successfully between Holland and Curaçoa.

The American and Colonial Steam Navigation Company then obtained an amended act, when they published a prospectus. The following extracts from

* This splendid ship was launched at Quebec in April last (1831.)

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it will exhibit their plan, and the state in which the company then stood:—

"The directors of the American and Colonial Steam Navigation Company, having now arranged matters with those subscribers who signified their intention of withdrawing, and paid all the claims, beg leave to lay before the persisting part of the company the prospects which enable them to propose an extension of their stock, and the resumption of the original objects for which they associated.

"Having obtained, by their two acts of Parliament, the right of purchasing vessels, and registering under the British flag, in the name of the directors, and limiting the responsibility to the extent of the subscription—rights which no other association of this kind have obtained, and which, but for the important national benefits expected from it, would not have been granted to this company, and having also the right of proceeding as soon as funds for the purchase of one ship are obtained, instead of waiting for the subscription of three-fourths of the capital, and without the obligation of a heavy contingent fund, by the want of which powers the operations of the original company were paralysed—the directors consider that, without losing any of the advantages which have been universally admitted to attend the undertaking by all persons acquainted with the subject, the company are now placed in a much more favourable situation than before; and though much expense has occurred ere this has been obtained, it

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has not been altogether loss, and a portion of it may be fairly considered as having given value in return.

" By the amended act of Parliament, the capital of the company is limited to 12,000 shares of L.50 each; each of the old shares being reckoned for two.

" But the company are allowed to proceed, as soon as a payment has been made into the hands of the bankers to the extent of - -	L.20,000
" And as in this sum, credit is given for the whole payment that has been made on the old shares, of which 750 still continue, having paid L.10 each,	7,500
" The sum actually wanted to permit the company to resume operation, is - - -	12,500
" The stock and funds of the company, at present, including the expense of obtaining their acts of Parliament, as certified by the auditor's statement,	4,715
" By which it would appear that the value of each of the new shares is about L.3, 3s.	

" It is proposed to raise a subscription for 4500 shares, and to call for a deposit of L.3, 3s., which will more than complete the preliminary fund before mentioned.

" The stock of the company will then be held in 6000 shares, being only one half of the number to which the extent of the capital is limited.

" The objects of the company have been explained at large, in a former prospectus; but to strangers it may be proper briefly to state, that the intention is to establish a line of packets, propelled by steam, from the south-west of Ireland to the north-east of Nova Scotia, and thus to connect Europe and America, at the nearest points of approximation.

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"These points are in the direct line between the great ports of Liverpool and New York, and from them passengers will have a choice either of continued steam navigation, or of proceeding by the mails, &c., on the shortest lines, to their ultimate destination.

"The information obtained by the directors, as well from America as in Europe, tends uniformly to confirm the practicability of the undertaking. An eminent engine-maker has even offered to construct the engines, and ask no payment until the voyage shall have been successfully performed.

"As the space of ocean to be crossed will be reduced to the smallest possible distance, the vessels less burdened with fuel than if they departed from any other point, immediately clear of the coast, and able to use sails whenever the wind suits, there can be no competition with them either in speed or safety. There is no doubt of the saving of time. The ordinary passage will be at least one-third less than at present, and in unfavourable winds, the difference will be still greater.

"The effect of this acceleration to the intercourse between the two continents, cannot easily be conjectured; but it is evident that it will greatly extend the number of passengers. These now amount to about 7000 in the year, at Liverpool alone; and should an increase of one-third of that number only fall into the line of the steam navigation, the income at similar rates of passage, deducting the victualling, will be about L.60,000 per annum. This would be nearly

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100 out, and as many home, per month, which could be conveyed with facility by two vessels, exclusive of freight on goods, deck or steerage passengers, &c.

"Of the latter class, about 20,000 emigrate annually to America; and, from the superior speed and certainty, there can be no doubt of many of them preferring the steam navigation, even at an increased rate, as it will be made up to them in the saving of provisions, and earlier occupation when abroad; say that one-third of these adopt the steam line at L.5 per head, we have an addition of L.33,000 per annum.

"The two vessels above mentioned, would each consume about 360 tons of coals per trip, which could be laid in at Valentia and Nova Scotia, at L.1 per ton, or even less. The wages, and other charges on the voyage would be about an equal sum, making per voyage, L.1440, and per annum, L.17,280; so that one-fifth of the passengers abovementioned would be sufficient to cover the current expenses, independent of letters, goods, and government employment.

"If more vessels are laid on, to insure the regularity of the monthly departure, which may hereafter be found necessary, the expense for coals, and working the engine, will not thereby be increased in the above calculation; and the additional charge for the crew, would be L.100 per month, or L.1200 per annum."

Nothing further has been since effected, and all the exertions of the intelligent and spirited directors have hitherto been unsuccessful; yet nothing but

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the general ignorance which prevails in these kingdoms respecting British America and the seas of the Atlantic, could have retarded the progress of a company, incorporated with such privileges, and with such reasonable prospects of success.

As to the dangers of the Atlantic, they are far from being so formidable as people generally imagine. It has been my fate to have crossed that ocean several times, at all seasons of the year, and sometimes during the most tempestuous weather; and I feel perfectly safe in saying that the sea, in the Irish or English channel, or in the Gulf and River of St Lawrence, or even in Lake Ontario, is much more dangerous for steam-ships to navigate during stormy weather, than that of the main ocean.

In December 1825, I left the Gulf of St Lawrence on board of a merchant ship; the weather was so tempestuous that the topsails were close-reefed half the passage; and in fifteen days we were safely at anchor in the Cove of Cork. I left Cork in January for Liverpool, in a steam-ship, commanded by an experienced officer, who was for some time on board of one of our ships of war on Lake Ontario. We were in the Channel during a very heavy gale, and a more abrupt difficult sea for a ship to plough through, I never witnessed. The long high swell of the Atlantic, which I had just crossed in such bad weather, was nothing to it; yet the steam-ship worked over it with amazing ease. The commander agreed with me in considering it much more dangerous than that of the ocean; and that the sea on

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Lake Ontario, or on the St Lawrence, was also more difficult for steam-vessels than that of the Atlantic.

The commander of one of the steam-packets that ply between Dublin and Liverpool, has crossed the Atlantic more than thirty times. I have gone over with him several times to Dublin; and twice, during the winter of 1826, he declared to me that he never witnessed worse weather, nor such an abrupt dangerous sea on the Atlantic, as we then experienced. I believe most naval officers will bear me out in these observations. Masters of merchant ships, few of whom know much either of the arts or sciences, cherish a strong prejudice against steam-vessels; yet they readily admit that the sea rises more dangerously, during tempestuous weather, in the Irish and English Channels, in the German Ocean, and in the Gulf and River of St Lawrence, than it does in the main ocean. Those seas are, however, all safely navigated with steam-ships; and why not cross the Atlantic also by the power of steam?

It was the intention of the company to establish an intercolonial, as well as a Transatlantic, steam-navigation. It now remains only for them to do the latter. The colonies have already commenced the former; and if the latter be much longer neglected in England, it will assuredly be undertaken in America.

The legislatures of all the North American colonies voted certain sums to encourage intercolonial steam navigation. The House of Assembly of Lower Canada voted L.3000 to persons or companies, who

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would cause a steam-vessel to be regularly navigated between the ports in the St Lawrence and Halifax for four years. The House of Assembly of Nova Scotia voted L.1500 to encourage the same object. The Assembly of New Brunswick voted L.200 the first year, and L.100 each, for two succeeding years, provided that the steam-packets should touch at Miramichi; and the Legislature of Prince Edward Island voted also a sum on similar conditions.

There is good reason to believe, that if the Transatlantic Steam Company were only once to commence effective operations, the colonial legislatures would grant sums in aid of an undertaking which promises such great advantages and benefits. If the postmaster-general were applied to, it is also reasonable to suppose that he would direct contracts to be made for the company's vessels to carry the mails, in preference to their being conveyed by the dangerous uncomfortable packets that sail at present between Falmouth and Halifax.

The excellent coal which abounds in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, is not only admirably adapted for the furnaces of steam-engines, but it affords an advantage of which the United States are not possessed. This coal has lately been carried, for the use of steam-vessels, to New York and some other places. The following extracts from a report, published at New York, will show how much that article, which the nearest points of our colonies afford, is appreciated by the Americans.

"Since the introduction of steam-boats, pine-wood

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has rapidly disappeared from the shores of our navigable streams, and the scarcity of this article has necessarily enhanced its value. All who have reflected upon the subject, have long since been satisfied that the time is not far distant when coal must be substituted for wood; and the question has been asked, what coal can be produced which will ignite sufficiently easy, to produce steam as fast as required? Repeated experiments have been made with the Anthracite coal, but without success. Within the last month, the Sydney coal from Nova Scotia has attracted the attention of the navigators of our steam-boats, and the result of their investigations is such as cannot fail to give satisfaction to all who wish to see navigation by steam prosecuted at the present reasonable rates.

"The first experiments were made in the small steam-boat used by the Dry Dock Company, in towing vessels to their railway. We were of the number who witnessed the result of this experiment, and were astonished to find that, without any alteration in the furnace which is used for wood, a fire was kindled of this coal with a common lamp, which, in about half an hour, enabled the boat to get under way, and then supplied as much steam as could be used. It was believed by all, even the most sanguine, that, with an ordinary wood furnace, the draught would not be sufficient to generate steam as fast as required, and their astonishment and gratification at the result may be easily imagined.

"In consequence of the first attempt, the agent of

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the Mining Company in this city proposed to Captain Bunker, of the Benjamin Franklin, to take in a supply of coal, and use it, instead of wood, on his trip to Providence and back. He did so, and became so satisfied, not only of its practical usefulness, but of its superiority over wood, that he endeavoured at once to have his furnace altered, for the purpose of using it to more advantage.

"The facility with which this coal ignites, and its consequent capabilities of producing steam, having been fairly tested, the next question is, What are the advantages to be gained by introducing it into general use? We answer, first, the great saving in room occupied by the fuel; second, by the saving in the cost of fuel; third, by the saving in the weight of fuel; fourth, by the saving in labour in handling the fuel and feeding the furnace; and fifth, by the absence of sparks and cinders, by which the clothes of passengers are destroyed, and the awnings of our boats set on fire.

"We give the following as the result of the different experiments which have been made:—

"One chaldron of Sydney coal measures 44 cubic feet.

"One cord of pine-wood measures 128 cubic feet.

"One chaldron of coal will jet as much water into steam in the same space of time, as three cords of pine-wood. Supposing the Benjamin Franklin to require 45 cords of wood per trip to and from Providence, the space thus occupied by wood is 5760 cubic feet. Fifteen chaldrons of Sydney coal will

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produce the same quantity of steam in the same period of time, and occupy but 660 cubic feet, or about one-ninth of the space required for the wood.

"The wholesale price of Sydney coal, New York measure, is, per chaldron, 9 dollars.

"The wholesale price of 3 cords of wood, at 4 dollars, is 12 dollars.

"This will show a saving in the cost of fuel in favour of coal, of 33½ per cent, or of 55 dollars on every trip to Providence.

"One chaldron of Sydney coal, New York measure, weighs 1 ton, 2 cwt. and 1 qr.

"One cord of pine-wood weighs 1 ton, 2 cwt. and 3 qrs.

"The weight of the Franklin's wood, therefore, is 51 tons, 5 cwt. If she used coal, her fuel would weigh 16 tons, 13 cwt. and 3 qrs.

"The coal being less bulky, will require a less number of persons to handle it, and the saving in this respect, added to the safety of awnings and the clothes of passengers from sparks, will be far from inconsiderable."

It was the original intention of the company, that the main line of steam-vessels should run only between Valentia, on the coast of Ireland, and Cape Canseau, in Nova Scotia. On examining the matter, however, more fully, it will be found that neither of those places are the proper points of intercourse. Cape Canseau is a rocky island; the country within it is broken up with islets, rocks, and water, for many miles; and it has no communication, for a

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great distance, with the continent of America, except by water. Valentia is an excellent harbour, and a very proper and necessary place for steam-vessels to touch at, as their last point of departure from Europe. But whenever Transatlantic steam navigation is established, the vessels employed must start from places of much greater importance, otherwise neither advantage nor convenience can be expected.

Liverpool has not only become the great outlet for passengers, and whatever is sent to America, but it is of all others that which has become the great *focus* of steam power. This will appear by referring to the general map. It will, therefore, be found necessary that the steam-ships should first start from Liverpool, touching at Cork, if desirable, and finally from Valentia; from thence, across the Atlantic to St John's, Newfoundland, (during summer,) and then direct to Halifax, as the most important place in America, and one of the finest harbours in the world. From Halifax harbour, which is open at all seasons, and which is another great *focus* of intercourse, there are roads leading to all parts of the continent of America, and daily communication by water. The importance of touching at St John's, Newfoundland, is very great. It is only a few miles out of the way, and it is the only colony to which a mail is not regularly sent, although the chief business of the island requires the earliest information from other countries. It may also be found convenient and profitable to touch at Sydney, Cape Breton, which, also, is only a few miles out of the direct

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course, and where, close to the water's edge, are the coal mines of the General Mining Company.

During the winter season, it may be found convenient for the steam-ships to stop at the Western Islands. All these courses and distances will, however, appear more distinctly by reference to the general map.

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CHAPTER II.

PRACTICAL REMARKS ON EMIGRATION.

In America, Industry secures independent Circumstances—Prospects of Emigrants generally sanguine, and seldom realized—Necessary Considerations before emigrating—Causes of Emigration—Love of Adventure—Poverty—Discontent—Early Marriages and Pauperism in Ireland—Emigration at the Public Expenses—Respective Advantages of the several Colonies—Classification of Persons to whom America affords Inducements to emigrate—Necessary Articles required by New Settlers—Precautions as to engaging Passages—"White Slave Trade"—Disease and consequent Calamity on Board of Passenger Ships—Irish Emigration to Brazil—Directions to Emigrants after landing—Various Means of Employment pointed out—Plans to raise Passage Money—General Condition of the Inhabitants of British America—Prospects which Industrious Settlers may realize, &c.—Notes.

IN America, as well in the United States as in the British possessions, notwithstanding all the difficulties with which an emigrant has to contend, it is a well-established fact, supported by the opinion of all who have observed the conduct, and marked the progress of new settlers, from the first planting of North America until the present time, that all those who have settled on wilderness lands, if their habits have been industrious, frugal, and persevering, have, with few exceptions, and in general only when ill health interfered, succeeded in rising from a state of

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wretched poverty, to the attainment of considerable property in land and cattle, and all that is necessary to render rural life happy.*

It frequently happens, however, that emigrants are disappointed in realizing the prospects they cherished when they left their native country. Lured by unprincipled speculators into the belief, that all they can possibly wish for is to be obtained with little difficulty on the shores and amidst the forests of North America, they embark with sanguine *el dorada* expectations. No sooner, however, do they tread the lands of the Western World, than the delusion vanishes, and they discover that neither food, clothing, nor any article whatever, is to be had without money, or some exchangeable value; that they must, for at least two or three years, endure many privations; and that success must depend altogether on persevering industry and judicious management.

It is, therefore, a matter of the first importance, for a man living in the United Kingdom, to consider, before he determines on expatriation, whether he can, by industry and integrity, obtain a tolerably comfortable livelihood in the country of his nativity; whether, in order to secure to his family the certain means of subsistence, he can willingly part with his friends, and leave scenes that must have been dear to his heart from childhood; and whether, in order to attain to independence, he can reconcile himself to suffer the inconveniency of a sea voyage, and the fatigue of

* Note A.

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removing with his family from the port where he disembarks in America, to the spot of ground in the forest on which he may fix for the theatre of his future operations; whether he can reconcile himself for two or three years to endure many privations to which he had hitherto been unaccustomed, and to the hard labour of levelling and burning the forest, and raising crops from a soil with natural obstructions which require much industry to remove. If, after making up his mind to all these considerations, he resolves on emigrating, he will not be disappointed in realizing in America any reasonable prospect he may have entertained in Europe. These difficulties are, indeed, such as would often stagger the resolution of most emigrants, if they had not before them, in every part of America, examples of men who must have encountered and overcome equally, if not more disheartening hardships, before they attained a state of comfortable affluence.

The majority of those who emigrate to America, are driven abroad by the goadings of poverty; another class is formed of adventurous men, who go to seek fortunes in other countries, with the hope of again returning to their own; a third class is composed of men of genius, whose schemes have been frustrated, or whose hopes have been blighted at home; and a fourth class includes individuals who are not only discontented with their condition in the land of their forefathers, but displeased also with all public measures: these men are not, probably, compelled to emigrate from necessity, but from a spirit

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of dissatisfaction natural to them. Of this last unfortunate description, I have discovered numbers in all the provinces. They at first fix on a farm in one place, and as they do not find that their ardent expectations are realized in a year or two, they attribute their bad fortune to the ill-fated spot they have chosen, which they leave for another where no better success attends them. In this manner, roaming about from place to place, the chances inevitably are, that they wear out their constitutions, and waste their labour to no good purpose.

Immediately after the last war, a crisis in the affairs of men necessarily occurred. The peace threw thousands either altogether, or in a great measure, out of employment. The articles which labour produced, were many of them not further required; and the demand for, and the price of the remainder, were reduced by the death of the war monopoly, and the great reduction in the naval and military departments. Agriculture and commerce continued for some time to languish, while the spirits of the farmers began to droop, and those of the manufacturers to ferment. In the minds of some men, evils, under the impression of misfortunes, produced discontent; with others, the transition from their former artificial affluence, to a condition which made them feel their real position, broke out into invectives against the measures of government, and into a declared indifference to their country.

The labouring classes, when out of employment, generally find relief if they emigrate to America: and

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there are others whose spirits have been soured by misfortunes, either brought upon them by their own imprudence, or by accidental circumstances, who blame their country, and, with an avowal of hatred to it, expatriate themselves. It is assuredly fit, and perhaps necessary, that such men should go abroad. Fresh activity may renew in them the energy of youth; and while they spend the remainder of their days in other countries, experience fortunately never fails to convince them, that it is impossible for them to forget, or not to love their own.

It is vain and inconsistent to expect, that the government of any nation can relieve effectually the miseries of many hundreds of thousands of paupers, who have been principally born in poverty, and reared in the abodes of hunger, improvidence, and ignorance. The most that we can hope is, that their sufferings may be ameliorated. It requires the gradual operation of an age at least, to change the habits, and to direct to steady purposes, the energies of a vast population.

Many circumstances have combined to produce the present alarming extent of pauperism; the remote causes are not within my province to enquire into; but in Ireland, which we may consider the very empire of mendicity, superabundant population is certainly the immediate cause of beggary. That the Irish peasantry are improvident, cannot be denied. This, again, arises from ignorance and want of education, which reconcile them to exist in a state scarcely superior to that in which the brute tribes live. Therefore, in

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the absence of reflection, and the attendant disregard of future consequences, as to the means of supporting a family, at about the same age that the young men of England and Scotland are leaving school, and their parents anxiously considering what occupation they are to follow, or what trade they are to learn by an apprenticeship of five or seven years, the Irish peasantry link into premature marriages, and thereby multiply the endless evils of poverty.

In countries like America, where labour is dear, and the population scanty in proportion to the vast extent of land, early marriages are not by any means attended with the same evils as in Ireland, where the population is superabundant, in as much as there is not sufficient employment for the inhabitants. A great proportion of the pauperism that exists in Great Britain, is caused by the seemingly endless influx of Irish beggars. Were there no mendicants but those born within the parishes of England and Scotland, our feelings would not be harrowed by the famished, half-naked, unfortunate beings that assail us in every town, village, and along every road in both countries.*

* We may every day, at the pier-heads of Liverpool, at Glasgow, and other places, witness the landing of hundreds of ragged, squalid objects, (men, women, and children,) from Ireland. These people come over under the pretence of looking for employment, and proceed begging on their way through the country. Before leaving Ireland, they are told it is physically impossible that they can be so miserable in England or in Scotland, as in their own country; that they can beg from one place to another; that if they are eventually sent back by the parishes, they will be provided for; and that they can, in spite of all the vigilance of overseers and police

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The removal of a great portion of the redundant population of the United Kingdom to our colonies, which has for some time engaged the attention of the government, may be considered the best temporary expedient to relieve the mother countries from the burden of pauperism. That those who are sent to the colonies will be removed from the pressure of poverty, I have no doubt; and the consequent effect which this measure may have on the United Kingdom, will doubtless depend on the extent to which emigration may be effected. It appears, however, that some other measure, of at least mighty importance, should be pursued at the same time, with respect to Ireland. Infusing, by means of education, such useful knowledge into the minds of the peasantry, as will gradually introduce habits of thinking and of orderly industry, is a measure assuredly of primary necessity; providing, as far as possible, employment for the labouring classes within the kingdom, is also an object of paramount consideration.

Another measure of great magnitude, although the policy will be by many denounced, but which would, nevertheless, be of eminent benefit to the country, comprehends—the removal, as speedily as may be

officers, return again to England. An Irish pauper, from having either learned the benefit of living on the industry of England by his own experience, or by acquiring previously the rudiments of ingenious begging, is wonderfully eloquent and *au fait*, in the way of amusing select vestries or police officers, while giving an account of himself.

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consistent with humanity, of the mud cabins; the introduction of poor-rates; the destruction of the whole system of sub-letting; and, consequently, changing Ireland from a potatoe to a great bread country.

In carrying into effect a grand scheme of emigration, for the purpose of disburdening the United Kingdom of a poverty-smitten people, it becomes necessary to consider the probable consequence of introducing a great mass of human existence of such a description to our colonies.

Our North American possessions will require for many years a vast accession of settlers; but, at the same time, it must be remembered that the men whose labour and energy are wanted, with the present inhabitants, to cultivate and raise those great countries to the mighty importance of which they are susceptible, should, generally speaking, possess correct principles and industrious habits as well as strong physical qualities.*

Apprehensions of distress, and many other evils, being introduced with large bodies of poor emigrants, are very generally entertained in the colonies; and unless adequate means be provided to carry these

* It is notorious, that while the number of criminal offences have greatly increased during late years in America, few instances of guilt can be traced to the old settlers. A life of continued poverty is usually so lamentably at variance with virtue, that we must ascribe the more frequent occurrence of crime in our colonies to the previous indigence of many of the emigrants.

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people to the place of location, and to support them for a reasonable time afterwards, it would certainly be unjust to inundate the colonies with a pauper population. In the report of the emigration committee, this subject, as well as most others connected with the question before them, has been fully considered.*

Should emigration be conducted at the public expense, it is recommended to provide the emigrant with a year or eighteen months' provisions, axes, and a few other implements. From my own enquiries, and all that I have observed respecting the settlers in each of our American colonies, I am of opinion, that if each family received an axe, two hoes, an auger, a saw, a plane, a cow, seed, and provisions for one year, it is fully as much as government should grant. It is doubtful, if more assistance were given, but that it would lead to abuse; and with such aid, the man who does not become independent of others for the means of subsistence, deserves (according to an observation made to me by an affluent and worthy old farmer, who settled forty years ago in America not worth a shilling) "to be hanged as a public defaulter." That emigrants sent to the colonies, and located and provided for at the expense of the public, should be bound, after a reasonable period, to repay the money advanced on their account, is probably no more than mere justice; and, as such, should be

* See Colonel Cockburn's Report and Appendix, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1828.

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received and acknowledged by them. But this stipulation, although I formerly thought otherwise, would be highly impolitic. That an industrious settler would be able at the expiration of five, or, at the most, six years, particularly if received in agricultural produce, to repay the money expended on his account by government, I certainly admit; but would not the obligation to pay such money be a sort of premium to disregard their allegiance? for pauper emigrants would not, it is believed, be inclined to repay what they received from the public funds; but would rather consider such a debt in the same light that they do parish relief in England. The vexation of collecting the money expended in removing emigrants, would also produce discontent, and probably many evil consequences.

As the order and peace of society is indispensably connected with the prosperity of all communities, local regulations, to be strictly adhered to, would be necessary in establishing new settlements; and from the general character of pauper emigrants, and the nature of the country, it would be proper to have them enrolled and trained as a regular militia.*

* Several leading men in the colonies have remarked to me, that as the Irish emigrants, (as is well known,) after landing in America, rather than proceed at once to the cultivation of a farm, prefer lingering behind, and clinging to the towns and old settlements for employment, and, not unfrequently, after they settle on a wood farm, straggle away, it cannot be too strongly impressed on those who may have the direction of settling them in America, to send as many as possible of them at once to the remote districts. This,

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Whether emigration on the plan formerly recommended by the committee of the House of Commons, or as lately proposed in Parliament, be ever carried into effect or not, voluntary emigration, at the expense of the emigrants themselves, will still continue to go on in the usual way; and as the majority of those who leave the United Kingdom for America, will have been brought up to occupations not only different from each other, but unlike those which they will probably follow afterwards, it will be of great consequence to prepare themselves in the best possible manner for the new life they are about to commence.

With respect to the advantages which our North American possessions present, and the prospects they afford to new settlers, it may be observed that the upper or inland, and the maritime colonies, have each their respective advantages. Canada, however, will likely continue to be the country that will absorb the greatest number of emigrants. But from all I have been able to learn, and from the opinions of the most thinking men of practical experience and local knowledge, I conclude, that from 2 to 500,000 settlers might be sent at little more than half the expense, and with equal if not greater advantage to the emigrants, to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and the district of Gaspè. The lower colonies are never subject to

however, could only be effected, if emigration at the public expense be carried into operation.

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agues, nor lake fevers, while the climate of Upper Canada generates both.

The proximity of these countries to plentiful fisheries is of great benefit to new settlers, who are enabled to procure at an easy rate, or with little trouble, what may constitute, for some time, one of the principal articles of food. Herring, cod, salmon, mackerel, and many other varieties of fish, abound in the rivers and along the coasts.

In Upper Canada, it is true, the lands are equally fertile, and, in some respects, superior to those of the lower provinces; but the distance to the unoccupied districts, with the consequent expense of carriage and fatigue of travelling, are much greater; while the inland parts, at the same time, want the benefit of fisheries, and the immediate markets for the productions of the soil, which the maritime colonies possess.

The last inconvenient objection will, however, in a great measure, soon disappear, as the canals now cutting to avoid the cataracts and rapids, and the roads which are gradually extending to the remote settlements, will facilitate the carriage of luggage and goods; and the produce of the soil will also, in consequence, find a readier market.

The emigrant who directs his course to Upper Canada, a country which has for some years afforded an asylum for some thousands of poor settlers, need not apprehend the want of fertile land, nor, after two or three years, the necessaries and many of the conveniencies of life. Yet notwithstanding the vast tracts of unoccupied land, he will, in order to secure

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a desirable farm, have to proceed a great distance into the back country, apart from society, and without the conveniencies to be found only in a populous neighbourhood. He must not, however, be discouraged if he suffers much more, from the time he lands at Quebec or Montreal, until he plants himself and family in the woods, than he experienced in removing to America from the land of his forefathers. Every succeeding year will open more cheering prospects to him; the emigrants who arrive after him will settle beyond him in the wilderness, and he will soon observe houses, villages, and corn-fields, occupying the place of gloomy and boundless forests.*

It has, unfortunately, been the fate of the majority of those who have emigrated to Canada, to encounter severe hardships after landing. It must, at the same time, be mentioned, in justice to the government of the province, and to the gentlemen of Quebec and Montreal, that the emigrants have not only received kind and liberal assistance to enable them to proceed to the upper province, but that the greatest care has been taken of the sick poor among them at the hospitals.

The districts of land still unoccupied in Lower Canada will accommodate an immense population. On the lands through which the river Saguenay and its streams flow, Scotch Highlanders, from the upper parts of Perth, and the inland parts of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Caithness, and Sutherlandshire, might

* Note B.

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be located to great individual advantage, and with importance to the political value of Canada. Such people are eminently qualified to colonize this district; and I almost concur in opinion with the Quebec gentleman who says, in a letter to Colonel Cockburn, "that it" (the basin of Saguenay) "is the *arx et domicilium imperii* of North America, and should be settled with people of military habits." No man can more readily assume steady military habits, if necessary, than those I recommend to this country. Another tract, lying between the rear of the Canadian settlements on the south side of the St Lawrence and the province of New Brunswick, is capable of supporting many thousands. This tract should be settled either by the Canadians or Scotch Highlanders, for the purpose of forming a barrier of *distinct people*, near the frontiers of the United States.

There are other tracts in Lower Canada worthy of much attention. That lying north of the St Lawrence, in the rear of the seigniories, is particularly adapted for Scotch Highlanders,—that is, if this tract be not reserved for the increasing Canadian-French population. Another excellent tract, pointed out by Lord Dalhousie, for Lowland Scotch, lies on the Ottawa, below Hull.

As respects New Brunswick—as the soil is, at a short distance from the sea-coast, equal to that of Canada, it is, at the same time, accessible at little more than half the expense; but, bordering on the United States, great care should be observed in sending to it only emigrants of correct, industrious, and,

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if possible, at the same time of military habits. The capabilities of this valuable, extensive, but little known province, will be observed where the colony is described in the second volume of this work.

In Nova Scotia, although there are not now remaining extensive tracts of good lands ungranted, yet farmers of frugal and industrious habits, and with some means, are sure to succeed; and such is the state of society in, and improved condition of, this province, that a man does not feel that he is very far removed from all that he has formerly been accustomed to.

Cape Breton, with its eminent advantages for the fisheries, and for grazing, and also, in most parts, for agriculture, is admirably adapted for families from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, from the Isle of Man, or from Wales. Last year, about 2000 emigrants arrived in this island from the Hebrides, in a state of wretched poverty, and would have suffered great miseries, had not several of their relations or acquaintances previously settled in the colony.

In Prince Edward Island, families from the inland counties of England, and from the agricultural shires of Scotland, to the number of 10 or 20,000 individuals, would find farms to suit them, on terms fully as liberal as in any of the other colonies where lands are equally well situated; and in this colony, also, the state of society, and local advantages, are superior. This island has long been considered the most beautiful of our American colonies. It is thriving

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rapidly in agricultural improvement; and, for its extent, will become a productive grain country.

The Island of Newfoundland—the lands of which are so imperfectly known in the United Kingdom, and which, like those of Nova Scotia formerly, seem still, according to the generally received opinion, condemned, as if doomed by nature to everlasting barrenness—affords, notwithstanding, situations for an additional population of ten to twelve thousand families. It must, at the same time, be considered, that settlers adapted for Newfoundland, should be men brought up along a sea-coast. Families from the Shetland and Orkney Islands, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, the shores of Wales, Cornwall, and the west and south of Ireland, would succeed best.*

As to the classes to which British America offers inducements to emigrate, much will depend upon individual character; but it may, however, be observed, that in consequence of the high price of labour, gentlemen farmers do not generally succeed, and the condition of new countries does not admit of extensive establishments. The settlers who thrive soonest, are men of steady habits, and accustomed to labour.

Practical farmers, possessing from L.200 to L.600, may purchase, in any of the colonies, farms with from twenty to thirty acres cleared, which may be cultivated agreeably to the system of husbandry practised in the United Kingdom. The embarrassed circumstances of many of the old settlers, brought

* Note C.

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on by improvidence, or by having engaged in the timber business, will compel them to sell their farms, and commence again on woodlands.

Joiners, stone-masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, cart, mill, and wheelwrights, and (in the seaports) coopers, may always find employment. Brewers may succeed; but in a few years there will be more encouragement for them. Butchers generally do well. For spinners, weavers, or those engaged in manufactures, there is not the smallest encouragement.

Active labouring men and women may always secure employment, kind treatment, and good wages.

To gentlemen educated for the professions of law, divinity, or physic, British America offers no flattering prospects. There are already too many lawyers, as they are admitted as attorneys and barristers on serving an apprenticeship of four or five years in the colonies. There are, of the Established Church, notwithstanding the astounding statement made some time ago by Archdeacon Strachan, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, fully more clergymen, in proportion to the members of the church, than in England. The members of the Kirk of Scotland, as soon as a sufficient number to support a clergyman settle within a reasonable distance of each other, generally send for a minister to Scotland. Antiburghers, Baptists, and Methodists, have preachers in every settlement where they have members, or can gain hearers. The Roman Catholic Church is respectably established—its clergy well supported; and no class interferes less with other persuasions than

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they do, or are more peaceable, or better members of society.

Medical gentlemen generally secure a decent livelihood, but, with few exceptions, seldom make money. *The climate of British America is too salubrious for doctors to make fortunes.* Schoolmasters who emigrate, if they have not entered into engagements as to salary before leaving home, will, nine out of ten, have to cultivate the soil for a subsistence, and they generally make indifferent farmers. Young men of education, clerks in mercantile houses, or shopmen, need not expect the least encouragement, unless previously engaged by the merchants or shopkeepers in America. Many young men, however, of persevering minds and industrious habits, have baffled every obstacle, and finally succeeded in establishing themselves in trade. Many of the richest merchants in the colonies were of this description.

Farmers or labourers going to America should carry out with them, if their means will admit, as much clothing, bedding, and linen as may be necessary for four or five years, some leather, one or two sets of light cart harness, two or three spades or shovels, scythes, sickles, hoes, plough traces, the iron work of a plough and harrow, of the common kind used in Scotland; the cast machinery for a corn fan, cooking utensils, a few door hinges, and a small assortment of nails. Furniture, or any other kind of wooden work, will only incommode them, as what may be necessary can easily be procured at moderate rates in America.

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When an emigrant has fully prepared himself in other respects, the object of greatest importance to himself and his family, is the manner in which he is to cross the seas to America.

It has frequently been the fate of passengers, particularly of those who have, at all periods of emigration, embarked at ports in Ireland, and in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, to have undergone miseries of the most distressing and loathsome character.

Men of broken fortunes, or unprincipled adventurers, were generally the persons who have been engaged in the traffic long known by the emphatic cognomen of the "white slave trade," of transporting emigrants to America. They travelled over the country among the labouring classes, allured them by flattering, and commonly false accounts of the New World, to decide on emigrating, and to pay half of the passage money in advance. A ship of the worst class, ill found with materials, and most uncomfortably accommodated, was chartered to proceed to a certain port, where the passengers embarked: crowded closely in the hold, the provisions and water indifferent, and often unwholesome and scanty, inhaling the foul air generated by filth and dirt, typhus fever was almost inevitably produced, and, as is too well known, many of the passengers usually became its victims.

An act of Parliament at last subjected the emigrant ships to very proper restrictions as to the number of passengers, and to very necessary regulations as to

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the quantity and quality of water and provisions. This necessary and just law was complained of by those interested as grievous; and "the white slave traders," who did not scruple to break through its stipulations, were often ingenious enough to evade its penalties.

When the restrictions contained in this act were afterwards removed, no language can describe the consequent *disease, misery, and squalid wretchedness* imported, principally from Ireland, into the colonies.

In 1827, the inhabitants of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, who, in the most humane and liberal manner, provided for the relief of the sick emigrants, were doomed to share in the calamity thus introduced; and, while some hundreds of the passengers died in the hospitals, many of the healthy inhabitants of the town caught the infection, and were carried off by it.*

During the summer of the same year, several vessels arrived at St John's, Newfoundland, from Ireland, on board of which men, women, and children, exceeding double the legal number, were crammed. Filth and confined air soon produced disease, and the effects were dreadful. One vessel, under 120 tons, had, previously to leaving Ireland with 110 passengers, loaded within three feet of the deck with salt. The weather during the passage was such, that, for

* By an act of the legislature of Nova Scotia, masters of vessels are obliged to give bonds in the amount of L.10 for each passenger, that they will not become, for one year, chargeable to the parish, by reason of poverty, childhood, or age. The legislatures of all the other colonies have since passed similar acts.

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two weeks, the hatches were not opened; and, at this time, two-thirds of the passengers were afflicted with typhus and dysentery.

On entering the harbour of St John's, the condition of this vessel was probably as appalling as that of any slave ship that ever left the coast of Guinea. The very salt was impregnated or covered over to the depth of one to three feet with loathsome filth. The dead, the dying, and the sick, presented a scene too shocking for description. Some died before the vessel arrived, others on entering the harbour; forty men and ten women were carried to the hospital, and twenty died in all.

By the act* of the last session of the Imperial Parliament, for regulating the carrying of passengers, the number of them is limited to three for every four tons that a ship registers, and the quantity and quality of provisions are also regulated; but, nevertheless, it appears that some greedy speculators have, since then, lured emigrants away from Ireland, without conforming to the legal stipulations; and it will require the greatest vigilance to bring men trained to this traffic to answer for their conduct. The colonial governments are, I understand, in future to guard against the landing of passengers who may arrive in a sickly condition.†

In arranging for passages to America, it will be

* Note D.

† Irish emigrants have been unaccountably doomed to suffer more than most others. It is well known, that about 2000 Irish were inveigled to Brazil, by the offer of free passages and lands, by an

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necessary for the emigrant, in order to guard against imposition, to make his enquiries for vessels through men of established good character, and who may have some knowledge of the owners of ships taking passengers; the ship, if possible, of a size that admits about six feet height between the decks, and not an old vessel.*

Much expense and inconvenience will be saved by embarking in a ship bound to a port nearest to the emigrant's point of destination.

The establishment of steam-boats between the most convenient ports in the United Kingdom and

agent of the Brazilian government. These poor deluded men, on landing in South America, discovered that the intention of Don Pedro was to make soldiers of them; and, on refusing to become such, every tenth man was imprisoned. After enduring great misery, either the British ambassador or the British consul, (I am not certain which,) insisted on their being conveyed to Ireland, or to some British colony. Vessels were accordingly chartered for the purpose; the brig Highlander carried from Rio de Janeiro to St John's N. B. 171 men, 31 women, and 14 children, who were landed in a state of wretched poverty. These people were liberally relieved by the provincial government, and also through the benevolence of the inhabitants. Another vessel from the same place arrived at Halifax, with about an equal number in a similar miserable condition, many of whom were sent to the poor-house, or otherwise assisted. Much as the condition of paupers, arriving under such circumstances, is to be deplored, were it not from feelings of great benevolence for the suffering individuals, the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick might be said to go almost too far in relieving men duped by Don Pedro. A Colonel Cotteril was, I believe, the agent of the Brazilian government in this business.

* Rates of passage depend much on circumstances, the place of destination, and the class in which the ship stands.

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America, would facilitate not only the intercourse with the New World, but also shorten the voyage, and diminish the sufferings of emigrants.

On landing in America, after the necessary information is obtained respecting vacant lands, either at the offices of the commissioners of crown lands, or the emigrant societies, as little time as possible should be spent in the towns or elsewhere, before the settler fixes on the land he is about to occupy. Much of his success may depend on the spot he selects; but, at the same time, he can almost, in any of the unoccupied tracts, fix on the best land he can obtain without losing much time, which very seldom answers any very desirable or useful purpose.*

There are various ways in which men may always employ themselves after they land in America. The heads of families cannot do better than devote all the time they possibly can to the clearing and preparing their new farms for cultivation. It is often, however, necessary for them to work for provisions or other assistance among the old settlers; but prudent men never do so after the first year, except compelled by necessity.

Women, and children above two years of age, can find ready employment, particularly during spring and autumn. Young unmarried labouring men ought to save at least half their wages. Food, except in the towns and at public works, is usually provided for labourers by their employers.

* Note E.

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Children, whose parents are unable to support them, may be provided for by binding them until they become of age, as apprentices to farmers, with whom they generally are brought up as one of the family; and a cow, a sheep, and some seed, are usually given to them when they leave, to begin with on a farm. In this manner, orphans are generally taken care of. It rarely happens that a man who has a family finds it necessary to bind any of his children to others; and he who has the most numerous offspring is considered to have the best opportunity of prospering, in a country where land is abundant, and in which the price of labour is high.

A common plan with those who own cleared farms that they do not occupy, is, to let these farms on the halves; that is, to stock the farm with horses, horned cattle, sheep, and hogs, provide half the necessary seed, and then give possession to a practical farmer, who will cultivate it and find the labour. After harvest, the produce, even to that of the dairy, is equally divided between the proprietor and the farmer. Many farmers who dislike commencing at once in the woods, have, by industry and frugality, supported their families very comfortably in this manner for two or three years, besides accumulating sufficient stock and seed to commence on a new farm. Farmers from the inland counties of England, and from Dumfriesshire and Perthshire, have succeeded best in this way.*

* The prosperity of a man who cultivates land on the shares, as well as the benefit which arises to the proprietor, depends (as suc-

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To those who are anxious to emigrate, but who have not the means, it is a matter of difficulty to advise how to proceed; various plans are often adopted. Unmarried men and women who were unable to pay their passages, have frequently bound themselves for two or three years to those who paid for carrying them to America.

Letters from those who have been settled some years in America, to their friends in the mother countries, have long been a powerful cause of emigration. Money, also, is frequently sent by settlers in America, to enable their friends to follow, and by these means more have been induced to emigrate than by all others.

The following very prudent plan has long prevailed in Scotland, and, having been generally attended with success, can scarcely be recommended too much.

When a family, or a few families, determine on emigrating, some of the sons or relations that are

cess in every other branch of industry does) on his own industry and character. A worthy friend of mine, Ewen Cameron, Esq., of Prince Edward Island, owns a remarkably fine farm, within a few miles of Charlotte Town. He let it on the shares for three years, to a John Kennedy, from Perthshire, a plain, honest, industrious farmer; at the expiration of this period, Mr Cameron was in every respect pleased with Kennedy, and quite satisfied as to the produce of his farm. Kennedy, with his stock, removed to a wood farm, which, in 1828, when last in America, I passed in front of, and I could not help admiring how much land he had reclaimed from the forest, and under excellent tillage. Mr Cameron told me that since Kennedy left, his farm, under the management of the man who succeeded him, produced him nothing.

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grown up, are sent forward to prepare for the reception of the families who are to follow afterwards. It often occurs that the young men thus sent to America have, for two or three years, to earn money, which they remit to pay the passages of their friends.

Young Irishmen, also, who have at different times found their way to America, have not unfrequently, by working for three or four years in the towns, or among the settlements, or by employing themselves in the fisheries, accumulated considerable sums of money, which have been forwarded to Ireland, in order to bring after them their parents, brothers, or sisters, and often young women to whom they were previously affianced or attached. This I know to be a very common trait in the character of the Irish peasantry, and no circumstance can illustrate a more powerful force of affectionate attachment.

The leading fault of Irish emigrants is their apparent indifference about fixing at once on the permanent and certain employment which the cultivation of the soil alone can secure to them. Transient labour among the old settlers seems more congenial to them than working on a wood farm on their own account. Exceptions, however, there are to this general observation; and in comparing the condition of the Irish settlers in America with that of the peasantry in Ireland, I may say, without the least fear of being incorrect, that I have beheld more apparent wretchedness, and, I would infer, real misery, in one day's travelling in Ireland, than I have witnessed during several years' residence in, and while travel-

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ling through the principal parts of, the British empire in North America.

In remarking generally on the condition of the inhabitants of our American colonies, as respects their means, none, except those engaged immediately or indirectly in commerce, have accumulated fortunes. The majority of the whole population possess considerable property in land and cattle; among the remainder, many are poor; but beggars are scarcely ever seen, unless it be in the towns, where some accidental calamity or natural infirmity brings occasionally a destitute individual to solicit charity. Many of the Irish emigrants are frequently observed begging, for a short time after landing.

The old settlers are not always discovered to be the most opulent, notwithstanding the advantages they have had of selecting the best lands. It is truly lamentable to observe the condition of some of those who have long occupied the finest farms, and whose poverty is the visible consequence of unsteadiness, extravagance, and often a silly species of pride that attaches contempt to rural industry. In each of the colonies I know many farmers of this character, who, before the month of May each year, have to purchase grain and potatoes from their more provident neighbours.

It is, however, most satisfactory to know, that, in every instance, the early settler who has confined his labour to agriculture, and who has managed the fruits of his toil with frugality and judgment, is

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found to be respectably opulent, to have brought up his family in creditable manner, and happy with h[illegible]curs that, daughters, commonly married and settl[illegible] have, for [illegible]im. In a contrary view, we find that which they re[illegible]y considered farming as a secondary [illegible]mployment, and engaged in other pursuits according as their fancy directed, have had poverty an ever-present attendant, with their families scattered in different places, subjected to a precarious subsistence, and often leading an irregular and indolent life.

As an example of a body of some hundreds of emigrants thriving by steady industry, I know of none who have succeeded better than those sent by the late Earl of Selkirk, in 1802, from the Highlands and Isles of Scotland to Prince Edward Island, where his lordship first began his colonizing experiments, by settling them along the sea-coast, on lands which he purchased in one of the finest districts of that colony. It would have been happy for those he sent to Red River, if they had been equally fortunate; and however good and honest his lordship's intentions were, and I believe them to have been so, he was undoubtedly imprudent in his measures and plans, in respect to the Red River settlement.*

Many instances might also be pointed out in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton, of the prosperity of emigrants who had to encounter all the hardships attached to a wilderness country, without money, or any support but what

* Note F.

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depended on their industry, to carry them through their difficulties.

Among other advantages connected with emigration to British America, the constitution, as respects our colonies being a transcript of that of England, immediately or be agreeable to most settlers. By the laws of England all criminal matters are judged; and, with the exception of Lower Canada, where civil causes are tried according to the *coutume de Paris*, or old French laws, all matters that involve property are decided agreeably to the English laws, and those passed by the provincial legislatures.

There are scarcely any taxes, and very few public burdens. Duties on articles of luxury are trifling, and on necessary articles there are rarely any; consequently, all that is required for supporting a family may be purchased at low rates, fine clothing excepted.*

I have particularly to advise new settlers against running in debt to the shopkeepers; doing so has prevented many hard labouring men from prospering. The low price of spirituous liquors is also a great bane to the success of emigrants; and the facility with which rum can be procured, is the most prolific source of domestic misery and personal depravity that exists in America.

Wherever a settlement is formed, and some progress is made in the clearing and cultivation of the soil, it begins gradually to develope the usual features

* Note G.

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of an American village. First, a saw-mill, a grist-mill, and a blacksmith's shop appear; then a school-house, and a place of worship; and, in a little time, the village doctor, and pedlar with his wares, introduce themselves.

Few habitations can be more rude than those of the first settlers, which are built of logs, and covered with bark or boards, but many in the United Kingdom are far less comfortable. The most that an emigrant can do the first year, is to erect his habitation, and cut down the trees on as much ground as will be sufficient to plant ten or twelve bushels of potatoes, and to sow three or four bushels of grain. If his means will allow him to carry to the land he commences on, as much provisions as will support himself and family until he raises a crop, he will find it an object of the greatest importance, as it will enable him to overcome the difficulties of his situation, without leaving his farm to labour for others.

Much valuable time is wasted in working among the old settlers for provisions; and if the emigrant should even succeed in getting articles of food on credit, it will long be a drawback on his industry.

In the course of five years, an industrious man may expect, and should have, twelve acres under cultivation, one horse, two or three cows, a few sheep and pigs, and sufficient food for himself and family. In ten years, the same man, with perseverance and frugality, ought to have from twenty-five to thirty acres under improvement, to possess a pair

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of horses, a waggon or cart, a sledge and cabriole, five or six cows, a yoke of oxen, sheep, hogs, poultry, &c., and a comfortable house, a good barn, and plenty of food for himself and family. This is no extravagant calculation. I could name hundreds who began in a state of abject poverty, who, in the same period, accumulated, by steady industry, fully as much as I have stated.

On the other hand, I have witnessed the condition of many others, who were settled from five to fifty years in America, who scarcely possessed any of the necessaries of life; but the cause I invariably traced to their improvident character and indolent habits.

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NOTES TO BOOK VI.

Note AA, page 425.

The practicability of a most advantageous intercourse across the continent of America, from Canada, was long since demonstrated by that very adventurous traveller, Sir Alexander M'Kenzie.

Mr M'Taggart, who was an engineer employed at the Rediau Canal, observes, in his very instructive, although very quaintly written book, "but the grand Canadian Canal is not the Rediau Canal, nor the Welland Canal. These are only sections of it, which are to be met with on the grand line between Quebec and the noble summit level of Lake Superior. This famous canal will be finished in a few years, as far as the summit level. Steamboats may go up from Quebec to Lake Superior ere three years from this time; from thence, with little trouble, they will pass through the *Notch* of the Rocky Mountains, and be locked down the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. The route, however, will be better to be kept off the American frontier, which is Columbia, and to go down Cook's River, or the large Salmon River at Nootka Sound. The town of Nootka is likely yet to be as large as London, and ought to be laid out on an extensive plan, as the trade between it and the Oriental World may become wonderfully great in a short time. Then, when the steam-packet line is established between Quebec and London, as it soon will be, we may come and go between China and Britain in about two months. The names of the stages will be London, Cove of Cork, the Azores, Newfoundland, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Port Dalhousie, Maitland, Erie, Huron, Superior, Rocky Mountains, Athabasca, Nootka, and Canton. Can this be called a foolish prophecy, or an idle dream? By no means, it is perfectly practicable. The magnitude of the whole may probably be too much for the minds of the generality

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of mankind to grasp; but what signifies that? Were the work absolutely finished, millions would not believe it! Pagans consider the sun in a different light from astronomers. The eyes of both are dazzled by his beams, while his real nature is unknown—as far beyond the understanding of man as he is in miles from the earth, and probably farther."

Note A, page 440.

The best method of illustrating the prosperity of settlers in America, is by stating instances of individual success. Among the settlers in New Brunswick, I had some conversation with an old Highlander, from Sutherlandshire, one of the soldiers of the 42d regiment, who were disbanded in America after the revolutionary war. This man had settled on the banks of the Nashwaack, and had scarcely ever since been absent from his farm, except occasionally with his overplus corn or potatoes to Fredericton. He retained his native language with as much purity as if he had never removed from the vale in which he was born, by which I immediately discovered where he came from; the tone and accent of the Gaelic varying as much in one shire, or in one of the isles of Scotland, from the others, as the pronunciation of the inhabitants of the several counties in England does. When I addressed this good old man in his native language, his very soul seemed to feel all the rapture of early enthusiasm; and I can never forget the bright warmth of his countenance, and the ardour of his language, when enquiring about the state of the Highlands, and the condition of his countrymen. He said, he used for the first few years to receive now and then letters from his friends, but that his relatives gradually dropped off, some by death, others by removal to distant countries; and that for the last twenty years he had no direct intelligence from Sutherland. Never could his country, however, cease to be dear to him. "Never," said he, "will we forget the tales, the songs, and the music we heard in the Highlands; we recite or sing them during the winter evenings, and our children will ever remember them, and, I hope, transmit them to their offspring." He said that although Government did much for them (his neighbours and

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himself) in the way of rations, &c., they nevertheless suffered very great hardships for the first few years, after settling where they now live. "There were some idlers and faint-hearted people," he said, "among us, who left the settlement, but all those who have remained have prospered. I am myself as comfortable as I can be. All my family are married; some of them live with me; others have farms of their own. I have very little to do but enjoy myself among my children and my grandchildren; and although the best years of my manhood were spent fighting for my king, and the greatest part of my life, since that period, has been spent toiling for the support of my family, and for whatever I now possess, yet I have great reason," he continued, "to be thankful and grateful to God, in whom I trust for a peaceful and calm retreat, through my declining years, to another world." This is nearly a translation of what he said, but destitute of the force of expression so peculiar to the language in which he spoke,—that of nature.

About twenty years ago, a family from Ardnamurchan, among many other emigrants from Argyleshire, settled on a point of land on the north side of Prince Edward Island. This spot possessed not the advantages of marsh, or running streams, which are considered of such indispensable importance by all indolent farmers; but its soil was fertile, and covered with immense trees of birch, beech, and firs; and M'Millan and his family were thrifty, and not afraid of hard work. They are at this day, therefore, as opulent and respectable as any farmers in the colony; the sons and daughters are married, and comfortably settled on their several farms, which they have purchased, and on which they have built good houses, barns, &c. The second son, who occupies the farm they first commenced on, and with whom his parents live, has built a handsome house, a large barn, different new outhouses, and has also his lands in a high state of cultivation. His cart, or sledge, appears once a-week, or oftener, in the market of Charlotte Town, with flour, grain, or other produce; while some old settlers, who have been forty years in the colony, and living on excellent farms, with plenty of marsh and fertile uplands, often come, with a bag under their arm, to buy wheat of Mr M'Millan, before the month of May.

Among the settlers on the townships belonging to Sir James

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Montgomery and his brother, I have frequently had the opportunity of observing the industrious progress of an old man of the name of Sinclair. He was upwards of sixty years when I saw him beginning in the woods. His family consisted of his wife, and two grown-up daughters; one of the latter usually spent three-fourths of the year at service; their means were limited, and they were obliged to live very frugally; but their industry overcame every difficulty. Recollecting the place thickly covered with trees in 1820, I was charmed with its pretty improvements when I rode past it four or five years afterwards; and never did I observe more forcibly the effects of well-applied industry.

A little farther on, near Sinclair's farm, a settler, who was formerly a tenant on Major-General Stewart's estate, Garth, in Perthshire, and who went to America, recommended by this brave officer to Sir James Montgomery's agent, has also made most extensive improvements. In the same settlement, a man of the name of Cairns, whom I observed the first year, with a rope over his shoulder, actually dragging after him the harrow which covered the seed, and who had at one time been in good circumstances in Dumfriesshire, but who arrived penniless in America, told me, that after surmounting the difficulties of the first two years, he had lived better, and that he considered himself much more independent, than he ever did in Scotland. Mr Dockendorff, one of the most respectable farmers in Prince Edward Island, with whom I have had frequent conversation respecting the condition of the inhabitants of the colonies, removed to it about forty years ago from the United States. He was then unmarried, and commenced clearing the farm which he now occupies, which was at that time covered altogether with trees that indicate a fertile soil. It is now one of the finest farms in North America.

His house is large, handsome, and comfortable; his barn, stable, &c., are commodious and well planned; his farming implements are ever in the best order; his horses, cattle, sheep, &c., always in excellent condition. He married, soon after he settled, a thrifty and worthy woman; and his family, whom he has brought up in a manner highly creditable, are extolled for regularity of character, and habits of thrift. He has often observed to me, that all the poverty in the colony, and generally in North America, was nothing more nor

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less than the inevitable consequence of indolence, imprudence, and the absence of frugality. The poverty of such persons never surprised him. Every thing about this most worthy man, bespoke happiness and comfort; plenty, but not useless waste, always appeared at his table. Respected in the colony, a member of its legislature, and dear to his own family and friends, he more than once told me that he had nothing in this world to wish for that would increase his happiness; and that he thought no man could be more comfortable than he was. His strong mind, and good common sense, enabled him thus wisely to appreciate his condition; and *if there* be an independent and happy man on earth, one circumstanced like my friend Mr Dockendorff must be so.

Note B, page 451.

Incorporated associations, such as the Canada Company, are the best calculated to bring the capabilities of vast tracts of wilderness lands into operation, as well as to obviate a great portion of the difficulties which new settlers, depending solely on individual exertion, must encounter. There is much praise due to the Canada Company for the facilities which they have afforded to emigrants. The settlers on their lands have, in consequence, experienced much less misery than if they had commenced unprotected and unprovided for on wilderness lands, and they have also avoided the delay, vexation, and inconvenience, which attend the obtaining of lands from the Government.

Note C, page 454.

We find in different parts of America, settlements nearly of distinct people. The gregarious propensity of men speaking the same language, and of similar habits, and also the ties of kindred, cause this circumstance. Those who first emigrate from home, describe, in writing to their friends, the country they settle in; and I have, all over America, discovered that the resident inhabitants of one place knew scarcely any thing of other parts, even of those in their vicinity.

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Wherever a few families from any particular parish or shire went, others usually followed. Thus various parts of the Carolinas attracted swarms of emigrants from the Outer Hebrides, (Lewis, Uist, and Barra,) Sutherland, Argyleshire, and Ross-shire; Inverness-shire sent settlers to Georgia, to Nova Scotia, to Prince Edward Island, and to Cape Breton; Glengary, and some other places in Upper Canada, were first settled by people from Lochaber, Glengary, and Keppoch, in Scotland, who first emigrated to the southern colonies, but were afterwards forced away by the disturbances which attended the American revolution.

This was the viaible course of emigration for some time after its commencement; and though in a more general way, and its distinct movements less observable, the same feelings still direct those who leave their mother land. More than 50,000 left the United Kingdom, for various parts of America, during the year 1830. About 30,000 of this number went to British America; the rest to the United States.

Note D, page 459.

The following extract from the late Passengers' act, may be useful to emigrants:—

"1. No ship to carry more than three persons for every four tons of its burden; and to have five feet and a half between platform and deck; two children under fourteen, or three under seven, or one child under one year, and the mother, to be computed as one passenger.

"2. Ship to be provided with fifty gallons pure water, and at least fifty pounds oatmeal, biscuit, &c., for each passenger.

"3. Ships having the full number of passengers, to carry no stores between decks; may occupy with stores between decks three cubic feet for each passenger less than the full number.

"4. Shipmasters to deliver a list of passengers to the customs at port of sailing, and furnish a similar list at port of landing.

"5. Shipmasters landing passengers anywhere else than agreed upon, liable to a penalty of L.20, to be recovered before any two justices of the peace

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" 6. Shipmasters not having the above quantity of water and bread, to be guilty of misdemeanour.

" 7. Shipmasters to enter into bond for observance of the act.

" 8. Act not to apply to Post Office ships, or to extend to Bahama Islands, or West Indies."

NOTE E, page 461.

LANDS, in all the colonies, which remained unoccupied and held by the Crown, were, until lately, granted to emigrants, on paying certain fees of office to the governors, surveyor-general, &c., amounting to about L.12 on one hundred acres, and increasing to about L.15 for five hundred acres.

Such lands are now sold in lots, under the direction of the commissioner of Crown lands. These tracts are advertised in the colonial papers; and plans of them may be seen in the proper offices, at the seats of government in each colony. Although the lands sold in this way may not cost the emigrant more than the former fees of office, yet the system is considered, by most of those with whom I have conversed on the subject, very objectionable. Captain Hurd, surveyor-general of New Brunswick, now of Upper Canada, pointed out to me, in a very distinct manner, the inconvenience to emigrants of the present mode of settling the Crown lands.

There is more delay, and not so much liberty, in selecting any of the ungranted lands. As it is, however, the emigrant must make his application as early as possible, and he will at once be told how soon, and when, he can get lands; which will not likely be attended with much greater delay than may be necessary for him to acquire the requisite information about the local advantages of the lands pointed out to him. When he receives the proper titles to settle on the spot fixed upon, it will be well for him to set at once about clearing away so many of the trees as may be necessary, on the ground where he is to build a habitation for lodging his family. The nearest settlers usually assist in these operations.

Should it be too late in the season for the emigrant to plant any thing for himself the summer he arrives, which is generally the

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case, he commonly labours for provisions, or other necessaries, among the old inhabitants.

A new settler, to be enabled to settle at once on his farm, and not to be afterwards obliged to work for others, in order to get provisions for his family, should have from fifty to eighty pounds in cash; this sum would include the probable purchase-money of the land, and the cost of necessary supplies. He should carry with him to his new farm, if his family consists of five persons,

Fifty bushels potatoes, - -	L.2	10	0
Two barrels flour, - - -	3	10	0
One barrel rye, Indian, or oatmeal, -	1	6	0
One barrel mackerel, and one barrel herrings,	2	0	0
Half barrel beef, - - -	1	15	0
Five gallons molasses, - -	0	12	6
Three gallons rum, - - -	0	12	0
Three pounds of tea, - - -	0	15	0
Twelve pounds sugar, - -	0	8	0
One milch cow, - - -	5	0	0
Two axes, four hoes, one saw, one or two planes, one adze, twenty or thirty pounds nails, two pots, one kettle, some tea-mugs, gridiron, frying-pan, and some earthenware, -	10	0	0
	L.28	8	6

He should, besides this, have as much money as will purchase seed.

The majority of settlers, however, have nothing but their industry to begin with; and, although they certainly suffer greater hardships, generally succeed as well as those who have a little means.

The old inhabitants would willingly allow an emigrant to settle on any part of their woodlands for six or eight years, in consideration of the improvements he should make. This, however, would be a most imprudent plan for the new settler. In Prince Edward Island, leases can still be had of good wood-lands from the present proprietors, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at from one shilling to two shillings per acre annual-rent; and I believe these terms to be as favourable as any now to be had in America, especially when we consider the superior advantages of this colony. Woodlands can

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also be purchased there for from L.50 to L.120 per hundred acres. In a few years, however, the lands in that island cannot be obtained on such favourable terms, as the population is increasing fast.

The mode in which lands are obtained from the Canada Land Company, may be seen by the following copy of a notice, published by Mr Galt, then agent for the Canada Company:—

"To Emigrants arriving from the United Kingdom.

"Notice is hereby given, that the Canada Company having completed their arrangements for the settlement of that extensive tract of country which lies between the districts of Gore and London, and the shores of Lake Huron, a road is being opened from the township of Wilmot to the mouth of the Red River, hereafter to be called the Maitland.

"This road is in continuation of one leading through Waterloo from Guelph; and government is now opening another from Dundas to Guelph, by which route the journey from the head of Lake Ontario to Lake Huron may be performed in four or five days.

"At the mouth of the Maitland, a town, to be called Goderich, will be founded in the course of the summer, as soon as the necessary surveys can be completed.

"Along the road, from Wilmot to Goderich, the land, which is all of the best quality, will be sold in lots of one hundred acres each, for which, at the option of the purchasers, payment, at the rate of seven shillings and sixpence per acre, will be taken in cash, provisions, or labour on the roads, from the first two hundred heads of families who offer themselves as settlers; and supplies of provisions, and medical assistance, will be provided by the Company.

"Saw and grist mills are building near the proposed site of Goderich.

"Emigrants, or other persons desirous to embrace this advantageous opportunity of locating themselves, will please apply to the agents of the Company, in the following form, by whom they will be furnished with tickets, addressed to the Company's Office, at Guelph, where the application will be registered, according to the date of the presentation of the tickets.

(Signed) "JOHN GALT,
"Superintendent."

"Canada Company's Office,
"Guelph, May 28, 1828."

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" No. To the Canada Company.

" I am desirous of locating myself under the Company, in their Huron tract, by purchasing —— acres, one hundred to be immediately abutting on the line of road leading from the township of Wilmot to the mouth of the River Maitland, and I will pay for the same as follows :—

" (Here state whether in cash, and how ; or in provisions and teaming, or in labour.)

" My family consists of persons ; my eldest child is years of age, and my youngest . I am a native of in ; by trade a . In my religion I am , and I am known to residing at .

" N. B.—The applications are to be delivered in person, open, to the agents, viz :—

" At Quebec,	John Davidson, Esq.
" At Montreal,	Messrs Hart, Logan, and Co.
" At New York,	J. C. Buchanan, Esq.
" At Geneva, State of New York,	A. M'Nab, Esq.
	" Pultney Land Office.

" Or, within the province of Upper Canada, to John Galt, Esq. superintendent for the Canada Company, York or Guelph."

In alluding to the prosperity of new settlements, I might point out many in Upper Canada, among which I do not know of any more deserving of notice than that of Perth, forty-two miles north of the St Lawrence, on the banks of the Tay ; and those in the townships contiguous to it, the sites of which were in 1815 occupied by a gloomy forest of immense trees. The flourishing village of Perth, with many improving settlements, corn-fields, and meadows, now offer a more cheering and enlivening scene, and afford to man the articles that are necessary to support him in a comfortable manner.

On the River St John, the Cardigan settlement of Welsh emigrants is in a very prosperous condition ; and the settlement of New Bandon, on the shores of the Bay de Chaleur, consisting of Irish families, associating together by a kind of mutual compact, has flourished as rapidly as any that I know of.

In Nova Scotia, the Scotch settlements on the East River of

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Pictou, and even those among the hilly districts of the country, have made rapid strides towards independence; and the Highlanders, also, who have settled within the Bras d'Or Lake, and along the sea-coasts of Cape Breton, are, at least those who have been located for three or four years, in tolerable circumstances, although they have not so much ambition to become comfortable as the English or Lowland Scotch.

In 1818, several families from Yorkshire arrived at Prince Edward Island, where they did not, on leaving England, intend to remain; but being delighted with the appearance of the colony, they applied to the agent of Sir James Montgomery, to give them leases of one hundred acres to some, and of two hundred acres of woodland to others, fronting on the road leading from Charlotte Town to Stanhope. The terms were, the first two years free, the third year at sixpence, the fourth at ninepence, and afterwards, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, to continue at the annual rent of one shilling sterling per acre. A cow was also given by the proprietor to each of the settlers, to be paid for when their circumstances admitted. These people went to work with such determination, and economized their time and means with such prudence, that, in 1826, when I had occasion to go among them, they had each from fifteen to twenty acres of land cleared, and under excellent cultivation, one or two horses, four or five horned cattle, a few sheep, some pigs and poultry. They were allowed to name their settlement Little York, and I was delighted to observe the order in which they kept their agricultural implements, and the neatness and cleanliness of every thing about them reminded me of England.

The plan adopted by my friend Mr Cormack, when he planted the settlement of New Glasgow, which the following extract from a letter from him to me explains, has been successful:—

"To secure a foundation to that settlement, [New Glasgow,] I encouraged and guarded the first settlers, until they had marked out and possessed the grounds, according to the notions with which they had left their native soil; and to secure its existence and prosperity afterwards, I supplied their wants so far as to enable them to labour on the land without working for others, and, by this measure, to make them feel attached to it as their own. Afterwards, I advanced

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necessaries to them, not exceeding, altogether, the value of their improvements.

"*Edinburgh, 14th Feb.* 1829."

NOTE F. page 466.

IN 1811, the late Earl of Selkirk obtained a grant of an extensive tract from the Hudson Bay Company, on the banks of the Red River, which is considered to be within the territory bestowed on that company by their charter from Charles the Second.

Long previous to, and at, the conquest of Canada, the French had posts established in this tract of country, and as far west as the River Saskatchiwine; and the North-West Company, who succeeded the French, not only occupied these posts, but established others far beyond them.

The Hudson Bay Company at last claimed the territory through which the Red River flows, as its waters fell into the Hudson. The North-West Company rested their claim on their long possession of the country, as successors to the French, and on their discoveries, as well as on the good-will of the Indian tribes. Which had the best right, let lawyers determine; but in 1812, Lord Selkirk, with, I believe, the most upright intentions, sent Mr Miles MacDonald, formerly a captain in the Queen's Rangers, to the forks of the Red River, in 57° north latitude, and 97° west longitude, and about fifty miles from Lake Winipic, for the purpose of erecting houses, &c., before the arrival of emigrants.

In the following year, about one hundred settlers arrived; and the settlement was named Kildonan, being the name of the parish in Sutherland from whence they came. Eighty to ninety followed them next year. His lordship sent light fieldpieces, guns, ammunition, and various stores, up with the first settlers.

The breaking up of this settlement, the brutality of the *Bois brulés*, (half-breeds,) the massacre of Governor Semple, and of a great number of those with him, have already been fully before the public.

Lord Selkirk went himself afterwards to Red River, with part of De Meuron's and De Watteville's German regiments. He there

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acted as a magistrate; but he was soon after most unjustly arrested. On returning from Red River, the great fatigue, and the privations he endured, no doubt accelerated his death, which happened soon after in France. He was certainly imprudent in attempting to plant and establish an inland colony at so great a distance from a settled country; and particularly until the respective claims of the Hudson Bay and North-West Companies were adjusted; yet his measures were great, and founded on what he considered honourable principles. He on all occasions provided for the comforts of those he sent to his settlements; and the disastrous fate of Kildonan was altogether occasioned by the rivalry of two trading associations now united.

The lands on the banks of the Red River are not covered with trees. The rivers abound with fish; the plains with buffaloes; the neighbouring forests with elk, deer, and various kinds of game.

Note G. page 467.

Computed prices of various articles, and the wages of labour in the British American colonies.

A horse, from L.10 to L.25; some of the finest horses as high as L.40.

A foal, six months old, L.5 to L.7.

A cow, from L.4 to L.6.

A pair of good oxen, the four quarters of each of which should weigh 700 lb. to 800 lb., L.16 to L.20.

A milch cow and calf, in the spring, L.5 to L.7.

A calf of six months old, about L.1.

A good wether sheep, 16s. to 20s.

Scarcely any fixed price for pigs, as it depends on the breed and age; but the value may be considered one-third less than in England.

Turkeys, 2s. to 5s.

Geese (fat and stubble-fed), 2s. to 2s. 6d.

Fowls are very cheap.

Beef, fresh, 2½d. to 4½d. per lb.

Pork, fresh, 2½d. to 4½d. per lb.

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A barrel of spring herrings, 12s.

A barrel of fall ditto, very fat, 15s. to 17s. 6d.

A barrel of mackerel, very rich, and considered in a family equal to a barrel of pork, 15s. to 22s.

Cod-fish, per cwt. 12s. to 15s.

A barrel of salmon, 40s. to 50s.

Fresh cod-fish, weighing about 15 lb., 6d. each.

Lobsters and oysters are abundant, and may be had cheap along the sea-coast and bays. A vast variety of fish, such as halibut, haddock, trout, shad, bass, eels, &c., are abundant, but are generally caught by the inhabitants for their own use, and not often put up for sale.

Flour, 2d. to 3d. per lb.

In Upper Canada, where far from market, wheat 2s. to 3s. 6d.

In the Lower Provinces, wheat 4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.

Barley, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per bushel.

Oats, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 9d.

Indian corn or maize, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.

Indian meal, 12s. to 16s. per cwt.

Hay, 30s. to 70s. per ton of 20 cwt.

Potatoes, 1s. to 1s. 6d. per bushel.

Turnips, 1s. to 1s. 6d. per bushel.

Butter, 8d. to 1s. per pound.

Rum, 3s. to 3s. 6d. per gallon.

Brandy, 9s. to 11s. ditto.

Gin, 5s. to 7s. per ditto.

Tea (good), 4s. to 6s. per lb.

Sugar (Muscovado), 5d. to 8d. per pound.

These prices are in Halifax currency, which is one-ninth less in value than British; and the rate of exchange generally reduces the value one-tenth more.

British manufactures cost the consumer from fifty to seventy-five per cent more than in England.

A day-labourer may, in the towns, where, however, he cannot depend on steady employment, get from three to four shillings per day, finding his own lodgings and provisions. A labourer among the farmers in the country may always get L.18 to L.24 a-year, and his board and lodgings found him.

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Ship-carpenters' wages were exorbitant four or five years ago, having L.6 to L.8 per month, and provisions, lodgings, and grog given them besides.

In Quebec, St John's, and a few other places, provisions were not included; but the difference of wages was made equivalent; scarcely any of these men, however, had sufficient prudence to save their earnings, and are now much less employed.

Joiners, who find their own provisions, receive from 6s. to 7s. per day. Blacksmiths, stone-masons, shoemakers, and tailors, are usually paid so much for what they do, and the price of their labour is generally very high.

Wages of labour, and the prices of articles, vary in America as they do in England; the foregoing, however, may be considered as the general rates.

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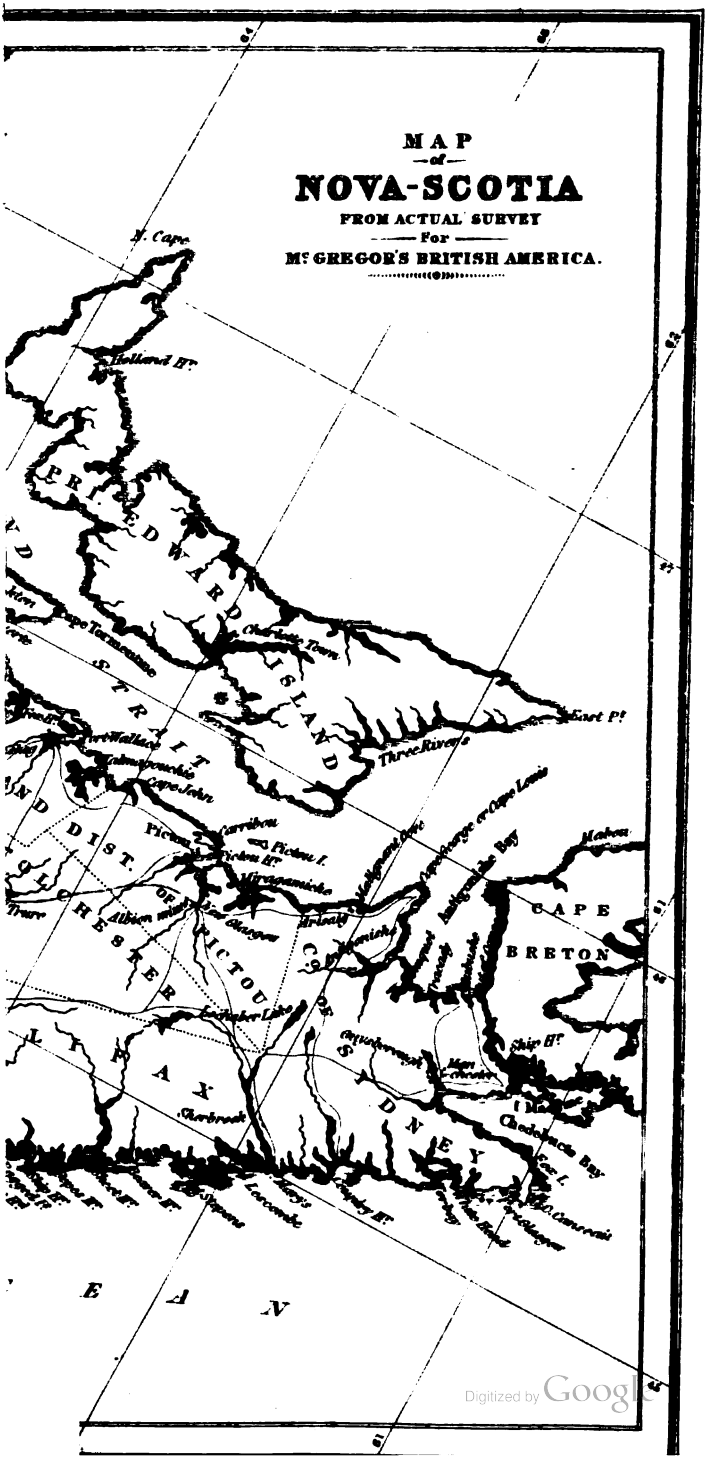
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MAP
—of—
NOVA-SCOTIA
FROM ACTUAL SURVEY
—— For ——
Mr GREGOR'S BRITISH AMERICA.
N. Cape
Holland Bt
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
Charlotte Town
East Pt
Three Rivers
Pictou
Pictou Bt
Merigomish
Antigonish
Antigonish or Cape Louis
Arichat
Malvern
CAPE BRETON
Sydney
Sydney Mines
Chebucto Bay
Halifax
Liverpool
Yarmouth
Digby
Annapolis
Cape John
Albion mines
Truro
Shubenacadie
Lunenburg
Shelburne
Barrington
Lockeport
Port Mouton
Port Medway
Port Rossway
Port Hood
Margaree
Cheticamp
Mabou
Ship Hr
Main à Dieu
Scatarie I
Gut of Canso
Canso
Country Hr
Port Hawkesbury
Strait of Canso
Gut of Canso
Strait of Northumberland
Bay of Fundy
Gulf of St Lawrence
Atlantic Ocean
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By JOHN M'GREGOR, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

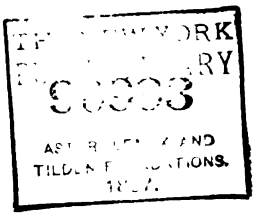
VOL. II.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH; AND
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MDCCCXXXII.

M.V.W.

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SKETCHES

OF

BRITISH AMERICA.

BOOK I.

NOVA SCOTIA.

CHAPTER I.

Boundaries—Superficies — Configuration—Natural Resources—Geological Features—Minerals—Productions—Wild Animals, &c. &c.—Natural Curiosities.

THIS province, previous to 1763, comprehended all the territories situated between the River St Croix and the Bay de Chaleur; and after the peace of that year, the islands of St John and Cape Breton were added. In 1770, the first of these islands was separated from Nova Scotia, and shortly after the treaty of 1783 it was reduced, by dividing from it New Brunswick and Cape Breton, to the peninsula, which may be termed Nova Scotia proper, lying to the south of a line drawn from the head of the Bay de Vert, a branch of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to

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Cumberland Basin, an arm of the Bay of Fundy. Cape Breton was again, in 1820, reannexed.

Nova Scotia lies within the latitudes of 43° and 46° north, and the longitudes of 61° and 67° west. Its length is about 320 miles, and its average breadth about 70 miles. Its computed superficies, exclusive of Cape Breton, is 15,500 square miles; from which nearly one-third may be deducted for lakes, arms of the sea, and rivers; leaving about 7,000,000 acres of land, 5,000,000 of which may be considered adapted for cultivation, and the remainder as affording tolerable pasturage.

A great proportion of these lands, estimated at 3,500,000 acres, is still vacant, and in the hands of the crown; but the largest unoccupied tracts do not in one place exceed 40,000 acres.

As the sea-coast of Nova Scotia was that which necessarily presented itself to the first discoverers, and to those who afterwards visited the country with the view of planting or settling it; and as it must also be admitted that its aspect, particularly on the Atlantic side, is barren, rugged, and apparently incapable of cultivation, it was altogether, without due investigation, from its first discovery, till within the last eighty or ninety years, condemned by England as a country unfit for agriculture, cursed with a humid and most inclement climate, and unworthy of any consideration, except for the purpose of trading with the savages for furs.

To account for the wrong opinions which individuals at first, and even a whole nation afterwards, form of

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new countries, we must conclude that they arise from ignorance, or the bias of prejudice. Hence Nova Scotia, which undoubtedly possesses many advantages paramount to those of Canada, was long considered, both by England and France, of no important value, unless it were for its harbours, which afforded shelter for their ships, and the consequent convenience for each nation to annoy the other. The mines of this colony are alone sources of great wealth; and it produces also, especially in the interior, great plenty of wood for ship-building, coopers, joiners, &c. The soil is capable of yielding more than a sufficient quantity of white and green crops for the support of the inhabitants; and although the climate in winter is colder than in England, yet when the weather is cold, it is usually dry.*

The Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, from Cape Canseau to Cape Sable, is pierced with innumerable small bays, harbours, and rivers. The shores are lined with rocks, and thousands of islands; and although no part of the country can properly be considered mountainous, and there are but few high steep cliffs, yet the aspect of the whole, if not romantically sublime, is exceedingly picturesque; and the scenery, in many places, is richly beautiful. The landscape which the head of Mahon Bay, in particular, presents, can scarcely be surpassed.

There is deep water, almost without exception, close to the rocks and islands, and into the harbours. The coasting vessels sail among, and within, the

* See the Theory of the Climate, vol. i. book ii. chap. iv.

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myriads of islands that line the coast, during the most blustering weather, and have thus the advantage of passing along in smooth water while there is a heavy sea running in the main ocean. Within the Bay of Fundy, the shores have a more continuous outline; and, after passing St Mary's Bay, the rugged appearance of the coast diminishes, but it still presents a bold and generally high character as far as the Basin of Minas.

The interior of Nova Scotia is intersected and watered by numberless streams, rivers, and lakes; none of the last are large, or at least not considered so in America.

Lake Rossignol, out of which a river, named the Mersey, runs to the harbour now called Liverpool, but formerly Rossignol, is said to be thirty miles long; and Lake George approaches to the same extent.

The mountains, so called, scarcely warrant the appellation; the highest elevation in the province not being more than 700 feet above the level of the ocean. A high hill, called Ardoise Mountain, lying between Halifax and Windsor, is considered the most elevated land in Nova Scotia, and commands a more extensively beautiful and picturesque prospect of land and water than any part of America that I have seen, except the heights of Cape Diamond, above Quebec. There is also a range of high hills between Annapolis Basin and Argyll; and a mountainous or hilly ridge extends on each side of Annapolis River, running parallel with the Bay of Fundy to Cape Blomidon. These

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eminences, with Horton Mountain, Aspotogan, Cape Porcupine, Mount Tom, and Cobequid Mountains, may be considered the only high lands of consequence in Nova Scotia.

The geological features of this province are prominent; and a greater variety of rocks present themselves, particularly along the Atlantic shores, than I have observed in any other part of North America. Granite, trap, and clay-slate, predominate, not only as primitive, but as the prevailing rocks, along the whole of the coast of Nova Scotia, and several miles into the country, extending from the Gut of Canseau to Cape Sable, and from thence to Brier Island. Quartz, usually in veins with clay-slate; mica-slate, sienite, and gneiss, but always detached, occur also in this extensive district. Greywacke is the most prevailing kind of transition rock. Whether all the gypsum strata, and calcarious rocks, belong to the flœtz class, I have not been able to ascertain. The vast gypsum strata within the Bay of Fundy, at the Gut of Canseau, and at Antigonish, evidently belong to the latter. Granite and trap rocks appear at Cobequid Mountains, and occur probably in all the hilly parts of Nova Scotia; but so small a portion of the interior has been examined, and so little is known respecting its geology, except where roads cross the country, that it would be presumptuous to state even what appearances indicate.

Granite, and calcarious rocks, with grey and red sandstone, prevail in the northern parts of Nova Scotia, from the Gut of Canseau to the Bay de Vert;

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and extend across the province to the Basin of Minas, if not interrupted by a granite ridge, which may very probably occur in the Mount Tom range of high lands. The hard grey, or blueish sandstone, which occurs in various parts of the province, makes excellent grindstones. The light grey granite, quarried at Whitehead, near Cape Canseau, makes remarkably good millstones; and a beautiful freestone, most admirably adapted for building, is abundant in several places, but particularly at Port Wallace.

Among the minerals of this province, coal and iron certainly claim the first attention. As to the extent of the coal-fields, or what may be considered independent coal-fields, any opinion on the subject would be incorrect; and it may be sufficient to observe, that enough has been discovered for the consumption of America for centuries. Iron of excellent quality abounds in great plenty, in different parts of the province, generally accompanying vast strata of coal and chains of carboniferous limestone. A most extensive coal-field has been opened at Pictou.* It is accompanied with vast strata of iron-stone. Coal abounds also at Chignecto, and many other parts of the provinces. Different varieties of copper ore, but not in great plenty, is met with at Carriboo, Tatmagouche, and some other places. Lead ores, chiefly sulphuret

* A particular account of the mines opened near Pictou, and of the spirited operations of the Albion Mining Company, will be found in a following chapter, with a description of the several minerals which were brought from those mines by the author, and examined by Professor Jameson.

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of lead and carbonate of lead, are also found in small quantities. Salt springs are met with near Pictou, at River Philip, and in some other parts; one of which is saturated with salt in the proportion of 12 to 88 water.*

The gradual improvements and opening of the country, and the enterprise of companies and individuals, will likely be the means of discovering many other minerals; and the mines in Nova Scotia will, in all probability, become sources of immense wealth.

The soil of Nova Scotia is of many different qualities, and of various degrees of fertility. The alluvial, or *intervale* lands, of which there are extensive tracts, are rich, and produce plentiful returns of wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, potatoes, turnips, and all vegetables and fruits common in England. Apples, equal to any grown in the United States, are produced in many parts of the province; and vines, covering several acres, have been lately discovered growing wild, or indigenous, near Digby. Some of the uplands, lying between the hilly ground and the *intervales*, or rivers, are light and poor, while the high, or what the inhabitants call the mountain lands, are rich, and very productive. This circumstance appears somewhat unaccountable; and the cause assigned is, that the light sand, or other substances, which naturally impart little nutrition to vegetables, having been carried, at various periods, by the rains down from the hills, have left behind a rich loamy earth;

* Note A.

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and that the poor uplands, or rather midlands, which prevail below the hills, and which have been formed of those sandy and light deposits, being very deep and loose, therefore retain neither rich earth or manures near the surface, and are consequently sterile and unproductive.*

The lands on the southern coast are generally so rocky, as to admit of cultivation only at much expense and labour. After the rocks and stones are removed, the soil is by no means barren; and some remarkably fine tracts are met with at the heads of the bays and up the rivers. The lands, however, within the Bay of Fundy, and those lying between the Gut of Canseau and Bay de Vert, form fertile agricultural districts.

The forest trees of this province are of the same kind and quality as those already described under the general head of American trees; nearly all of which abound in Nova Scotia.

The wild animals are the moose, carriboo, bear, loup-cervier, tiger-cat, fox, marten, otter, mink, beaver, musk-rat, porcupine, racoon, wood-chuck, fisher, weasel, squirrel, hare, &c., all of which, excepting the two last, have decreased very rapidly in their numbers.

Nearly all the birds common to North America, frequent Nova Scotia; and there are but very few

* Replies to the above purport have frequently been made to me, particularly at Truro, on remarking these seeming contradictions of character in the soil of the neighbouring lands.

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kinds of fish which are found in the American seas, that do not swarm round the shores of this colony.

Among the natural curiosities of this country, there is, within three or four miles of Halifax, a rocking granite stone, about seventy-five feet in circumference, and supposed to weigh 164 tons. It rests so equally on a flinty base of twelve inches, that the strength of one hand will put it in motion. It stands near the margin of a small, deep, dark, but placid lake, which is surrounded with wood; and to which imagination has imparted additional gloom, from the legend of two men having chosen a lamentable termination to their earthly pains and pleasures in its depths. From this circumstance, its name of Withrod Lake, has been changed to that of "The Devil's Bowl."

At a brook near Pictou, there is a curious grotto named "Peter Frazer's Cave." It is formed of calcarious rocks. The possessor, who lives in it during summer, has laid a wooden floor over its bottom, hung a door at the entrance, cut two lateral holes through the sides to admit light, and two through the roof to allow the smoke of his fire to escape. It is about 100 feet long, and irregular in its width. Beautiful stalactites suspend from the roof, and a small stream of pure sweet water flows along its base.

On the coast of the Bay of Fundy, at St Peter's Point, there is another magnificent grotto. On passing through its entrance, which is from the sea, and very narrow, we are suddenly introduced into a spacious hall, the roof of which is hung with sta-

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lactites; and brilliant gems are observed sparkling at the moment the light of torch or candle appears.*

Beneath a steep cliff near Lunenburg, are three very remarkable caverns, with great gaping mouths, and named "The Three Ovens."

* Having never seen the cave at St Peter's Point myself, I have noticed it from a description given me by an intelligent gentleman, residing in Annapolis county.

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CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Discovery—Cabot—Sir Humphrey Gilbert—De Monts—Port Royal—Potrincourt—Pontgrave—Champlain—Lescarbot—River St John—Settlement of Port Royal—Jesuit Missionaries—Mount Desert Island—Demolition of Port Royal, &c.

NOVA SCOTIA was first discovered in 1497, by John Cabot, or his son Sebastian, under a commission from Henry VII., some time before Columbus actually discovered the main continent of America. With the exception of adventurers trading to Newfoundland, England neglected the discoveries of Cabot until 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on making a second voyage to Newfoundland, where he left a small colony, made the attempt to reach the continent which ended so unfortunately, as before related, in his perishing with his whole ship's crew at sea. His brother, Sir John, revived his claim in 1607, and proceeded to America, where he died the following winter, on an island at the mouth of the Kennebec. His followers, after having endured extreme misery, returned in the spring to England.

The discovery by Cabot, and the possession taken of Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and afterwards of the continent by his brother Sir John, form

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the foundation of right by which England claimed Nova Scotia and the adjacent countries. The spirit of colonizing it, however, seems to have languished on the part of the English. It was otherwise with France. Mons. De Monts, a French Protestant, and a gentleman of enterprising, resolute spirit, obtained a commission, in 1603, from Henry IV., constituting him governor of all the countries of America, from 40° to 46° north, under the name of New France, which included Nova Scotia, then and long after called Acadia. Several French adventurers having previously visited Acadia and Canada, the vast profits they realized, by bartering European commodities for furs, created at that time an extraordinary spirit of enterprise among the French merchants; and as De Monts had, by his charter, secured a monopoly of the fur trade, a great number of wealthy men readily associated themselves with him. They soon equipped and fitted out four ships, loaded with all necessary stores and suitable goods, and in March 1604, they sailed from Havre; De Monts having the chief command, accompanied by Champlain, the celebrated navigator of the St Lawrence, as pilot, and M. Potrincourt, and M. Champdore, with numerous volunteer adventurers. De Monts arrived, on the 15th of May, at the harbour in Nova Scotia which now bears the name of Liverpool, where he found a French adventurer, named Rossignol, trading without commission for furs with the Indians. He confiscated this man's property, naming the harbour Port Rossignol, as if to console him for the loss of

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his wealth by this mark of honour. From this place, De Monts coasted westward to Port Mouton, where he landed, and formed an encampment.

The vessels under De Monts having different destinations, the one which carried the principal supplies for the winter, and which had been ordered to proceed direct to Canseau, there to wait his arrival, was long missing, in consequence of the delays occasioned by the capturing of four French vessels engaged in trading without license with the savages.

De Monts soon after dispatched this ship to Tadvusac, a spacious harbour on the north side of the St Lawrence, at the *débouché* of the river Saghunny. The other two vessels were ordered to cruise along the shores of Cape Breton and the island of St John, and off the coast of Acadia, within the Gulf of St Lawrence, in order to prevent unauthorized adventurers from trading with the natives.

De Monts, in the ship immediately under his command, then proceeded westerly, and sailed into St Mary's Bay, where he discovered iron ore.* He traversed the coasts of the Bay of Fundy, which he named Le Bai Françoise ; and, by the narrow strait now called Digby Gut, on the east side, entered a beautiful and extensive basin ; with which, and the surrounding prairies and luxuriant woods, Potrincourt

* At this place, a priest named Daubré, having forgot his sword at a spring of water in the woods, returned for it, and lost his way ; and the ship, after waiting for him several days, left the Bay without him. On returning to the Bay several weeks afterwards, they found him nearly incapable of any exertion.

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was so much charmed, as to select it for his place of settlement. He accordingly received a grant of it from De Monts, named it Port Royal, and soon after returned to France, for the purpose of carrying out his family and the means of establishing himself in Acadia.

De Monts meantime discovered, on the festival of St John, a large river, which he named after that saint. He afterwards sailed southward, until he came to the river now called St Croix. On a small island at the entrance of this river, they commenced forming a settlement, by clearing some acres of the trees, building a magazine, a place of worship, several houses, and erecting a fort and battery. This place had, however, scarcely any advantage to recommend it, except its being easily defended. It was most improvidently chosen, as it afforded neither fresh water, nor proper fuel for winter; nor was it the haunt of game. Out of the whole number, seventy-six, which formed De Monts' colony, thirty-seven were carried off by scurvy, produced by living on salt meat, and by having no water but what was procured from melting snow.

When the spring broke up, De Monts, after examining the coast as far as Cape Cod, in search of a more fit place for settlement, resolved on abandoning St Croix, and removing altogether, along with Pontgrave, who had then arrived with supplies from Europe, to Port Royal. In this place they soon established themselves; and, with the usual success of the French in negotiating with the savages, secu-

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red the friendship of the Indians. De Monts sailed for France in autumn, leaving Pontgrave, Champdore, and Champlain, in command of the colony.

In May following, De Monts and Potrincourt sailed from France; and, after a tedious passage, reached Canseau, from whence he dispatched a party of Indians to communicate his arrival to the settlers at Port Royal.

Pontgrave had previously attempted to explore the coast south of Cape Cod, agreeably to the instructions of De Monts, but was driven back, and shipwrecked near the entrance of Port Royal. In consequence of this disaster, he built two small vessels; and, putting all he could on board of them, and leaving two volunteers in charge of the remaining stores, he then proceeded to Canseau, before the arrival of the messengers from De Monts; but returned on meeting with a boat's crew which De Monts had left at that place.

It was considered that, notwithstanding the energy of De Monts, the settlements at Port Royal would have been unsuccessful, were it not for measures pointed out by Lescarbot, a gentleman bred to the law, but who, from personal attachment, accompanied Potrincourt. He showed the urgent necessity of importing and breeding domestic cattle, and of cultivating the soil, in order to become independent of the Indians for food, or of receiving supplies of provisions from Europe. The settlers would then, he contended, be more secure in trading with the natives, by living

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more compactly, and not subjected to chance for the means of procuring food.

De Monts left Acadia for France in August 1606. Still anxious to establish a colony farther south, he dispatched Potrincourt in another vessel to explore the country to the southward of Cape Cod; but this, like his former voyage, was quite unsuccessful; and he returned to Port Royal in November, where he was received with great joy, friendship, and respect, by Pontgrave, Lescarbot, and Champlain.

The winter being remarkably mild, and the spring early, these respectable adventurers appear, from Lescarbot's account, to have passed their time most agreeably and sociably. At their principal mess-table, Pontgrave, Champlain, Lescarbot, and twelve others, dined, taking upon them the offices of president and caterer in daily rotation. They diverted themselves in making short hunting excursions, and in employing their people in building two small shallops, and in erecting a mill. After waiting, however, a long time for the arrival of De Monts with supplies from France, a vessel at last appeared from Canseau, bringing only a few provisions and stores, and the mortifying information that the charter of De Monts was revoked, in consequence of the remonstrances made against it by the French merchants; and that he was therefore under the necessity of relinquishing all connexion with Acadia.*

* About this time, several Dutch adventurers frequented the coast, and to such extremes did their avarice lead them, that they pillaged the very graves, in order to obtain the beaver skins of

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The high-minded Potrincourt, distressed, but not disheartened, at this intelligence, received at a time when the colony was so far established, that nothing but a substantial right to the soil, and some further assistance in the way of supplies, were necessary to ensure its prosperity and permanency, resolved to return to France, for the purpose, if possible, of obtaining both. He did not leave, however, until he was enabled to carry with him samples of wheat, and other agricultural produce, some native animals, and several specimens of minerals, which, on his arrival in France, he presented to the king.

He succeeded in obtaining a grant of Port Royal, saddled, however, with a stipulation to provide for two Jesuits, who were to accompany him for the conversion of the savages. This condition was exceedingly disagreeable to such a spirit as that of Potrincourt; and soon after his arrival at Port Royal, he did not scruple to let them know his determination to exclude them from all interference with his affairs. He justly told them, "that their duty was limited to teaching men the way to Heaven, and that it remained for him to govern and direct those under him on earth."

The residence of these bigoted priests at Port Royal would have been of little importance, were it not for the attendant sequel.

Potrincourt, who unwisely, though honestly, de-

which the Indians made the shrouds of their dead. Nothing could have exasperated the savages more, and they ever afterwards held the Dutch in execration.

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spised them, made their situation far from being agreeable to their ideas; and their repeated complaints against him, and his son Biencourt, were apparently terminated by the arrival of a vessel, dispatched in 1613 by their patroness, a pious lady of the name of De Gaucherville. This ship, having on board two priests and some emigrants, carried away the two Jesuits from Port Royal; and, sailing out of the Bay of Fundy, they fixed on the Island of Mount Desert, lying a few miles north of Penobscot Bay, as a proper situation for a settlement. Here they commenced by erecting a cross, setting up the arms of their lady patroness, and naming the place St Saviour's.

While proceeding rapidly with their buildings and improvements, they were surprised by an English ship of war from Virginia, commanded by a Captain Argall, who pillaged the place, and compelled them to surrender as prisoners of war, for having encroached upon, and settled within, English limits. One of the Jesuits was shot through the head while urging the settlers to defend themselves; two ships that lay at anchor were seized, in one of which most of the prisoners were sent to France; the others were carried to Virginia.

This affair led to the fitting out of an armament from Virginia, commanded by Argall, for the purpose of dislodging the French settled in Acadia. Argall, piloted by the Jesuit Beart, who thirsted for revenge, proceeded to Port Royal, now commanded by Biencourt, the son of Potrincourt, and destroyed the fort, but spared the mills and corn-fields. Bien-

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court attempted to treat with him, offering Argall an equal share in the trade, if he could obtain the protection of England, and the person of the hated Jesuit; but the conference ended by some of the French associating themselves with the savages, others leaving for Quebec to join Champlain, and by those who surrendered being sent to England.*

This outrageous affair, during a time of profound peace between England and France, cannot be defended on the slightest ground of justice; and it may be safely assigned, principally to the thirst for plunder, and partly to religious bigotry. By this unwarrantable waste, robbery, and violation of private property, to which force alone gave authority, the first settlement made in North America was destroyed in 1613 or 1615, after prospering for eight or ten years, and without experiencing a share of that ferocious opposition from the savages which proved so dreadfully fatal to the early attempts of England at colonisation.

* Charleroix.—Lescarbot.

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CHAPTER III.

England attempts planting Nova Scotia—Sir William Alexander—Baronets of Nova Scotia—Sir David Kirk—Claude de la Tour—Country ceded to France—Madame de la Tour—Acadia taken by Oliver Cromwell—Ceded again to France.

ALTHOUGH the French settlements in Acadia were destroyed, it was neglected by England until 1621, when Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of the whole territory called Acadia from James I., and the name of the country was changed to that of Nova Scotia. Sir William was an accomplished gentleman, of high literary attainments, the author of several tragedies, and much about the court of James I., who afterwards appointed him a secretary of state, and created him a baron, with the title of Viscount Stirling.

During the summer which followed the date of his patent, Sir William Alexander dispatched a vessel with a small colony for Nova Scotia, which, owing to delay and a long passage, had to winter at Newfoundland. This ship proceeded on her voyage in the spring, visited a few harbours in Nova Scotia, and then returned to England, without any attempt being made to establish a settlement. A most Utopian account of the country and climate was published

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from the descriptions of those who performed this voyage.

From the time Port Royal was destroyed, up to this period, (1623,) great numbers of French, and several Dutch adventurers, resorted to the province, and occupied different parts of the country, where they carried on a profitable fur trade, as well as a fishery at Canseau, and in some other harbours. The war with France, however, which commenced in the early part of the reign of our Charles I., completely crushed the French plantations in Acadia; and that monarch not only confirmed the grant to Sir William Alexander, but completed what James had intended, namely, the instituting of the order of Baronets of Nova Scotia. The institution of this order was ratified by parliament, and the number limited to one hundred and fifty; certain stipulations, contained in the grants of land attached to these titles, were at first required to be fulfilled before they were confirmed by the king. At present the title of baronet of Nova Scotia is conferred, without regard to number, according to his majesty's pleasure, and with all the privileges and rank of baronets of Scotland.

In 1627, Sir William Alexander, assisted by a French Calvinist of the name of Kirckt, who fled to England from Dieppe in France, on the score of religious persecution, fitted out a few vessels, well armed, for Nova Scotia.

This squadron, commanded by Kirckt, who was also made a baronet, under the title of Sir David Kirk, proceeded on the voyage, and fell in with a

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fleet of French transports laden with stores, and one hundred and thirty-five pieces of ordnance, intended for Quebec and Port Royal. These vessels they captured, and in the following year reduced Port Royal. No settlement, however, was made at this period; and two years after, Sir William Alexander, discouraged at the failure of his attempts to colonise Nova Scotia, transferred the whole, except Port Royal, to Claude de la Tour, a French protestant, who was on board the transports captured by Sir David Kirk.

This gentleman possessed wealth, spirit, and an enterprising mind; and while residing, after his capture, in England, he married a lady of the queen's household, and was knighted. He proceeded to Nova Scotia, where he had a son, Etienne de la Tour, still at Cape Sable, and commanding a fort on the part of France. No entreaty which his father could use would induce him to submit to the power of England, and in consequence Sir Claude was unsuccessful in forming a settlement.

The inconsiderate treaty of St Germain, in 1632, gave Nova Scotia, with Cape Breton and Canada, again to France; and a long train of unfortunate and vexatious circumstances attended our American colonies in consequence.

Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton, and St John's Island, were then placed under the worst of all governments; namely, that of a company of merchants. These were embodied by royal charter, and styled "The Company of New France;" under whose vassalage

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Acadia was now governed by M. Razillais. The lands of the colony were divided principally between the governor, whose share fell to his successor Daubrè Charnisè Mon Denys, and Etienne de la Tour. The jealousies of Charnisè and La Tour, arising principally from rivalship in the fur trade, partook for many years of a similar spirit to that which directed the predatory warfare of feudal chieftains; and Mon Denys, who occupied the country from Cape Canseau to Gaspé, and who built a fort, and resided at Chedebucto, where he carried on a profitable fur trade, was finally ruined by the intrigues of his countrymen, and driven from this country.*

De la Tour's principal establishment was on the river St John. His wife appears, from the records of that period, to have been a most extraordinary woman, possessing fortitude and courage seldom surpassed even by the heroines of romance.

Madame de la Tour, having had occasion to visit England on the affairs of her husband, engaged on her return with the master of a vessel to land her at the river St John; who, instead of doing so, proceeded to Cape Breton, and the countries within the Gulf of St Lawrence, where he continued during the summer, trading with the savages, and afterwards sailed for Boston. Madame de la Tour was detained during this period on board the ship of this European savage, suffering all the miseries of a protracted voyage, and the most painful uneasiness of mind. On

* Note B.

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landing at Boston, she commenced an action against the villainous captain, and recovered about L.2000 damages. She then proceeded to the fort at the River St John, where, during the absence of her husband, she was besieged by Charnisè, whom she beat off with extraordinary heroism, by disabling his ship, and killing and wounding several of his men. Some time after, the brutal Charnisè, taking again the advantage of La Tour's absence, attacked his fort, and Madame de la Tour, with astonishing bravery, commanded its defence; but at length, in order to save the lives of her few remaining men, she accepted the terms of capitulation proposed by Charnisè.

On entering the fort, this horrible tyrant, enraged at having been once so gallantly repulsed, and a second time so courageously resisted by a female, hanged all the prisoners except one, whom he compelled to execute the rest. He then led Madame de la Tour with a halter round her neck to a tree; and, after exposing her for some time, either hung her, or the effects of the indignant treatment she had received, and grief for the fate of her brave and faithful people, caused her death in a few days.

Charnisè then destroyed the fort, and carried the ordnance, and all La Tour's effects, to Penobscot, to which place he had removed from La Have.

La Tour's own character, however, was none of the fairest; and the records of Massachusetts Bay charge him with disgraceful and ungrateful conduct. He afterwards went to Canada and Hudson's Bay, where he was connected with the fur trade; but

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returned on the death of Charnisè, whose widow he married ; and by the death of a pious lady of St Omers, a sister of Charnisè, he became possessed of all his property in Nova Scotia.

La Tour remained in peaceable possession until 1654, when an armament, dispatched by Oliver Cromwell, conquered the province. Disgusted with his own countrymen, who were about to dislodge him by intrigue and force, when Acadia submitted to the arms of England, La Tour transferred his allegiance ; and two years after, he obtained a grant of his lands from the Protector. He afterwards sold his lands and property in Nova Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple, who, after spending large sums in forming establishments, and after securing a profitable share in the fur trade, was most unjustly deprived of the whole by the treaty of Breda, which ceded the province again to France.

An armament, sent in 1690 from Massachusetts, under the command of Sir William Phipps, retook Port Royal, levelled its fortifications, and burnt the establishments at Chedebucto. The object of this expedition appears to have been more to annoy the French than to possess the country. It was, however, considered as a conquered province, and added by a new charter to the government of Massachusetts. Some aggressions on the part of France, who still occupied her usual places of resort for the fur trade, and the demolition, by Villibon, the French governor, and the Baron Castine, reinforced by two ships of war, of the English fort at Pemiquid, were resented

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by an expedition under the command of Colonel Church. He sailed up the Bay of Fundy, drove most of the Acadians to the woods; and, on the refusal of those who surrendered to join the English in pursuit of the Indians, he burnt their church and all their houses, destroyed their cattle, and demolished the dikes which guarded their rich marshes from the sea.

In 1696, the treaty of Ryswick gave Nova Scotia again to France; and that government soon after entered with spirit and resolution into measures for colonizing the province, and securing its fur trade, and especially the fisheries. The latter, in which the English had for some time participated largely, became the fertile cause of dispute between the New England colonists and the French in Nova Scotia. The French government also encouraged the pirates who infested the coasts to commit depredations on the shores of Massachusetts, and on the English fishing vessels, by offering them an asylum, and the means of disposing of their plunder, at La Have.

The people of New England retaliated, in 1704, by dispatching Colonel Church a second time, with about six hundred troops, to pillage the French settlements in Nova Scotia. He proceeded to Passamaquody, where he burnt all the houses, and seized the property of the inhabitants.

He then crossed the bay to Port Royal, and sent the boats with a detachment to Minas, where they plundered and destroyed three flourishing villages. On their return to Port Royal, Church discovered

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that the fortresses built since he destroyed the place eight years before, were too strong to be taken by the force under his command. He therefore sailed to Chignecto, where he laid waste all the settlements, and carried the plunder to Massachusetts. The New England States, still unwilling to relinquish the conquest of Nova Scotia, raised a thousand troops, who were dispatched, in 1707, with two ships of war, to take Port Royal; but they were repulsed with great gallantry by M. Subercuse, who succeeded Brouillard. The same force was soon after sent again from New England to Port Royal, but they returned a second time equally unsuccessful.

The conquest of Port Royal was, however, determined upon, and in 1710, an armament, commanded by General Nicholson, an able and brave officer, consisting of four men-of-war, nineteen transports, with one regiment of marines, and four provincial regiments, appeared before Port Royal. With the exception of those on board of one vessel that was wrecked, the troops landed without difficulty. Batteries were immediately erected by the English; and after a heavy cannonading on both sides, the garrison capitulated. The conditions were most honourable both to General Nicholson and the gallant Subercuse.

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CHAPTER IV.

Treaty of Utrecht finally secures Nova Scotia to England—Port Royal named Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne—French Acadians—Barbarities of the Savages—Grand attempt of France to recover Louisburg and Acadia—Splendid Expedition commanded by the Duke D'Ainville, and disastrous Sequel—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

FRANCE still seemed anxiously disposed to regain possession of Nova Scotia, but the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, secured the province to England, from which time the country has not been subject to any other government; and there is not any of his Majesty's colonies, unless it be Newfoundland, so likely to remain firm in its allegiance to Great Britain.

The name of Port Royal was now changed, in honour of Queen Anne, to Annapolis; the fortifications were repaired and strengthened; and General Nicholson appointed as the first resident British governor. He arrived at Annapolis in 1714, but could not succeed in obtaining the allegiance of the French settlers, who, by the capitulation of Port Royal, were allowed two years to retire, with their effects, from the province. In 1719, Colonel Phillips arrived, and succeeded Governor Nicholson; and, by the royal instructions, established a council to assist him in managing the civil affairs of the colony. The pro-

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vince, at this period, was resorted to only by trading adventurers, and there were no resident inhabitants but the Acadian French, who, although abandoned by their hereditary sovereign, still withheld allegiance to any other.* Clinging with extraordinary affection and lingering hopes to France, it was long, and then with wonderful reluctance, before many of these unfortunate, and frequently ill-used people, were induced to swear fealty to the King of England. From this period to the peace (1763,) that succeeded the conquest of Louisburg and Canada, Nova Scotia was incessantly harassed by the savages; while the ill-fated Acadians kept the provincial government at the same time in continual uneasiness; and the powerful armaments of France, sent to reconquer the country, experienced the most tragical discomfiture. The details of these circumstances, although interesting, would now be considered tedious; and it will probably be sufficient to observe the leading features of this period.

The vicinity of the islands of St John and Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, which were still possessed by France, formed not only retreats for the savages, but places where they received rewards for their barbarities, as well as instructions from the Jesuit missionaries. The building and fortifying of Louisburg gave France a safe rendezvous for her fleets, and a

* The condition of the Acadian French, from the first settlement of Acadia to the present time, forms a subject of such interest, as to require, besides what occurs in this Historical Sketch, a distinct account, which will appear in a subsequent chapter.

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position in every respect incomparably superior to Port Royal, for the purpose of annoying and injuring the English colonists. The hopes of the Acadian French, cherished by a knowledge of the past eventful history of Acadia, which had so often changed its masters, held them ever ready to assist even the feeblest effort of France to regain its sovereignty.

The settlement of Acadia was long disregarded by the British, although the governors issued proclamations which stated their readiness to grant lands on favourable terms to emigrants. But the New England and Southern States were at this time in a condition to afford abundant room for new settlers; and men, especially farmers, preferred removing to those places where others had previously gone, and of whom, or of their success, they had some knowledge. Very few, therefore, except trading adventurers, resorted for a long time to Nova Scotia. A respectable fishery was, previously to 1720, established at Canseau harbour; but during the autumn of that year, a desperate attack was made on this place by the Indians, several persons were killed, all the property plundered, and the merchants ruined. Many other acts of pillage and cruelty were committed by the savages; and several vessels lying in the different harbours were surprised and plundered, and the crews either scalped or made prisoners.

The Indians contended that the country was theirs by immemorial occupancy, and that they were an independent people; and the Governor of Louisburg, although it was well known that the savages were

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persuaded by the French to commit these outrages, declared that he had no control over them.

In 1723, Canseau was surprised a second time by the Indians, who seized sixteen or seventeen vessels lying at anchor, and took several prisoners, some of whom they scalped. Even the seat of government (Annapolis) was attacked by them; and, although repulsed, they burnt some houses, took several prisoners, one or two of whom they scalped.

It became at length necessary to resort to resolute and effective measures against the Indians. On the west coast of the Bay of Fundy, the Abenaqui tribe were entirely governed by a Jesuit priest, named Pere Rallè, and by a son of the Baron Castine by an Indian woman. The latter, whom they considered their cacique or leader, was arrested, but soon afterwards released. He and Pere Rallè resided at Kennebec; and an expedition against the Indians and Acadians settled in this place, was dispatched from Massachusetts, which defeated both with great slaughter, and among the killed was Pere Rallè. The chapel, crucifix, and all that was considered idolatrous, were then destroyed, the goods plundered, and the buildings subjected to conflagration. The fate of Pere Rallè was much deplored by the Indians; and it was maintained that the provincials, after he was killed, treated his body with the most brutal barbarity.*

Soon after the beginning of the war that commen-

* Note C.

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ced with France in 1744, Canseau was destroyed by an expedition sent from Louisburg. The Indians also recommenced their hostilities; and, under the directions of a French priest, and with some troops under the command of an officer from Cape Breton, besieged Annapolis. They were, however, compelled to raise the siege; and rewards were at the same time offered by the English to those who captured or scalped the savages. These premiums were, L.120 for every male prisoner above twelve years old, or L.100 pounds if scalped; and L.60 for women and children made prisoners, or L.50 if scalped. Notwithstanding these measures, Annapolis was again attacked by about one thousand Indians and several Acadians, commanded by French officers. These were also repulsed, and Louisburg and the island of St John were taken the following year by the provincial troops under General Pepperel.

The conquest of Cape Breton and St John's was of serious consequence to France, while it secured Nova Scotia, in a great measure, against the depredations of the savages, and gave the British ships of war the advantage of all the harbours on the coasts of America, with the consequent effectual means of annoying the commerce of France.

The harbour of Louisburg, and the possession of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, was, however, an object of too much importance to the French nation, to be abandoned to England without an extraordinary effort to recover those colonies. One of the most powerful fleets that had ever left France for North America

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was therefore equipped for sea, provided with immense stores of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, and having on board about four thousand regular troops. The supreme command was given to the Duke d'Anville. They sailed early in the summer of 1746 from Rochelle, unobserved by the English, and escaped the pursuit made by Admiral Lestock. The disasters which this expedition experienced are scarcely paralleled by the fate of the invincible Armada of Spain. After a passage of nearly three months, D'Anville, with three ships, reached Chebucto, where one of his ships had arrived before him. He died a few days after. Several other vessels arrived, after experiencing great hardships; and the second command, under the vice-admiral, was assumed by M. De la Jonquire, governor of Canada. Eighteen hundred men, chiefly Indians and *coureurs du bois*, intended to co-operate with D'Anville, arrived early in the season at Minas, under M. de Ramzay, who, having waited beyond the expected time, returned towards Canada. Four hundred of these were overtaken, and returned and joined the French force in Acadia.

But the wretched condition of the troops that had arrived from France, and the great number of ships with stores and troops which were either lost or not accounted for, called for a council of war, in which the bombardment of Louisburg, according to the original plan, was relinquished, and an attack upon Annapolis agreed to, much against the advice of Vice-Admiral Destournelle, who now had the chief command. Up-

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wards of twelve hundred men were lost during the voyage from France, and the majority of the survivors were reduced to a condition of helpless debility by scurvy and fever. It was found necessary to allow them time to recover, and encampments were accordingly formed for their accommodation. The infection was then caught by the Indians, several hundreds of whom became its victims; and about the same number of sailors and troops as died during the voyage, were carried off by disease after landing. Destournelle, reduced to that state of bodily weakness and depression of mind which usually causes delirium, terminated his life by running a sword through his body. Great as all these accumulated evils were, the attack upon Annapolis, if to be attempted at all, could not be longer deferred; and the fleet, reduced from seventy to forty ships, with the remaining troops, accordingly left Chebucto on the 13th October. The measure of calamity, however, which destiny had prepared for this expedition, was not yet completed. A tremendous storm dispersed the fleet off Cape Sable, drove them from the coast, and back to France, where most of them arrived in a shattered, disabled, and miserable condition.

This splendid fleet, which raised such glorious hopes in France, and caused proportionate terror in the British colonies, would, no doubt, if attended with even common fortune, have repossessed France of all the colonies she claimed in America. The glorious sun of England was now, however, in the ascendant; and in the beginning of May, another

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fleet of thirty-nine ships, most expensively equipped, and destined for America, under the command of the gallant Jonquire, was defeated by Admiral Anson. M. Ramzay still remained in Nova Scotia, holding the province in a state of alarm ; but the intelligence of Jonquire's defeat destroyed all the sanguine hopes he had entertained of success, and he soon after retired to Canada.

After the power of France had been so effectually weakened in America as to leave all the sea-coasts and the fisheries under the dominion of Great Britain, there was scarcely any circumstance that could have more deeply mortified the English colonists than the restitution of Cape Breton to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

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CHAPTER V.

Plan for Colonizing Nova Scotia—Governor Cornwallis—Halifax Founded—Indian Hostilities—Neutral French—Fleets which carry the Forces to Louisburg and Quebec arrive at Halifax—Mr Pitt's vigorous Policy—Constitutional Government granted to Nova Scotia—Treaty with the Indians, &c.

A PLAN for settling the province of Nova Scotia, agreeably to the recommendation of the Board of Trade, was now decided upon; and measures were adopted to form a settlement, and build a town and fortifications, within a harbour of equal security with Port Royal, and one that possessed also the advantage of immediate access during the whole year from the Atlantic.

The encouragement offered by government to effect this object, was too favourable not to be immediately accepted. Lands were to be granted to officers who had served during the war; the quantity, according to rank, from two hundred to six hundred acres; and to soldiers and seamen, fifty acres, with an addition according to the number of their families. Forty thousand pounds were voted by Parliament for defraying the expense of conveying the settlers to Nova Scotia, to assist in the erection of habitations, and to furnish one year's provisions.

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Chebucto, on the east coast of the province, was fixed upon, on account of its safe and capacious harbour, at all times accessible, with its position the most convenient of any part of America as a rendezvous for fleets, and as a station to command the coasts, and to annoy the French trade with Canada, Cape Breton, and the West Indies.

In the month of June, the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, holding his Majesty's commission as governor of the province, arrived with about four thousand adventurers at Chebucto harbour; and having fixed on the sloping side of a peninsula, on the west side of the harbour, for the site of a town, laid it out according to a regular plan, and named it Halifax, in honour of the Earl of Halifax, then president of the Board of Trade and Plantations.

By the judicious arrangements of Governor Cornwallis, and the celerity with which the woods were cleared away, and houses and huts built, the colonists, as well as the military and seamen, were comfortably accommodated with habitations before winter. A council was formed, and measures adopted for the preservation of order, regulating the direction of labour, and enforcing a due obedience to the laws. Plans for defending the town were soon afterwards executed. The hostile spirit of the Indians rendered this necessary; while it was well known that the French colonists never ceased to excite the savages, over whom the priests had astonishing influence, to acts of depredation, as long as they held possession of Louisburg. Neither could the Acadian French

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be depended upon. Although they and the Indians professed by their deputies submission to England, yet they resolved to remain as formerly neutral, and refused to become subjects by swearing allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. The Indians, meantime, plundered Canseau, attacked Dartmouth, opposite Halifax, scalped some of the inhabitants, murdered nearly half the crews of two ships in Halifax harbour, and carried off several prisoners, whom they sold at Louisburg. They were incessantly committing murders along the coasts, and it was impossible to guard the colonists effectually against enemies, who sprung with the agility and fury of tigers from the thickets, or who came along silently in their birch canoes during night.

The Governor of Louisburg pretended, as formerly, that he had no control over them, and that the premiums for English prisoners were given from motives of humanity, to prevent the horrible tortures which the savages would inflict upon them, or their excruciating death by the murderous scalping-knife.

Governor Cornwallis, however, was convinced that the answer of the Governor of Louisburg was mere finesse, to prevent remonstrances against the French government during peace; that many of the neutrals who were settled at Minas and Chignecto had already sworn allegiance to France; and that they were all ready to join a force sent by De la Jonquire from Canada under M. la Corne, who had built forts at Minas and Bay de Vert.

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Major Lawrence, who was dispatched with a small detachment to Chignecto, found that the inhabitants, on learning that he was approaching, had burnt their houses, and joined La Corne; and, after an unsatisfactory interview with this officer, he returned to Halifax. A force of one thousand men was in consequence sent to Chignecto under Major Lawrence, where he effected a landing with some difficulty and sharp skirmishing, and the loss of several men. The French and Indians saved themselves by escaping across the river and joining La Corne. He then built a fort, which served to overawe the French, and to check the incursions of the Indians.

The French, however, built several other forts; and the Governor-General of Canada, as well as the Governor of Cape Breton, still persisted in encouraging the Indians and Acadian French in their depredations. The government of France, when repeatedly acquainted with these breaches of national faith during peace, promised immediate attention to the subject, and that no time should be lost in sending positive orders to Jonquire to remove all cause of remonstrance.

Dartmouth was, however, again surprised by the savages, who scalped and made prisoners of the majority of the inhabitants, and plundered their houses, escaping by the Shubenacady lakes to the Bay of Fundy; and the settlement formed by a colony of industrious Germans at Malagash, or Lunenburg, was perpetually harassed, and many of the inhabitants murdered by the Indians.

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Major Lawrence succeeded to the administration of the government in 1754; and soon after, an expedition from New England, under the command of Colonel Monkton, proceeded to Chignecto, where he was joined by four ships of war and a detachment of regular troops. After bombarding and taking a block-house and battery, Fort Beau-Sejour, which mounted twenty-six pieces of artillery, was stormed, and the garrison made prisoners and sent to Louisburg. The fort on Bay Vert was then invested and taken. In both, great stores of ammunition and provisions were found.

To secure the peace of the province, and to deprive the Acadians from assisting the French or encouraging the Indians, it was determined by Governor Lawrence to remove them from Nova Scotia, unless they subscribed to the oath of allegiance in the fullest manner. Their conduct at Chignecto was considered indefensible, although they always declared that they were forced to join La Corne, or else lose their lands, which he claimed as within the limits of Canada. They never had taken the oath of allegiance, and could not be treated as rebels. They now expressed all humility, and begged to be allowed to remove to Canada or Cape Breton, if they were to be sent from Nova Scotia, which they loved, and in which they were happy. They offered willingly to swear allegiance, if they were exempted from bearing arms against their countrymen and the Indians.

Their case was certainly difficult to adjust. To permit them to remove either to Canada, or to the

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French colonies, would be adding great strength to the enemies of Britain, as war had then commenced; and to allow them to remain in possession of their lands, situated in the most dangerous part of the province, lying in the best route for the French and Indians to attack Nova Scotia, was considered equally dangerous; while the religious spirit of the English colonists, at the same time, distrusted the neutrality of Catholics, even under the sanction of an oath.

The Acadians were, therefore, without any intimation as to the object of calling them together, commanded to appear before Colonel Winslow at Grand Prè; and, in consequence of this summons, about four hundred men assembled. They were then shut up in the church, which was now turned into a garrison, where they were told that they were immediately to be removed from the province, and distributed among the other colonies, and that their cattle and lands were forfeited to the crown.

There were at this time from seventeen to twenty thousand Acadians inhabiting the rich and fertile lands of the province; they possessed upwards of sixty thousand head of horned cattle, seventy thousand sheep, fifty thousand hogs, besides horses. As their circumstances were equally distant between poverty and wealth, and their habits and education in that simple medium state between barbarism and refinement, their condition probably embraced as much happiness as man can enjoy, or human nature admit. Many of these people fled to the woods, and

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joined the Indians; others found their way to Canada and the Island of St John. The villages were laid waste, and their houses burnt to ashes. The whole of the settlements at Chignecto and Minas were subjected to conflagration; and the wretched inhabitants, deprived of shelter, were obliged to submit, or fly to the woods, and finally escape to Canada, the Island of St John, or Cape Breton. From seven to eight thousand in all gave themselves up to be disposed of by the British commander; and it must be mentioned to the honour of Colonel Winslow, a brave and excellent officer, that, in sending them away from the country to which they were so much attached, he acted with more kindness and delicacy than his orders strictly allowed.*

The formidable warlike preparations then in operation, and which at that period occupied the attention of all Europe, became paramount to every other consideration with England, as its glory and prosperity seemed to rest on the die that should be cast by the fortune of this war.

Nova Scotia, in consequence of the commanding harbour of Halifax having become the rendezvous of the navy, and for some time the head-quarters of the forces, had now attained a summit of importance hitherto unknown in English estimation.

In the summer of 1757, a fleet of thirty-two ships and several transports, under the command of Admiral Holborne, arrived at Halifax, with five thousand

* See the condition of the Acadians in chap. xiii. b. 1, vol. ii.

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troops, under Lord Howe; and Lord Loudon, on whom the chief command in America devolved, joined them with six thousand troops from New England. The grand object of these forces was the conquest of Louisburg and Canada; but the late discomfiture of the British troops near the Canadian lines, and the powerful fleet and strong garrison then at Louisburg, were considered wise grounds for deferring an attack until the following year. Meantime, Admiral Holborne proceeded with a fleet of twenty ships to reconnoitre off the harbour of Louisburg; but considering it imprudent to engage the French fleet at that time, he returned to Halifax. He soon after, with a reinforcement of four ships of the line, sailed for Louisburg; but the French admiral, secure within the harbour, and fully protected by the batteries, would not hazard an engagement, which alone might ruin the power of France in America. While on the coast, the whole English fleet were driven by a tremendous storm so near the rocks, that nothing but a sudden change of wind could have saved any of the ships. One vessel, with about half the crew, was lost, ten dismasted, most of them threw their guns overboard, and in this disastrous condition they were compelled to bear away for England, where they arrived in a very disabled state.

Such was the unfortunate termination of this powerful and expensive expedition, that the conquest of Louisburg and Canada would have been, in all probability, abandoned, if the British government had not then had at the head of its councils a man

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whose mind misfortunes could not subdue, nor difficulties discourage.

Mr Pitt was this year appointed premier, and his almost superhuman sagacity soon discovered, that if Great Britain did not humble France, by conquering Cape Breton and Canada, the splendid sun of England would be obscured by the loss of our trade, and the ruin of the British colonies.

The vast importance of these colonies never, until he expired in their cause, forsook the mind of that great statesman: and his memory deserves to be immortalized by a monument in every town and hamlet in North America. The measures he adopted on the return of Admiral Holborne, astonished Europe. In less than five months, a most glorious fleet was equipped, which sailed immediately for Halifax. This fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty-two ships, commanded by Admiral Boscawen, and having on board an army of fourteen thousand regular troops, under General Amherst, arrived safe at that port in April, where they were joined by the provincial troops. On the 28th of May, this formidable armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven ships, and sixteen thousand troops, sailed from Halifax, and arrived five days after at Gabarus Bay. The conquest of Louisburg, which followed, and which I have already observed in the account of Cape Breton, with the surrender of St John's Island, secured the prosperity of Nova Scotia; and Governor Lawrence was enabled, on his return from Cape Breton, to attend to the civil affairs of the province.

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The administration of government had hitherto been altogether vested in the Governor and Council. A House of Representatives was this year formed, agreeably to a constitution granted to the colony, corresponding with that of England. Every encouragement that the circumstances of the country would admit, was also offered to settlers by the Governor's proclamation.

The taking of Quebec by the expedition from Halifax under the immortal Wolfe, and the final conquest of Canada, gave complete security to Nova Scotia, the settlement and peace of which, since that important epoch in American history, has not been disturbed by the intrigues of France, or by the more terrible hostilities of the Indians.

Governor Lawrence died in the autumn of 1760. His administration was just, and his exertions in promoting the prosperity of the province committed to his care were truly great. He was, therefore, much esteemed, and justly regretted.

In consequence of the arrangements made by Governor Lawrence, the settlement of the colony advanced steadily, and the prosperity of the inhabitants was secured by the protection and assistance of government. As lands in favourable situations in New England became scarce, many of the redundant inhabitants removed to Nova Scotia, and formed the basis of an industrious and respectable population. Emigration from Ireland flowed afterwards into the province, and a few settlers arrived soon after from Scotland. A road was opened from Halifax to the

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settlements in the Bay of Fundy, in the labour of which the troops assisted.

Arrangements were also entered into in order to place the trade with the Indians on such a scale as would secure justice to the savages, and a treaty was entered into with them, by which they acknowledged submission and allegiance to the crown of England.

Two years after the death of Governor Lawrence, the news of St John's and some other places in Newfoundland having been taken by the French, alarmed the inhabitants of Nova Scotia with the apprehension of invasion; and so far agitated the nerves of the president administering the government, that he laid an embargo on the shipping, proclaimed martial law, and resolved on removing from the province the remaining Acadian French. These unfortunate people were accordingly surprised at their peaceful agricultural pursuits, and led by the military to Halifax, from whence they were sent in transports to Boston. The people of Boston, however, would not allow them to land and become a burden on the province; and they were consequently sent back again to Halifax, where they were landed, and allowed to settle in the colony, as St John's and the other places in Newfoundland were retaken by the British.

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CHAPTER VI.

Peace of 1763—Stamp-act submitted to in Nova Scotia—Lord William Campbell, Governor—Dockyard—Peace with the United States—Fleet with Loyalists arrive in Nova Scotia—Shelburne built—Packets established—His present Majesty, then Duke of Clarence, entertained at Halifax—Windsor College founded—Governors, Sir John Wentworth, Duke of Kent, Sir George Prevost, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Earl Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763, France relinquished all claim to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St John's Island, and Canada; and from that time these countries have formed a part of the British empire in America.

An Irish settlement was formed by one Alexander M'Nutt, this year, on the north side of Minas Basin, and named by the settlers, or by some Irish families settled there two years before, Londonderry. The following year, the same adventurer began a settlement at Port Roseway, to which he gave the pious name of New Jerusalem. It did not flourish; it has been long forgot, and even its name has vanished. A general survey of British America, by order of government, was commenced this year, but never completed. Several new townships were laid out in Nova Scotia, and granted away to various individuals, many of whom neglected to settle upon them;

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but the troubles which began at this time to agitate the New England colonies, occasioned many to remove and settle in Nova Scotia.

In 1765, the famous stamp-act, which was publicly burnt at Boston, and resisted in all the southern colonies, was submitted to in Nova Scotia and in Canada; and both those provinces remained unshaken in their loyalty during the whole revolutionary war.

The Island of St John was separated from the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia in 1767, and erected into a distinct government, and new seals for each were sent to the respective governors.

Lord William Campbell, who was appointed governor of the province in 1760, sent the surveyor-general, in 1769, to New York, with information respecting the vacant lands in Nova Scotia, and the encouragement that emigrants might expect by settling in the colony. The dock-yard also, which was established some years before, was extended, and supplied with all necessary stores for the navy.

The militia was regularly trained, and held in readiness during the whole war; and two corps of provincial troops were raised for the defence of the colony. The inhabitants signed, unanimously, a declaration of loyalty, which was sent to his majesty, and received with great approbation. Copies of it were distributed throughout the realm.

In 1773, Lord William Campbell, being appointed governor of South Carolina, was succeeded in the administration of Nova Scotia by Francis Legge, Esq., as governor. At this time the population of

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the province was estimated at nineteen thousand, which included about two thousand Acadians. Such was the fear of popish ascendency at this period, that Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies, ordered the governor not to grant lands to a Roman Catholic, until the case had been made sufficiently known to his majesty. The Americans burnt and plundered the fort and settlement of St John in 1775; and, during the same year, Charlotte Town was plundered by them, and the president and some other officers carried off prisoners: on their arrival in New England, they were, however, kindly treated, and politely released by General Washington. With the exception of the capture of a vessel at Pictou, afterwards retaken, and the attack upon Lunenburg, the Americans gave no further annoyance to Nova Scotia.

The Indians, who assembled at this time in vast numbers on the River St John, probably instigated by the intrigues of France, threatened hostilities against the English; but they were appeased by presents, and they have never since attempted any act of depredation.

In the autumn of 1781-2, Mr John Parr was appointed governor; and, in January following, the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States by Great Britain, formed a most important era in the history and settlement of Nova Scotia. Immediately after the treaty of peace, the province received an accession of American loyalists as settlers,*

* In all about eighteen thousand.

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who may be said with great truth to have established the foundation of its prosperity. These men brought along with them correct principles, industrious habits, large sums of money, vessels, merchandise, cattle, and furniture; and many of them being respectable and intelligent men, the courts of justice and the legislature became consequently more respectable than in most new colonies.

In 1784, New Brunswick and Cape Breton were detached from Nova Scotia, and constituted separate governments. This measure was much complained of by the inhabitants, as reducing the province to the peninsula, and therefore limiting the jurisdiction of its government. On the following year a whale fishery was established by the settlers at Dartmouth, who came from Nantucket; and the town of Shelburn, at Port Roseway, rose up as by enchantment, having a population of twelve thousand in a few months, where no habitations had previously existed. Saw-mills and grist-mills were also built in all the settlements in which there was a population sufficient to pay the attendant expenses. A line of packets between Falmouth and Halifax was also established this year, and an alien duty of L.18 laid on oil imported to the United Kingdom from the United States, as an encouragement to the fisheries of the British colonies. The boundaries of lands were also adjusted and described; and various public improvements either completed or commenced.

Nova Scotia was then erected into a Bishop's See, and the first bishop, Dr Charles Ingles, appointed in

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1787. His present majesty, while in the navy, was this year at Nova Scotia, and was entertained at a dinner and ball by the legislature. Among other public matters, a seminary of education, supported by legislative enactment, was established at Windsor, and, two years after, funds were appropriated for purchasing ground and building a college at the same place.

In 1792, Sir John Wentworth was appointed to succeed governor Parr; and the finances and the population of the province enabled the government soon after to open the great western road to Pictou. This was an undertaking of much labour, and its accomplishment one of the most important advantages to the inhabitants.

A mistaken philanthropy, or more blind enthusiasm, occasioned the removal during this year of the free blacks from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, where they all died soon after. In consequence of the war with France, which commenced in 1793, Halifax became again an important rendezvous for the British squadrons on the coasts of America, and a provincial corps was also raised and trained. The first ships of war captured and brought into Halifax, were La Raison and La Prevoynant, belonging to a squadron bound to Guadaloupe, and taken by his majesty's ship Thetis, the Honourable Captain Cochrane, and the Hussar, Captain Beresford, in May 1795.

The exertions of his royal highness the late Duke of Kent, while he resided in Nova Scotia, should never be forgotten; so deep was the sense of his services

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entertained by the legislature, that on his leaving Nova Scotia, previously to his appointment to the chief command of the army in America, they voted L.500 for the purchase of a star, as a mark of their esteem for him. He afterwards returned and remained in the province until the year 1800.

Nova Scotia has been peculiarly fortunate in having had its administration intrusted generally to good, and in most instances to great men.

Sir George Prevost, who succeeded Governor Wentworth in 1808, directed with great ability the resources of the province into proper channels. He introduced greater order into the public departments; established schools in all the principal settlements; carried into successful operation a new style of training the militia; founded that superb edifice, the "Province Building;" had new roads opened and the old ones repaired and improved; and by his application, talents, and power, did the utmost to encourage the agriculture, trade, and fisheries of the colony. On the promotion of Governor Prevost to Canada in 1811, he was succeeded by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who, with equally good judgment, and with perhaps still greater ability, governed the province during the American war, and until 1817.

The Little Belt being fired into on the 16th May, 1811, by the United States ship President, and sixteen men being killed, and twenty-one wounded, may be considered the prelude to the last American war. The pride of the Americans was also wounded in 1807, by his majesty's ship Leopold firing into the

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Chesapeake, which surrendered; and out of which several English deserters were taken, one of whom was tried by a court-martial, and hanged at Halifax.

The war commenced on the part of the Americans, by a squadron of the United States ships chasing and firing into his majesty's ship Belvidera, on board of which the captain and eighteen seamen were wounded and two killed. Letters of marque were soon after granted; and the privateers fitted out from the ports of Nova Scotia were very successful in making captures. Eastport was taken, in July 1816, by a squadron commanded by Sir Thomas Hardy, and the 102d regiment, and a detachment of artillery from Nova Scotia; and in August following, an expedition, commanded by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, sailed from Halifax for Castine, on the river Penobscot, which immediately surrendered. The John Adams, an American frigate, which lay at anchor in the harbour, was set on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English. Machias soon after surrendered; and the militia and inhabitants of the coast, about one hundred miles in extent, on agreeing not to bear arms against his majesty during the war, were not further molested. This district of country was restored to the United States by the treaty of Ghent.

Whatever want of gallantry and bravery may be attributed to the American soldiers, during the last war, and which, no doubt, arose from the absence of discipline and subordination—for no one can charge the Americans generally with cowardice—they cer-

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tainly displayed no want of heroism and bravery in their naval actions. They fought as if determined to evince that they had not degenerated from the stock they grew from, and as if proud to have an opportunity to prove the same by personal prowess and moral courage.

The most brilliant action perhaps on record, is that between his majesty's frigate Shannon, and the United States frigate Chesapeake, which only lasted *eleven minutes.*

Neither were there wanting instances of polite observance and humane consideration. The frontier inhabitants of Maine, being aware that carrying on hostilities against the frontier inhabitants of New Brunswick would answer no purpose but the destruction of private property and the calamity of private families, expressed their disposition not to enter into such warfare; and the governor of Nova Scotia issued his proclamation, forbidding the subjects of his majesty in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to injure those on the frontiers of Maine. The bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow of the Chesapeake, who were buried at Halifax, were also allowed to be disinterred, during the war, and carried to Salem, and afterwards to New York, where they were re-buried with great pomp and solemnity. Mr Munro, the president, ordered that no British vessel going to the station at Sable Island should be molested.

Sir John Coape Sherbrooke was promoted to the chief command in Canada in 1816. His administra-

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tion was altogether distinguished by great and useful measures. No man's integrity could be more inflexible, nor could any governor be more indefatigable in all public duties. The legislature of Nova Scotia voted L.1000 for purchasing a sword, to be presented to him.

The Earl of Dalhousie, who succeeded to the government, held the administration until 1820, when he was appointed to the government of Canada.

His administration was exceedingly agreeable to the people of Nova Scotia, and his conciliating manners, and amiable, benevolent disposition, made him generally beloved. The excellent character of the amiable Countess of Dalhousie, will also be long remembered in Nova Scotia. During his lordship's administration, the central board of agriculture was formed at Halifax; he founded Dalhousie College; and the agricultural resources of the country, under his patronage, first began to be properly appreciated. He also granted L.1000 of the Castine fund, to establish a library for the use of the army at Halifax. On his departure, the House of Assembly granted L.1000 for the purchase of a sword and star for his lordship.

Sir James Kempt, who succeeded Lord Dalhousie in Nova Scotia, and afterwards, in September 1828, in Canada, is considered to be better acquainted with business in detail, than any of his predecessors. From the time he entered upon the administration of Nova Scotia, the agriculture, trade, and general prosperity of the province, have maintained a regular and thri-

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ving progress; and various undertakings, connected either with the internal improvement of the colony, the encouragement of agriculture, or whatever may be considered beneficial to the common and general interests of the country, have been accomplished, or are in the progress of being completed.

Cape Breton was re-annexed to the province; a bank established at Halifax; a commercial society, and chamber of commerce founded; the cutting of the Shubenacady Canal commenced; Courts of Session formed in the counties; a line of packets established between Halifax and Liverpool; and a South Sea whale-fishery commenced, during Sir James Kempt's government.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, lately lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, is the present governor of Nova Scotia. His administration, although yet of too short duration to justify an opinion, seems to be mild, just, and agreeable to the inhabitants.

The people of Nova Scotia have, perhaps more than those of any other British colony, united earnestly with their governors in carrying forward and accomplishing any measure of public utility which they undertook; and to this co-operation may, in a great measure, be ascribed the absence of political difficulties, and the harmony for which this province has been so long and so justly distinguished.

From the foregoing pleasing retrospect of its government I have to advert, with great pain, to intelligence that I have since received of a most serious misunderstanding—I hope I am right in naming it

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such—between the Legislative Assembly and Council, which arose from a novel right claimed by the latter in money bills, and by which the usual provincial revenue has, for the present year, been lost to the colony. If ministers determine that the Legislative Council shall arrogate to itself more than it constitutionally can, the measure will be the cause of general discontent throughout the colonies; and if the representative legislature of Nova Scotia has erred, it has done so agreeably to the immemorial usage of the British House of Commons.

Three years ago, the council of Prince Edward Island attempted to claim much the same right in money bills as that which has lately been assumed by the council of Nova Scotia, and the opinion of Mr Huskisson, then secretary of state for the colonies, was, that the council was claiming a privilege to which it had no right whatever. This opinion set the matter at rest in that colony; and it is to be hoped that the same example will be adopted to restore tranquillity to the legislature of Nova Scotia. On every other subject of importance, the most perfect and cordial understanding prevails between the different branches of the legislature; and the members of each house, who are generally men of ability and education, will likely, before long, wave the observance of mere formal privileges when the public good is at hazard.*

* Note D.

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CHAPTER VII.

Constitution—Government—Administration of the Laws—Representation of the Towns and Counties—Defence of the Colony—Militia—Revenue—Quit Rents—Statute Labour—Poor Rates—Public Burdens, &c.

THE constitution of Nova Scotia is, by royal commission, a representative provincial government, one of the three original forms of colonial constitutions. Its legislature is a transcript of that of the United Kingdom, and vested in three estates; the governor representing the King, the council representing the House of Lords, and the Legislative Assembly representing the Commons' House of Parliament.

The lieutenant-governor* is commander-in-chief within the province, and independent of any other in civil authority, except when the governor-general is present, which seldom occurs, unless it be in the form of a visit, and then he assumes no authority. The king appoints the governor, and all public acts are issued

* The designation of lieutenant-governor may be considered the same as governor, as he is commander-in-chief within the province. The Governor of Canada, being Captain-general of British America, does not interfere with the administration of the other colonies.

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and executed in his majesty's name. The governor of Nova Scotia is by rank a lieutenant-general in the army, and is styled, " His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor and Commander-in-chief in and over his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, Chancellor and Vice-admiral of the same," &c. &c. &c. Before entering office, he takes the oath of allegiance, and also the oath of office for the due and faithful execution of the trust confided in him, and for the impartial administration of the laws. He is sworn before the council, or any three members of council. The governor receives on his appointment, or with his commission, a sort of code, called " the royal instructions," to guide him in his administration. Should he violate his duties by misrule, or by injuring or distressing his majesty's subjects, the course to follow, for the purpose of obtaining redress, is either by petition to the king or to the parliament, or else by action in the King's Bench.

The governor's powers are very extensive. He is commander-in-chief of the regular forces and militia within his government; he holds in custody the great seal of the province, is Chancellor of the Court of Chancery, and can extend the king's pardon to criminals. He presides in the Court of Error, summons the Provincial Assembly, nominates the high sheriff and justices of peace, suspends officers of the crown, grants licenses of marriage and probates of wills. He is also vice-admiral within the limits of his government. The crown pays a fixed salary to the governor, but the legislature has also settled a sum

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to be allowed him to support the becoming dignity of his high station.

The council, besides their legislative duties, occupy the same place, in relation to the governor, that the privy council does to the king. The members are appointed either by his majesty's *mandamus*, or by the governor's nomination, to be afterwards approved of by the king, and are styled honourable. They are also justices of the peace throughout the province, and must take the usual oaths, as well as those of office. The council constitutes with the governor a Court of Appeal, or Court of Error, and also a Court of Marriage and Divorce. The senior councillor assumes the administration of government on the demise of the governor, or in his absence from the province.

The Legislative Assembly is a body formed of members elected by the inhabitants holding an annual interest of forty shillings in land, or who are householders, as their representatives. This assembly is considered to correspond, in respect to the province, in jurisdiction, privileges, duration, and parliamentary usage, with the Commons' House of Parliament. All money bills should originate in the House of Assembly. Acts of the Provincial Legislature, without a suspending clause, or that affect descent, marriage, &c. &c., must have the royal allowance to become a statute. Forty-one members represent the province. When Cape Breton was re-annexed to Nova Scotia as a county, Mr Lawrence Kavannagh, a most respectable and worthy man, was one of the two elected, and being a Catholic, the usual test oaths

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were dispensed with, in respect to him, by his majesty.*

The impartial administration of the laws, if these laws be just, is assuredly the highest privilege which the colonies can enjoy. Nova Scotia has been eminently blessed in the uprightness and abilities of the judges of its courts. All causes, both civil and criminal, are determined according to the common and statute law of England, and the statute laws of the province. The courts of law, therefore, are constituted to correspond with those of England. The practice of the Court of Chancery is also agreeable to that of England; and although the governors, who are chancellors of this court in all the colonies, are generally unacquainted with law or with Chancery practice, yet, from deciding according to what appears to them to be just, on the rational principles of right and wrong, there is no doubt but their conclusions are as often correct as those of the lord chancellor would be. The absolute power which this court vests in the chancellor has, however, been most wantonly and tyrannically exercised by one or two colonial governors, but never in Nova Scotia.

The Supreme Court of Judicature is modelled after the Court of King's Bench, the practice of which is strictly adhered to. The jurisdiction of this court extends to all parts of the province, and it may be said to embrace also the powers of the Courts of Ex-

* It appears that the Catholic Bill of 1829 does not extend to the Catholics in the colonies, and, in consequence, the colonial legislatures have provided for this circumstance.

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chequer and Common Pleas. The chief justice is paid by government, the assistant judges out of the colonial treasury. The present venerable chief justice, the Honourable S. S. Blowers, has presided thirty-two years on the bench of this court. His high legal attainments, impartial firmness of decision, and the excellence of his private character, must ever endear him to the inhabitants of Nova Scotia.

There is also a Court of Common Pleas in each county, the jurisdiction of which only extends to civil actions within the county. Magistrates take cognizance of breaches of the peace, and of matters of debt not exceeding five pounds. Appeals from the inferior courts may be made to the Supreme Court, from thence to the governor and council, who compose a Court of Error and Appeal, and from thence to England. In each county there is also a Court of Session. The Court of Admiralty has, since the last war, become little more than the mere name. Piracies are tried by special commission; but for some years no convictions have taken place.

The bankrupt laws do not extend to the colonies, nor is there in Nova Scotia any law which affords an unfortunate and honest debtor the release which is obtained in England, and which gives an industrious man the free exercise of his abilities in directing his labour and talents to productive or money-making pursuits. On the contrary, when a man in the colonies becomes unfortunate in trade, and unable to pay his debts, he is too often imprisoned, and finally driven, by poverty and desperation, either out of the

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country, or, if he ever does business afterwards, as his property is always liable, he evades attachment, by owning nothing in his own name. From this circumstance has arisen a great share of that spirit of scheming and overreaching so frequently complained of as prevailing in the United States, and which unfortunately is also to be often discovered in all the British colonies that have legislatures of their own, and seldom in Newfoundland, where an act of the Imperial Parliament operates much in the same way as the bankrupt laws in England.

A provincial law in Nova Scotia, called the "Insolvent Debtors' Act," generally relieves the debtor from imprisonment, but the fruits of his industry afterwards are always liable, if the demands be renewed every seven years. A law which the good sense of the legislature of the province lately repealed, operated, and was most justly complained of, for many years. This law enabled a creditor who merely swore to his claim, to attach the property of his debtor, and consequently ruin his credit and blast his hopes and comfort, before proving his debt by a judgment of court. By this means, merchants and others certainly were enabled to obtain payment of debts that they would otherwise probably not have recovered, but such a law gave a bad man too much power over the property of others, and many an industrious, honest individual, who would have surmounted, with time, all his difficulties, has been ruined by its operation.

At present, the laws of the province are generally judicious, and, as far as they go, with the exception

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mentioned, certainly calculated for the condition and prosperity of the colony. That there is too frequent recurrence to law is true, but experience and time will likely destroy this American mania, and Nova Scotia approaches nearer, in most respects, to the customs and ideas most approved in England, than any other part of America.

At the bar of the judicial courts a very fair share of rhetorical and legal knowledge is conspicuous. Formerly, admission as a barrister or attorney to the courts was too easily obtained; but an institution, established in 1825, formed of the judges, crown officers, and members of the bar, stamps respectability on the profession, by regulating the necessary acquirements of those who apply for admission as attorneys or barristers.

The representative constitution of Nova Scotia made it necessary to divide the province into counties, and that the county towns that should send members to the Assembly should be named. These regulations were accordingly adopted; but, in consequence of the country becoming populous, since the first Legislative Assembly met, in many parts which at that time contained no inhabitants, several alterations have been made in the representation of the province.

The extent of the province required also that it should be divided into districts or circuits for holding the courts of law. Besides these, lesser divisions have been made, called townships, but they might with equal propriety be called parishes, as they merely, without regard to extent of land, as in Canada

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or in the United States, embrace the population of a certain division of a county, for the purpose of meeting annually, to take into consideration the condition of any poor people who may be among them, and to vote small sums for their relief or support.

The counties into which Nova Scotia is now divided, are, including Cape Breton, ten, viz.:—

The county of Halifax, divided again into the three districts of Halifax, Pictou, and Colchester, represented in the Provincial Assembly by nine members: four for the county, two for the town of Halifax, and one each for the towns of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry.

The county of Annapolis, which contains two districts, is represented by five members: two for the county, and one for each of the towns of Annapolis, Grenville and Digby.

The county of Shelburne contains two districts, and sends five members to the Assembly, two for the county, and one for each of the towns of Shelburne, Barrington and Yarmouth.

Queen's county sends two members to the Assembly for the county, and one for the town of Liverpool.

The county of Lunenburg sends also three members to the Assembly, one of which is for the town of Lunenburg.

King's county is represented by two members for the county, and one each for the towns of Horton and Cornwallis.

The county of Hants sends two members for the

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county, and three members represent the towns of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport.

The county of Cumberland is considered as unfairly represented, in proportion to its population, sending only three members to the Assembly, one of which is for the town of Amherst.

The town of Sidney sends only two members to represent it.

Cape Breton is also confined to the election of two members. This is certainly a most unequal representation; but the interests of Cape Breton being, in fact, those of the province generally, will no doubt be guarded by the legislature; and until there are men of more wealth among the inhabitants, who can afford to devote the time required, as their representatives, to legislative duties, it may probably be as well for the county to be represented by no more members. It might, it is true, be represented by additional members resident at Halifax; but it would not then follow that the interests of the county would be more faithfully attended to.

The military force, stationed in the province, consists of the greater part of three regiments of the line, and a detachment of artillery, which, with the provincial militia, and the ships of war on the station, secure the defence of the colony against any ordinary invasion.

The governor for the time being is commander-in-chief of the whole forces. Sir George Prevost was, however, the first governor who carried into execution an effective plan for training the militia.

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The militia law is continued from year to year. By its regulations, every male between the age of sixteen and sixty years, is subject to enrolment for military service, but not to be led involuntarily out of the province.

The organized militia, including that of Cape Breton, may be estimated at 30,000 effective men, which form together twelve companies of artillery, and thirty-three battalions of infantry. No troops of cavalry, which I could find no satisfactory reason to account for, have as yet been formed.

The governor appoints all the militia officers; the highest rank is that of lieutenant-colonel.

The only officers who are remunerated for their services, are—three inspecting field-officers, the adjutant-general on the general staff, and the adjutant on the regimental staff. They are all paid, as well as the cost of the fire-arms of the privates, by the provincial treasury, and not by the imperial government, as some political grumblers have asserted.

With the exception of the artillery and flank-companies at Halifax, the militia of Nova Scotia exhibit a most unmilitary appearance; this does not arise, however, either from moral or physical defect; for in both they are not excelled by any equal body of men in Europe. The English retain all the pride and courage of Old England's yeomanry. The Celts of Nova Scotia are as brave and hardy as the Highlanders of Caledonia; and crossing the Atlantic Ocean has destroyed neither the fire nor the gallantry of the Hibernians; while the American loyalists and

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natives of the provinces possess all the spirit that holds danger in contempt.

Since the peace, the militia musterings are merely meetings, where little more is done than calling over the roll; and as to the training, it is absolutely the very acme of burlesque. The arms have been called in, and lodged in depots to rust at Halifax; a very injudicious measure, although resorted to for their preservation, as many were said to be lost, and even sold by the militia-men, to whom they were issued. Fire-arms would, very likely, be frequently carried away by those who removed from one province to another, and used on all occasions in the woods, along the shore, or on board vessels; but preventing the inhabitants from doing so, can only be considered as a stretch of bad policy, for the purposes of ill-judged economy.

The skill which the militia-men of North America attain in the use of fire-arms, merely by the practice of shooting wild beasts and birds, causes them to be more dreadful enemies in a wooded country, than any troops in Europe would be; and it is absurd to check the means of acquiring such experience, by calling in the fire-arms. The effect of the inattention to military training would be felt at the sudden commencement of a war; but, in a short period, the personal spirit of brave men, defending their property and families, would render the militia of Nova Scotia more formidable to invaders than most men imagine. Yet, it should be the policy of Government to encourage a spirit for military training among the

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inhabitants, in a manner the least inconvenient to men in their habitual pursuits.

The provincial revenue is raised wholly by trifling impost duties, principally on wines and ardent spirits; which, however, amount to about L.60,000, and which is appropriated by the legislature nearly in the following proportions; varying, however, according to contingent circumstances:—

Administration of the Government, . . .	L.2,800
Expenses of the Legislature, ...	3,000
Judges and Courts of Justice, ...	5,000
Roads, ...	30,000
Militia, ...	2,000
Security of Commerce and Navigation, . .	3,000
Schools, ...	3,500
Public Buildings, about	10,000
Expenses of collecting the Revenue, . . .	1,500
Incidental expenditure, ...	8,200
	L.60,000

Part of this revenue is collected by the custom-house, the rest by the collector of excise. The officers of his majesty's customs, instead of the fees they formerly received, have now fixed salaries.

The collector at Halifax has L.2000 per annum, the comptroller L.1000, and the other officers are paid in proportion. By an act of the Legislative Assembly, in 1829, the province voted L.7444, 18s. 9d. in one general sum to his majesty's government, for the custom service; being L.1870, 14s. 8d. less than the amount stated by the crown. The scale of appropriation was left to the commissioners of the customs.

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It must be confessed that the Provincial Assembly appears, at least on comparison, to be sufficiently liberal in the sum voted for the custom-house service.*

* The Governor of New York receives only half the salary that the Collector of Halifax does; but this again is reducing economy to meanness.

The quit-rents on all lands granted by the crown, of two shillings per hundred acres, if it be ever collected, will form the only tax payable to the crown. The amount of the quit-rents would not, probably in time, form a burden of itself very difficult to pay; but the collection of this rent would most certainly produce distress and general discontent in the province. Those who may be acquainted with the extraordinary distress that was created by the proceedings instituted by the orders of Mr Smith, in the winter of 1823, in Prince Edward Island, when a quit-rent of only two shillings had, in numerous instances, been collected at an expense of L.8 to L.15 to the individual from which it was claimed, must declare their opposition to the collection of quit-rent in British America. And if the British government, after having tacitly relinquished their collection for so many years, now insist on their payment, it will be better for the colonial legislature to purchase them by an annual grant to the crown. The sum of L.2000 per annum, as the price of these quit-rents, is required as a commutation for the quit-rent.

This sum appears to me to be rather too much for Nova Scotia; for, although its condition is certainly prosperous, yet as there is so great a part of the colony occupied by water and rocks, it would follow that a large proportion of this grant, in lieu of quit-rents, would, in fact, be a tax on its trade and fisheries, and not on the land.

Trifling poor-rates are collected, for the support of a few paupers. In the country, if there be any poor, they are placed to board among those who will take them at the lowest price. Care, however, is generally taken that they are committed only to those who will maintain them properly. A provincial statute requires

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that each inhabitant, from sixteen to sixty, should perform three or four days' labour, either personally or by substitution, on the public roads; this is certainly no grievance.

The public burdens of the province are in fact so light, and the trifling impost duties, which are confined to articles of luxury, so unimportant, that we can in no country find the inhabitants placed, in these respects, under more favourable circumstances. Although the salaries of public officers in the United States are low beyond precedent, there are innumerable public exactions, which bear heavily on the citizens, that the inhabitants of British America never feel.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Description of Halifax—Society—Manners and Amusements—Public Establishments—Institutions—Intercourse with Europe, United States, West Indies, and Northern Colonies—Trade—Chamber of Commerce—Whale Ships, &c.

ON the south-east coast of Nova Scotia, in latitude 44° 40′ N., and longitude 63° 40′ W., and nearly equidistant from its extreme points, Halifax harbour enters the province. It is at all seasons accessible, and its navigation scarcely ever interrupted by ice. On a small island off Sambro Head, on the west side of the entrance, stands a lighthouse; and another light has lately been established on Sherbrooke Tower, which stands on Magher's Beach, a spit extending from MacNab's Island; when this light can be seen, ships are at a safe distance from a dangerous shoal called Thrum Cap, and may run into the harbour without fear. The bay, from which the entrance of the harbour leads, is formed between Sambro Head and Devil's Island. There are four islands still farther in; on the smallest of these, which is nearly opposite the town, there are batteries strongly mounted, and several other fortifications command the harbour. The passage to the harbour on the west side of MacNab's Island, is that for large ships; the other, on the east, has only water for schooners.

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There is sufficient water for ships of war between MacNab's Island and George's Island. The main channel is guarded by York Redoubt, Sherbrooke Tower, and several other batteries. The eastern passage is defended by a strongly built stone fort, called East Battery. Carrol's or Macnamara's Island is fertile, with picturesque clumps of wood growing on it. MacNab's Island, containing about 1000 acres of good land, is under partial cultivation, and prettily wooded.

The town of Halifax is built on the east side of a peninsula, on the declivity of a hill, which rises gradually from the water on the west side of the harbour. In length it is rather more than two miles, and about half a mile in breadth. The streets are wide, and cross each other, generally at right angles,—but that only next the water is paved; most of the others, however, are Macadamised, and from the ascent and nature of the ground, usually dry; but in summer, the dust, which is often whirled furiously along by the winds, is exceedingly disagreeable.

The appearance of Halifax from the water, or from the opposite shore, is prepossessing and peculiar. The front of the town is lined with wharfs, alongside of which vessels of all sizes, and variously rigged, are incessantly discharging or loading their cargoes.* Warehouses rise over the wharfs, as well

* When first at Halifax, a short time after the war, I went down to the wharfs to see the hull of a foreign ship, I think Dutch, apparently of more than 1000 register tons, which was captured by some of our cruisers. This huge vessel was hauled, by the person

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as in different parts of the town; and dwelling-houses and public buildings rear their heads over each other as they stretch along, and up the sides of the hill. The spires of different churches; the building above the town, in which the town clock is fixed; a rotunda-built church; the signal-posts on Citadel Hill; the different batteries; the variety of style in which the houses are built, some of which are painted white, some blue, some red, and some built of brick and stone, intermixed with those built of wood; rows of trees showing themselves in different parts of the town; his majesty's ships moored opposite the dock-yard; the establishments and tall sheers of the latter; the merchant ships under sail, at anchor, or alongside the wharfs; the wooded and rocky scenery of the background; with the islands, and the small pretty town of Dartmouth on the eastern shore; are all objects which strike most forcibly on the view of a stranger when sailing up the harbour.

The number of dwelling-houses is estimated at about 1700, the public buildings 82, and the population, exclusive of the army and navy,* about 16,000.

who purchased her, until well grounded alongside of a wharf, and then roofed over the deck, in the same way as the warehouses are. Doors were cut in the side, and the spaces between decks, and under the roof, converted into warehouse rooms, below which there were stables for cart and truck horses; and if I recollect well, there was a tannery in one end. This vessel was afterwards burnt by accident, when it was discovered she had a double set of timbers.

* There is generally the greater part of three regiments, a company of artillery, a numerous staff, and some ships of war, at Halifax.

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The houses are very irregularly built, some being one, some two, some three, and a few four stories high. Handsome stone and brick buildings are built and furnished in the English style; and many of the houses built of wood, are really more imposing in their appearance, being large, neatly finished, and painted white, than the best stone houses. The wooden houses are lathed, plastered, papered, and finished within, in the same manner as stone or brick houses. Fires have at different times destroyed very many of the old wooden buildings; and although individuals were, in consequence, subjected to great loss and inconvenience, yet the town, from having stone or brick houses built on the site of the former wooden ones, has greatly improved.

About a mile above the upper end of the town, the harbour becomes very narrow, but again widens into a splendid sheet of water, called Bedford Basin, the surrounding scenery of which, although not highly romantic, is agreeably varied, and beautifully picturesque. This basin forms a harbour, in which a thousand ships can anchor with shelter and safety. On the west side, the late Duke of Kent, when commanding in North America, erected a handsome residence, with corresponding out-houses, offices, &c.; and the grounds, naturally beautiful, he laid out with much taste. The road to Windsor, from which the great western road branches, leads past this villa.

The north-west arm, which branches off from the main entrance of the harbour, is about four miles long, something less than half a mile in width, with

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ten to twenty fathoms depth of water, and with safe anchorage. It winds in the rear of the town, until within half a mile of Bedford Basin, forming the land between it and the harbour into the peninsula of Halifax. A small island lies near the mouth of the north-west arm, within which a chain was stretched across, during the war, to prevent the entrance of hostile vessels. Near the head lies Melville Island, connected to the peninsula by a bridge. On this islet are buildings, now decaying fast, in which prisoners of war were lodged. Opposite, among the bushes, are the humble *tumuli*, which swell over the remains of those whom the mere game of war deprived of liberty, and whose destiny it was to be only released from captivity, by the universal liberator—*Death*.

Several streams issue into the north-west arm, on one of which there are mills built. The formation of the Peninsula of Halifax, is little more than a vast rock of hard bluish clay slate, impregnated with iron, which imparts to nearly all the water a hard metallic taste. There are, however, a few wells of good water. Great labour and expense have at length succeeded in converting most of the peninsula, from naked rocks, to fertile fields; but the greatest part of the soil has been formed by artificial means.

At the south end of the town, is the "Government House," so named, from being the residence of the governor of the province. The appearance of this structure is baronial, rather than elegant; the stone of which it is built, though tolerably well polished,

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is of a sombre colour, which imparts a gloomy, and rather antique character to the building.

The most splendid edifice in North America is, certainly, the "Province Building" of Nova Scotia. It stands nearly in the centre of Halifax, in the middle of a square, which is enclosed with handsome iron railing. The size of this superb building is at present perhaps too great for the business of the province; but it must be considered built as well for the use of posterity, as for that of the present day; and that it is situated in the metropolis of a country, the population of which is multiplying rapidly. Its length is 140 feet, breadth 70 feet, and the height of the walls 45 feet. Its plan combines elegance with strength and utility. The columns are of the Ionic order; and the beautiful freestone, quarried in the province, of which it is built, is finely polished. It contains chambers for the Council and Legislative Assembly; the Supreme Court, with its appendant offices; and also, all the provincial offices, as the treasurer's, surveyor-general's, colonial secretary's, &c. &c.; the Halifax public library, &c.

The admiral's house is a plain stone building, at the north end of the town, and on an eminence above the dock-yard, commanding a view of the harbour, telegraphs, and shipping. It is appropriated for the residence of the admiral, for the time being, commanding the squadron on the American station. There is also a respectable large wooden building at the south end of the town, for the use of the military commandant. The north and south barracks, built

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also of wood, are sufficiently extensive to accommodate three regiments. Connected with the barracks is an excellent library, for the use of the military, for which they have principally to thank the Earl of Dalhousie. The other government buildings are, commodious ordnance and commissariat stores; the military hospital, a large respectable building, erected under the direction of the late Duke of Kent; the dock-yard, &c. The naval hospital was burnt down some time ago, and nothing has yet been built to replace it.

His majesty's dock-yard in Halifax is the most respectable establishment of the kind out of England. Its plan is extensive, and embraces, within the stone wall which surrounds it on the land side, all that is useful and convenient for repairing and refitting the largest ships.* Attached to it is the residence of the commissioner, a respectable-looking house. Never was there a more egregious measure entered upon, than that of removing the greater part of the naval stores from Halifax, for the purpose of establishing

* A gentleman, connected with the establishment, politely showed me, in November 1828, through all the extensive ranges of store-rooms connected with the dock-yard. Every article within them was arranged in the most orderly manner, in respective apartments; and the rooms were in the best possible condition for preserving all kinds of naval stores from decay. Some cordage, of a size that did not happen to suit, was pointed out to me as having been twenty-five years in the store, and still in the most perfect state of preservation and strength. The climate of Bermuda destroys, on the other hand, the fibrous strength of hemp, according to the information given me, in a very short time.

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a dock-yard at Bermuda, for the use of his majesty's ships on the American station; the absurdity of which is too palpable not to be seen into at once by all who have any knowledge of both places. Halifax has the best harbour in North America, in a healthy climate, and in the centre of countries abounding in timber, and all kinds of provisions, at low prices. The Bermuda Islands, on the contrary, are little more than a cluster of rocks, in the middle of the ocean, of extremely dangerous access, covered only in detached spots with a scanty soil; and where, besides the frequently unhealthy state of the climate, provisions, and almost every thing else, are only obtained at exorbitant prices.* Natural obstacles of great magnitude must also be removed from the site of the dock-yard at Bermuda, before it can, in any respect, answer the intended purpose. The attendant expense will be enormous.

The Episcopal church (St Paul's) is a large and handsome-looking edifice, with a tall spire. The interior has much the appearance of a large modern church in England. It has a good, but not very powerful, organ. The rotunda-built church, at the north end of the town, called Dutch-town, has a dome, and an imposing appearance; but a stranger

* Few places are more unfit for a naval hospital. Fresh meat can only be had with great difficulty, at any price. Fish is plentiful, it is true. I have frequently heard the *natives*—who, by the way, are an industrious, frugal people—say that a bit of Irish or American ham was a *dainty* only to be indulged in on rare and particular occasions.

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would more readily take it for a *circus*, or a building to exhibit a large panorama, than for a church.

The Scotch kirk, called St Andrews, is rather a plain building, with a neat spire. The new Catholic chapel is an immense stone building, erected close to the old chapel. Besides these places of worship, there are one Presbyterian meeting-house, two for Anabaptists, one Methodist, and one Sandemanian.

There is also a poor-house, and a work-house, or house of correction. In a large brick building, in which the Court of Common Pleas is held, there is also an exchange room, where the merchants meet, and in which the principal English and American papers are taken. In the Free Mason's Hall, there are assembly rooms; and at the south end of the town is the humble building at present used as a theatre.

The state of society in Halifax is highly respectable. The officers of the civil government, and of the army and navy, mix very generally with the merchants and gentlemen of the learned professions; and most of the leading residents, whether engaged in commercial or other pursuits, are men of genteel education and intelligence. These circumstances impart to the first class of society in Halifax, more refinement, more elegance and fashion, than is to be met with probably in any town in America. I will not except even Quebec or Montreal; certainly no town in the United States.

The style of living, hours of entertainment, fashions, manners, dress, are all English. Dress is fully as much attended to as in London; and many of the

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fashionable sprigs who exhibit themselves in the streets and lounging-places of Halifax, and indeed in lesser towns in British America, might even in Regent Street be said to have attained the *ne plus ultra* of "dandyism."

The amusements of Halifax are principally such as are usual in the other North American provinces; in all of which, assemblies, pic-nic parties, and amateur theatricals, form leading sources of pleasure. Annual horse races, on a respectable scale, have for some time been established; and it is remarkable, that all over America there is a general passion for this kind of diversion or amusement. Regattas, for which Halifax harbour is one of the finest in the world, have been conducted with great spirit and splendour, annually, for a few years past.* Riding, fishing, and shooting in summer, skating, and driving about cabrioles or sledges in winter, are other pleasures which are delighted in; and when the streets are covered with ice, there is not a small share of exulting pride enjoyed by him who can drive with the greatest impetuosity round a corner.

The troops generally once a-year afford the inhabitants the imposing spectacle of a sham battle.†

Excursions are also frequently made during sum-

* The officers of the army and navy engage in the regattas with great earnestness, and prepare themselves for the contests with fully as much eagerness as the civilians do, although the latter were victorious in the principal rowing match last year, (1829.)

† Note E.

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mer, by those who can afford the time and expense, to different parts of the country.

The balls, *soirées*, and dinners at Government House, and the assemblies, are conducted in the same manner and style as English etiquette and fashion have established. Those who are admitted to these, (for although private feeling may sometimes be unavoidably and unintentionally lacerated, it is necessary to mark a line of demarcation somewhere,) are the officers of the civil government, those of three regiments, artillery and staff, and gentlemen of respectability and education from among the merchants and resident inhabitants. Fancy balls, but confined to the same circles, have also been introduced.

Those delightful sources of social pleasure—small evening parties at the houses of private families—which we enjoy in England with probably much greater satisfaction and happiness than any of our various public amusements, are, as respects America, more perfectly the property of Halifax. I believe there are few, who, having visited Halifax, and who have been at these small parties, but will say that they have insensibly forgot that they were not in England,—the language, the manners of the ladies and gentlemen, the style of dress, the dancing, the *entregent* or small talk, the apartments, the furniture, the refreshments, are all so truly alike, so much akin to England.

It would be ungallant to take leave of Halifax without mentioning what none but those whose hearts are indeed cold, if they have visited the place,

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can forget—I mean the ladies. Along with my own admiration of their beauty, accomplishments, amiability, and excellence of character, I must add, that several English gentlemen, who were at Halifax while I was there, have frequently remarked to me their admiration of the beauty, genteel manners, and intelligence of the ladies. These gentlemen, I may also observe, were men of liberal education, well acquainted with the world, and in the habit of mixing with fashionable society in Europe. It may appear presumptuous to add farther, that in the small but neat theatre at Halifax, more genteel and beautiful ladies may be seen, than among the same number in the boxes of any of the London or provincial theatres. We may account for it from there being in reality a greater number of respectable inhabitants in Halifax, according to its population, than in the towns of this country. In Halifax there are few labourers or manufacturers, and even the labouring people, by having greater means, are always better dressed than in England. In regard to the gentlemen of Halifax, and particularly those who have been born and educated in the province, I only record the opinion of other travellers, as well as my own, when I state, that, at the bar and in the pulpit, as merchants and as private gentlemen, we discover the natives of Nova Scotia, with few exceptions, to be men of superior attainments; and we must ascribe this principally to the careful provision that has been long made for the education of youth. Many circumstances also cherish and maintain among them

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endearments and associations connected with the mother country. The anniversaries of the titular saints of each of the three kingdoms are also celebrated at Halifax, with much spirit and cordiality; and, let indifferent spirits or cold hearts say what they may, there are but few indeed of those born in the British Isles, or of their offspring, who, when abroad, forget the associations and warm feelings of the heart, which filial regard and a lingering fondness for the United Kingdom, in spite of circumstances, inevitably nourish and preserve.*

The officers of his majesty's civil list, and those of the army and navy, prefer Halifax, I believe, to any other town in America. They soon find themselves at home among the kind and hospitable inhabitants of the place; and I have never met an officer elsewhere, who was at Halifax for any time, who did not

* On my dining as a guest with the North British Society, on St Andrew's day, (1828,) I was particularly pleased with the animated but orderly enthusiasm which prevailed. An old Scotchman in humble life, who had been for thirty years messenger to the Society at Halifax, and who resigned, in consequence of his age, that evening to a more able-bodied man, interested me exceedingly. When he drank to those around the board on the occasion of taking his departure, and on his own health being drunk as a faithful messenger, the old man's face seemed reanimated by the return of youthful vigour while he walked round the room behind our chairs. On the same occasion, several songs were sung, which were written by the natives of the colony, sons of Scotchmen, and educated in the province. Some of these I have copies of; and, as far as my judgment can appreciate, they possess great merit, particularly two or three written by a young gentleman, a member of the court in one of the counties.

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speak with enthusiasm of the place. The excellent library established by the Earl of Dalhousie, affords also to the military a variety of standard and popular works, which, at such a distance from England, to gentlemen whose profession can barely allow them to carry along their necessary luggage when travelling, must be considered a great advantage.

There are six or seven weekly papers and a monthly magazine, and one or two circulating libraries; and also one or two booksellers, the principal one of whom imports from England and the United States the most approved new publications. There is also a livery-stable or two, the best of which is kept by a negro.

It is in the streets of Halifax that we most forcibly feel that we are not in Europe. In place of the huge horses and carts and frocked carters of England, we observe a thing, convenient enough in its way, called a truck, which forms a kind of inclined plane to roll puncheons of rum and molasses on it, with a half-starved horse, and generally a negro driver. We see few four-wheeled carriages—no hackney coaches; but many drive their own gigs in summer, and almost every one has a horse and sledge, or cabriolet, for winter amusement; waggons coming in with hay from the country, driven by the tall lank sons of the farmers, clad in short light-blue jackets, grey or blue trowsers, and straw hats; a parcel of lazy, miserable negroes, with some wild fruits or brooms to sell, from Hammond's plains; the proud strut of the well-fed and well-dressed negro servant;

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a group of Micmac Indians, probably drunk, with their squaws and children; here and there an Acadian Frenchman and his wife, decently and simply dressed, the latter much in the same fashion as that of her ancestors a century and a half past;—all these, in contrast with brilliantly dressed military officers, on horseback or on foot, the golden epaulets, cocked hats, and blue uniform of the navy, and fashionably dressed resident gentlemen and strangers, the exquisite dandy, groups of soldiers, and sailors belonging to the men-of-war or to the merchant ships, may give some idea of the population that animate the streets of Halifax.

The intercourse between Halifax and Europe is regular and certain, either by the government packets to Falmouth, which now proceed once a-month from Halifax direct, or by the Halifax Packet Company's ships to Liverpool.

The latter is by far the most preferable conveyance, the ships being large, substantial, well equipped, and commanded by experienced officers; and considering the comfortable accommodations, and the sumptuous living, the fare (L.25) is cheap.*

There are sailing packets regularly established between Halifax and Boston; and vessels sail every week to New York and the West Indies. The government packets go to and return from Bermuda; and during summer, vessels sail regularly to Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, Pictou, Miramichi,

* Note F.

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Bay de Chaleur, and Quebec, and nearly all the year round to Newfoundland and New Brunswick. There are steam-packets about to be established between Halifax and Quebec, which will be attended with very great advantage and convenience.

Although resident housekeepers live in the most comfortable manner at Halifax, the notorious badness of the inns or boarding-houses does not afford the same comfort to transient residents. The attendance is bad in the extreme, the beds far from being good; and, although the tables are plentifully loaded with good things, yet altogether, both the inns and boarding-houses, or when you dine at a *table d'hôte*, although equally expensive, are beyond description inferior to those of Quebec or Montreal. A man who understood the business, and who would establish an hotel in the English style, with proper attentive waiters, might, with good management, make a fortune at Halifax.*

The climate of Halifax is perhaps more foggy, but not so rainy, as that of England, and much hotter in summer and colder in winter. The fogs, which are disagreeable, but not unwholesome, are occasioned by its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, and only occur when the winds blow from the sea.

Halifax has, since its first settlement in 1749, continued to be a place of considerable importance, not only as a rendezvous for his majesty's ships, and as

* Since I left Halifax, I am informed that a very good boarding-house, or *table d'hôte*, has been established.

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the head-quarters of the troops on the establishment of the lower American provinces, but also as the centre of a profitable fishery and trade.

There are certain points on the face of the globe, which, by their position, seem intended by nature for the site of great storehouses, or places wherein to deposit the productions of one country for the purpose of distributing them again to others. In respect to British America, Halifax must doubtless be considered the great and most fit depot for all general purposes, especially during the winter months.

During the last war, the vessels and property captured from the enemy on the coast of North America, were chiefly sent into Halifax for condemnation. At that time, money was exceedingly abundant; all who possessed even common sagacity accumulated considerable sums, and Halifax became the theatre of incessantly active enterprise and commercial speculations. But the merchants and traders generally, as well as others, became at the same time so far intoxicated with, or lured by, the gains of the moment, that they apparently forgot, or at least did not stop to consider, that, according to the common order of things, a change must inevitably take place that would speedily destroy the then sources of wealth. They accordingly entered into many imprudent speculations, and launched into a most splendid style of living. The peace crushed both, and opened the eyes of all. Since that period, trade has been established on a more solid foundation, and conducted more prudently, and according to a more regular

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system. The commerce of Halifax is therefore, at the present time, in as prosperous a condition as that of any town in America; and it deserves to be noticed, that only one house of consequence has failed for the last twelve years.

By an order in council, it was, in 1817, declared, to a certain extent, a free port; and since then the privilege of being a free warehousing port has been extended to it. There is great activity observed, particularly about the wharfs, among all classes connected with, or employed in trade. The principal commerce of Halifax is with the West Indies, which has increased greatly since the Americans of the United States have wisely been prohibited from participating in the same trade. Next to this trade is that with Great Britain, which, in respect to the importations of British manufactures, has increased, and will still increase, prodigiously. Its commerce extends also to the continent of Europe.

A company was formed some time ago to open a trade with the East Indies; one experimental voyage to which has been accomplished, with sufficient success to warrant the prosecution of the trade. The East India Company now send a ship with teas annually to Halifax, consigned to the respectable house of S. Cunard and Company. Halifax enjoys also an important inter-colonial trade, as well as its trade with all the outports of the province. The latter receive a great part of their West India produce, and most of their British manufactures, from Halifax, which are paid for in money, fish, agricul-

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tural produce, furs, and lumber. Several vessels are also fitted out for the fisheries, which would be rapidly increased in number, were it not for the competition which we have enabled the Americans to establish and to maintain.

The exports from Halifax consist chiefly of dried codfish, pickled herrings, mackerel, and salmon; red herrings, coal, lumber, staves, cattle, butter, cheese, flour, oats, potatoes, &c., to the West Indies and the southern parts of America; and of timber, staves, deals, fish, oils, furs, &c., to Great Britain. The imports from the West Indies, &c., are rum, sugar, molasses, tobacco, &c., and all sorts of manufactured goods.

Some years ago, when the business was not so well understood in Halifax, the enterprising house of Messrs Cunard made several spirited trials in the whale-fishery, which, however, did not succeed so well as might have been expected, or as their attempts deserved. But neither they themselves nor others were to be discouraged by failures, caused more probably by accidental circumstances, than by more substantial causes, while the Americans were pursuing the whale-fishery with success and profit. A remarkably fine ship, named the Pacific, was therefore built (in 1828) for the South Sea whale-fishery, and fitted for sea at an expense of L.11,000. This vessel was equipped with stores for three years, and, manned by spirited young men belonging to the province, proceeded to the Pacific Ocean.

Another large ship was chartered by the same

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company in 1828, and equipped and fitted out for the Brasil bank; and Messrs Cunard have lately purchased a condemned sloop of war, which they have repaired, equipped, and dispatched for the South Sea whale-fishery.

The ships owned by the inhabitants of Halifax are about ninety large, square-rigged vessels, and about the same number of large schooners, with several smaller craft. The wharfs are also generally lined with coasting vessels and English and foreign ships, as well as those belonging to the port.

The articles manufactured at Halifax are as yet but few in number, and none to any great extent. Among these, two or three porter and ale breweries are the most important; and the ale, which is much like that brewed in Leith, is certainly of excellent quality. There is also a sugar refinery, on rather an extensive scale; rum, gin, and whisky distilleries; soap and candle manufactories; tanneries; a paper mill, and several tobacco manufactories. An iron foundery has lately been established opposite the town at Dartmouth.

There were several attempts made to establish a public bank at Halifax, under a legislative charter, but the different bills brought under the consideration of the House of Assembly were so thoroughly tortured during their progress, that their vital principles were completely destroyed, while an overwhelming load of restrictions rendered them impracticable. The consequence was, that the merchants themselves have established, independently, a private bank, which

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is considered perfectly safe, and which affords facilities, some think too freely, others not sufficiently so, to the commercial interests of the province.

The merchants of Halifax, generally speaking, connect prudence and active perseverance with enterprise. They are by no means backward in undertaking whatever affords a fair prospect of gain. Some of the old moneyed men are, it is true, certainly accused, and, it must be admitted, with some justice, of declining to co-operate in any measure in which there is the barest possibility of risk.

The line of Liverpool packets, the whale ships, the bank, and that great undertaking, the Shubenacady Canal, have all been projected, and are all conducted and supported by the energies of associations, formed in the province.

In 1826, a company was formed to open a canal navigation from Halifax harbour to the Basin of Minas, along the line of the Shubenacady Lake and rivers, a distance of about fifty-four miles; and the legislature voted L.15,000 in aid of this spirited undertaking. This canal will soon be completed, and Halifax must derive great advantage from it, to which it will convey the agricultural productions of the fertile districts of the Basin of Minas, as well as various kinds of lumber, and probably coal and other minerals, which abound along its banks. It is sixty feet broad at top, thirty-six at the bottom, and will float vessels drawing eight feet. It is intended to have small steam-boats on it to tow vessels along.

The Chamber of Commerce of Halifax, consisting

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of fifteen members, elected by ballot from the general subscribers of the Commercial Society, has imparted a spirit of energy to the trade of the province, unknown before its establishment.

The Commercial Society was formed in March 1822, by agreement, signed by the members, who are the principal merchants; and the Chamber of Commerce may be considered as a committee acting for the Commercial Society. Their business consists of taking into consideration every subject connected with the trade of the province; corresponding with the Chambers of Commerce of other colonies on all commercial matters; managing the funds of the society; presenting petitions to the House of Assembly; making necessary by-laws, and collecting all the information respecting the colonial trade. They certainly do not neglect the duty confided to them; and to this circumstance we may, in a great measure, attribute the superior intelligence of the merchants of Halifax, in respect to all commercial matters.

Opposite to Halifax stands the pretty little town of Dartmouth. This place was first laid out and settled the year after Lord Cornwallis founded Halifax; but in 1756 it was destroyed, and most of the inhabitants massacred by the Indians. Twenty-eight years after, a colony of loyalists from Nantucket, who were brought up principally to the South Sea whale fishery, were induced to settle here by government, and L.1500 given to establish them. These people followed the whale-fishery for eight years with great success; but the failure of an extensive and

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speculative mercantile house at Halifax, arrested their enterprise, and reduced them to poverty. Liberal offers were then made them, through an agent, by the merchants of Milford in Wales, which induced them to leave the province, and Halifax, consequently, lost the benefit that would have been derived from a probably very extensive and profitable whale-fishing.

Dartmouth has since that time, however, increased, slowly indeed, in population and in buildings. It has at present a neat church and school; and at a pretty cove close to it, the packet-ships that are established between Liverpool and Halifax, and the whale ships, were built. A fine new steam-boat and several ferry-boats ply between Halifax and Dartmouth, where the distance across is less than a mile, and the Shubenacady Canal joins the harbour near this place. There is also a pretty good road from Dartmouth, leading to the great western road. Two or three spots near this place are admirably adapted for patent slips or marine railways, which, from the rise and fall of tide in the harbour of Halifax being only six or seven feet, would be found of eminent convenience in graving or repairing ships.

The lands on the Dartmouth side of the harbour are much less stubborn, and more of a sandy loam character than those on the opposite side; and the industrious Germans, who are settled along the eastern passage, have long subjected them to fair and profitable cultivation.

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CHAPTER IX.

Descriptive Sketches of the principal Settlements.

THE sea-board of the province, from Halifax to Yarmouth, like the whole of the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, presents a succession of innumerable headlands, small islands, bays, and harbours. It may be observed that nearly all the small harbours have a few inhabitants, deriving a tolerably comfortable living from the means of fishing and a little agriculture. The general character of this part of the country is rocky, often naked, and difficult of culture. But many spots of good land occur at the heads of the bays and up the rivers.

The first harbour east from Halifax is Sambro. It lies within the lighthouse, and affords good anchorage and shelter for vessels that are wind-bound after leaving Halifax. Its population are fishermen.

St Margaret's Bay lies twenty miles to the westward of Sambro. It is less than two miles at the entrance, six wide inside, and fourteen long. Its shores are indented with several fine harbours.

The soil is rocky but fertile, and many parts are subjected to profitable cultivation by the industry of the settlers, (about nine hundred,) who are the descend-

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ants of Germans and of some French Huguenots. The country surrounding this magnificent bay, as the uncultivated parts are in most places covered with woods, is picturesque and beautiful. Various streams run into this place, which abound with salmon, trout, gaspereau, &c.

Mahon Bay is separated from that of St Margaret by the lofty peninsula of Aspotogan. This bay, the scenery of which, for picturesque grandeur, is not surpassed by any landscape in America, is about ten miles broad and twelve deep; and contains within it a multitude of beautiful wooded islands, which were probably never counted, but said to exceed two hundred. Many of these are appropriated to pasturage, and admirably adapted for raising sheep. One of the largest, Tancook, has a population of about 200 inhabitants, subsisting principally by agriculture. There are many excellent harbours within this bay, and three or four rivers, on which there are several saw-mills, and two or three grist-mills.

The harbour and village of Chester is the most considerable place within this bay. It was first settled by people from New England, who afterwards abandoned the place. The Germans, who succeeded them, were industrious, and secured independence to themselves, and the prosperity of the settlement. The population of the bay amounts to about two thousand, who are chiefly employed in agriculture, and preparing lumber at the saw-mills for exportation. They own several schooners and sloops, in which they export the produce of their industry.

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Near the entrance of Mahon Bay, on the western side, lies the harbour of Lunenburg; it was formerly called Malagash or Merliguesh. After the settlement of Halifax, government held out, by proclamation, inducements to German Protestants to remove to Nova Scotia; in consequence of which, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five German and Swiss emigrants arrived at Halifax in the course of three years. Malagash was fixed upon as the most judicious place to locate them, and its name changed to Lunenburg. They were accordingly removed from Halifax to this place, and immediately commenced clearing the ground of the trees, erecting habitations, and building block-houses to defend them against the savages.

Although government supplied these people with provisions for three years, and with about seventy head of horned cattle, one thousand sheep, and one hundred pigs, and upwards of one hundred and fifty goats, yet the misery they suffered, arising from the hostility of the Indians, prevented their prosperity until 1760. They could not venture singly the least distance into the woods without being murdered; and several of these men were scalped or carried off by the savages.

From the time of the peace, which secured them against the Indians, the inhabitants of Lunenburg industriously advanced in agriculture, and such other pursuits as necessity or their means directed. They extended their improvements, erected saw and grist-mills; and all their necessary wants and comforts were considered secure, when they were once more

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reduced nearly to ruin in 1782, by the depredations of six American privateers, which entered the harbour, and plundered all the property they could lay hold of, and also compelled the inhabitants to sign a bond for the payment of a thousand pounds, to prevent the burning of the town. The peace of next year relieved them from further apprehensions, and left them to their industrious occupations.

Lunenburg at present contains about one hundred and forty dwelling-houses, besides stores, and about twelve hundred inhabitants. It is built on a most commanding situation; its harbour is about a mile in length, and has sufficient water for large vessels; its trade is not carried on with great spirit, but it is conducted with steady perseverance and economy. The smaller vessels are employed in the fisheries, the larger ones in carrying fish and lumber to the West Indies, and one or two in carrying timber to Liverpool, and bringing back salt and fishing-tackle. There are sixteen or seventeen square-rigged vessels, and several schooners and shallops, belonging to this place. The aspect of the town of Lunenburg is unlike that of the other towns in the province: the style of the houses is truly Dutch, but the outsides are generally painted either red, white, orange, or green. The arrangements of the interior, with every regard, however, to substantial comfort, are also peculiar,—strong clumsy furniture, old Dutch clocks, looking-glasses, chimney ornaments, and old pictures, which seem intended to outrage the rules of perspective, hold their position among modern English

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carpets and curtains. The close German stove, and the custom of sleeping between two feather beds, are also preserved as necessary in-door comforts; and the inhabitants are still much the same honest, industrious, and unceremonious people, that their ancestors were. They still talk German, and so do all the children; but while we cannot but regard the feeling that cherishes an affection for a language in which all their early ideas and associations have been conceived, yet, isolated as they are from the country in which it is the language of literature and science, a tenacious adherence to it will prevent their attaining the same knowledge as the other inhabitants of the province. They must, however, be considered as forming a most useful and decent portion of the population of the province, with means sufficient and ample to render their condition comfortable and happy.

La Have, a few miles to the westward, is one of the largest rivers in Nova Scotia, and is settled principally by Germans or their descendants. There are from sixteen to eighteen saw-mills, and some grist-mills on this fine river; the lands are generally good; and its harbour is the principal timber port on the coast. Several islands lie at the entrance.

Port Medway, lying some miles to the westward of this place, is also a port where timber is shipped, and on its rivers there are several saw-mills.

Liverpool is the second town in the province, and is situated on a harbour of the same name, distant eighty miles west from Halifax. It was formerly called Port Rossignol after the French gentleman

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of that name, already mentioned, who was established in this place, and driven from it during the French government. On an island at the entrance, there is an excellent lighthouse; but the harbour, which never freezes over, and which in other respects is convenient and safe, has a bar across the entrance, covered only with nine feet water at ebb, and fifteen feet at full tide; there is safe anchorage, however, three miles below, at Herring Cove. Those who first settled in this place came from New England: like others at that period, their miseries were for some years severe; persevering intrepidity, however, overcame great difficulties, and secured their independence. It is at present the most imposing country town in the province. The houses are not only large and handsome, but the interior arrangements are comfortable and respectable. It has a court-house, jail, fort, an English church, one Methodist, and one Baptist meeting-house, a respectable grammar school, about two hundred private buildings, and a great number of wharfs. The inhabitants have from fifty to sixty vessels, principally ships, brigs, and large schooners, besides shallops and small craft. They trade with England and the West Indies, and several schooners go to the fisheries at Labrador. There is a cove and fine beach at Coffin's Island, where most of their fish is dried.

During the last war, this place fitted out more privateers than all the other parts of the province. They were very successful in making captures, which produced a temporary source of wealth, that

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probably did no real good to the inhabitants: certainly none, when we are made acquainted with the number of widows, and of fatherless children, that became such in consequence.

The lands adjoining the town, and for a long way back, are remarkably stubborn and rocky; but the industry of the inhabitants has subjected many spots to cultivation. The salmon-fishery, though much decreased; the convenience of the place for the cod, herring, and mackerel-fisheries; the lumber, for export, either in square logs, or in deal boards, or scantling, which is flooded down from the interior country by the river Mersey and its lakes, are means abundantly sufficient to secure the prosperity of this place. There is a communication by water, with little interruption, for canoes, from Liverpool to Annapolis, by the river Mersey and a chain of lakes. The Indians frequently cross the country by this route. Above the town there is a bridge over the river, built on piles, and nearly four hundred yards long; it is the only toll in the province. There is another bridge of one hundred yards, over the river at the cataract, a few miles farther up.

Shelburne Harbour, perhaps the finest in America, lies about forty miles west of Liverpool; there are several small settlements in this distance; and on Roseway, or M'Nutt's Island, at the entrance of Shelburne, there is a good lighthouse. The settlement of this place was attempted by several persons connected with one Alexander M'Nutt, who planted themselves on the western shore, and piously gave it

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the name of New Jerusalem. They wholly failed in the terms of settlement, and the lands reverted to the crown.

The lands surrounding Shelburne are rocky, and difficult to cultivate. The river Roseway, which falls into it, issues from a chain of lakes in the interior; and although it is often broken in its course, oak and juniper, of durable quality for ship-building, are floated down its stream. Various kinds of fish frequent this harbour; and near its entrance an extensive fishery might be established.

The celebrity of Shelburne, however, rests not on its present, but its past condition. In 1783, twelve thousand loyalists arrived from the United States, and injudiciously fixed on a spot near the head of Port Roseway for a town, which governor Parr named Shelburne. Its situation is certainly pleasant and well sheltered, and the water deep. But being ten miles from the entrance, it was too far from the fisheries: wanting roads and navigable rivers, it had no communication with the interior; and the adjoining country being uncultivated and without inhabitants, it could only be supplied with grain, meat, and vegetables, from a great distance. The harbour also freezes over during winter.

A spacious town was, however, immediately laid out, the streets opened, and magnificent houses, capable of lodging all the civilians; and barracks for several regiments of soldiers, were erected. In short, a splendid town rose instantaneously, as if reared by the wand of a magician, rather than by

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the labour of masons and carpenters. Wanting, however, those advantages without which no town can thrive, Shelburne, as might reasonably be expected, declined rapidly.

These men were infatuated with the beauty of the harbour alone; they knew not then the inconvenience of its being remote from all the other settlements; their previous pursuits unfitted them for the incessant labours of fishing or farming; their wealth was acquired either by commerce, or it descended to them by easier channels; neither their constitutions nor their ideas were calculated to surmount the difficulties which were inevitably connected with their situation; yet they vainly imagined that splendid buildings and elegant society would attract the intrepid and the industrious to their town from all parts of the province: that it would become the metropolis of Nova Scotia, sink Halifax into obscurity, and command a great trade. Not one of these brilliant expectations was realized. These respectable but ill-fated men dissipated property and money, amounting in value to half a million, in two years. Most of them returned afterwards to the United States; the remainder transplanted themselves to other parts of the province.

The present population of Shelburne, and its environs, is not considered more than five hundred. The ruined state of the place—streets overrun with grass, long weeds, and shrubs; tall houses, with broken windows, the floors fallen in, doors ajar, or broken off their hinges, ceiling broken, and walls

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moulding or covered with green moss; a churchyard, now seldom disturbed by the grave-digger, and a *tout ensemble* picture of desolation, present characteristics which would seem to mark a city depopulated by plague or famine, rather than a town once the abode of wealthy and genteel families. The interior country is said to be fertile in many places, and watered with many fine streams. There are also several small lakes lying between it and St Mary's Bay.

A few miles west of Shelburne Harbour is Cape Negro Harbour, sheltered by a high island of the same name. It forms the *embouchure* of Clyde river, which, next to Annapolis river, is considered the most beautiful in the province, and winds forty miles through the country. It is finely wooded, and has a Welsh agricultural settlement on its banks, but many of the inhabitants follow fishing as well as farming.*

Barrington Harbour lies within Cape Sable Island. It was first settled by the French; afterwards by whale fishers from Nantucket, who again left it; and then by fishermen from Cape Cod, who remained. Cod-fishing has from that period been their chief pursuit. There are about seventy vessels owned at the village or township of Barrington.

The soil is barren, but several rivers, issuing from lakes, run into the harbour, by which timber for ship-building is conducted from the interior. The inhabitants attend partially to grazing and agriculture.

Pubnico, which is an excellent safe harbour, lies

* Note G.

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some miles to the north, after passing several rugged islands, towards the Bay of Fundy. Its inhabitants, as well as those of the neighbouring village at Eel Brook, are principally industrious well-behaved Acadians. The right to the eel-fishery was long a matter of great dispute between them and the Indians.

At the east side of Townshend, or Argyle Bay, lies Argyle, within the Tusket Isles, probably three hundred in number, which form innumerable harbours. Tusket River spreads into different branches, passes through lakes, and affords excellent situations for farms and improvements. This is a very valuable and beautiful part of the province, and a fine agricultural district commences here, which extends to the Basin of Minas.

The first settlers after the banishment of the Acadians from Tusket, were loyalists and disbanded soldiers, who suffered the evils of poverty for many years; but they, or their descendants, have now good farms, well stocked with cattle. The Acadian settlers at Tusket, about two hundred families, are an orderly people, in tolerably good circumstances. They have a neat chapel, amidst a beautiful grove of oak-trees, in which the Abbé Segoigne officiates occasionally.

At the harbour of Jebogue there is a populous settlement; the inhabitants are the descendants of people from New England, who removed there on account of its immense marsh, and its convenience for the fisheries. It was previously settled by Acadians.

Yarmouth, or Cape Fourchè Harbour, is the principal and most thriving place in this part of the pro-

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vince. Its harbour is safe, and the channel deep, up to the town or village of Yarmouth; but when it ebbs, there remain extensive mud flats between the channel and the shore, which render it disagreeable, and even difficult, to land until the tide covers them. This is indeed common to some of the finest harbours, in other respects, in America. Some miles up the river, near the falls or rapids, is a very pretty village called Milburn. The interruption of the navigation in the river, occasioned by this fall, was tried to be obviated by means of a lock, but this has been abandoned. Yarmouth and its neighbourhood contain an industrious population of about four thousand five hundred inhabitants, who possess about seventy vessels, and large stocks of cattle. This part of the country is remarkably beautiful; and the scenery, marked with hills, woods, rivers, and a vast number of lakes, is exceedingly picturesque. The climate is also more temperate than in the other parts of the province.

St Mary's Bay is a spacious inlet, about thirty-five miles deep, and from four to ten miles broad. Cape St Mary's, on the south, and Brier Island, on the north, are the points that form its entrance. Brier Island, on which there is a miserable light-house, Long Island, in the same range, and a peninsula called Digby Neck, separate it from the Bay of Fundy. These places are all rocky, and their soil appears forbidding, but they were settled many years ago by industrious loyalists, who follow fishing and farming. There is a safe channel between Brier Island and

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Long Island, and another between the latter and the land. These islands lie in a range with the peninsula, and the channels, or guts, passing obliquely between them, occasion the whole to appear, when sailing up the Bay of Fundy, as a connected country from Annapolis Gut, or rather Patrick's Hole near it, to Brier Island. The lands of the peninsula, on being subjected to cultivation, are much more fertile than they appear to be.

At the head of the bay there is a very large marsh; and the shores, to the pretty village of Weymouth, twelve miles below at Sissiboo river, are settled by farmers; opposite to this settlement a town was laid out, and named New Edinburgh, by Governor Parr, which, like many others similarly planned, has never been built.

The Sissiboo is a beautiful rapid river, which receives the waters of several lakes and smaller streams; but it is only navigable for four or five miles from the sea.

Along the south side of St Mary's Bay, extending nearly thirty miles towards Yarmouth, lies Clare, which contains a population of about four thousand four hundred Acadians, the descendants of those neutrals who were formerly banished from the province, but who returned, as soon as they were allowed, to the country dear to their hearts from early affection. While in exile, they often visited Nova Scotia in small shallops, which they built at Massachusetts; and on being allowed, after repeated applications for leave, to return, they immediately removed to this

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part of the country, where they have settled and prospered. They certainly occupy a fine portion of the province, the lands of which are fertile, and on the shores of which the sea throws up abundant manures to enrich it when necessary. Fish also swarm round the shores; and although the Acadians principally depend upon agriculture, they are also fishermen occasionally, and carry the overplus produce of the soil and fishing across the Bay of Fundy to sell at St John's. All their wants are easily supplied; and, happy, contented, and unambitious, retaining the habits and customs, language and religion, of their fathers, they seem to have nothing to wish for, and thus probably enjoy as much happiness as human nature will admit.

The main post road leading from Annapolis to Yarmouth passes through Clare. There are two chapels, one not far from each extremity of this long settlement. The easternmost, which is the largest, will contain about two thousand five hundred persons; its altar is a very splendid one. Here lives, and here has resided for about thirty years, a man whom the demon of revolution drove from France. In that country he was born, and there did he receive that education, and acquire those manners, which, by being superinduced on a pure heart and sound head, constitute the worth of the amiable and venerable Abbé Segoigne. This excellent curé is the priest, the comforter, the lawyer, and judge of all the Acadians of Clare and Tusket. As their lawyer, or rather notary, he keeps their records, writes their deeds,

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notes, and contracts; while his opinion as their judge, and his advice as their priest and father, convince his flock of the evils of litigation, from which they are taught to fly as from pestilence. Woe be to the pockets of the lawyers of Nova Scotia, if each settlement in the province had an Abbé Segoigne for its pastor, and inhabitants that respected his advice.

Since M. Segoigne retired to this peaceable and secluded settlement, he has only been once at Halifax, and only two or three times at the adjoining town of Digby. The urbanity of manner, and the polish which distinguished the gentlemen of the old French school, are truly those of the Abbé; yet for him the world has no allurement to fascinate his thoughts from the calm, pious, cheerful, and useful life, which has diffused so much happiness among the Acadians.

All the changes, politics, and vexations of the world, are unknown to him; and he has probably no further connexion out of Clare and Tusket with his own church, than an occasional letter from the Catholic bishop of Quebec or Halifax. He speaks the Indian language fluently; and the Micmacs regard him with the utmost veneration. The greater part of his flock have been born, or have grown up, under him, while he has been among them; and a few are accompanying him in the decline of his well-spent life. To him, with reverence and love, all look up for comfort in their afflictions, for advice in their mutual difficulties, and for the settlement of their little disputes.

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One of those tremendous fires which make such fearful ravages in America, nearly destroyed the district of Clare in 1823. The chapel, and most of the houses and corn-fields, were consumed; and M. Segoigne had one of his hands severely burnt, while pushing through the fire to save the boxes which contained the land-titles, and other records of the inhabitants. This calamity was inevitably the cause of much distress and poverty, which the Acadians have since completely overcome.

Annapolis Basin is the next inlet after leaving St Mary's Bay. Its communication with the Bay of Fundy is by a narrow gut or strait, which is formed by a precipitous chasm, the appearance of which impresses the idea of a tremendous explosion having blown away the rocks and other materials which previously occupied the space now open, and which formerly maintained an unbroken coast from St Mary's Bay to the Basin of Minas. It lies nearly south from St John's River; and on entering through this strait from the Bay of Fundy, one of the most beautiful havens in America opens to view. Besides the waters of several small rivers, it receives also those of the largest in Nova Scotia, and of one of the most beautiful rivers in America, which flows and fertilizes the country for about sixty miles, in a direction nearly parallel to the Bay of Fundy.

Three miles above the lighthouse, at the entrance of the strait, on the west side, and in a most charming situation on the declivity of a hill, stands the town of Digby. It contains a court-house, church,

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Methodist chapel, and about a hundred private houses and shops. The inhabitants, who are industrious American loyalists, or their offspring, employ themselves in building vessels in the mackerel and herring-fishery, and trading in the produce of the country and imported goods. The fame of the small fat smoked or red Digby herrings, or, as they are humorously called, "Digby Chickens," has spread over the continent of America. The Indians also shoot vast numbers of porpoises about the gut.

Above Digby, a beautiful farming district named Clements, inhabited principally by loyalists and Germans, extends to Annapolis. On the opposite or north side of the basin, lies the rich and well-cultivated township of Grenville.

The town of Annapolis, once the *Port Royal* and metropolis of the province, and the oldest European settlement in North America, is situated on a point formed by the Annapolis and the little river Le Quille.

De Monts, and his associates, delighted with its situation, chose it for a place of residence in 1604; and, unlike nearly all those of the other early settlements attempted in America by Europeans, its first inhabitants succeeded, at the same time, in establishing themselves, and in securing the regards of the Indians, who continued ever friendly to the French in Acadia.

The natural beauty of the situation of Port Royal, which exhibited the primeval wildness of America in all its silvan luxuriance and solitude, was fully

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equal to all the colouring and embellishments of Lescarbot's description. Various circumstances, however, prevented its rising to the same importance as the other towns planted by France. Its vicinity to the English settlements at New York, the cupidity of the French commandants, whose object was to accumulate fortunes by the fur trade, and its changing masters so frequently, were the leading causes of it never containing more than one hundred houses, or more than one thousand two hundred inhabitants; nor is it ever likely to increase or flourish beyond the condition of a thriving and beautiful village. Halifax is, and will ever continue to be, the metropolis of Nova Scotia. Digby, which has sprung up as a town within the last fifty years, is much larger; commands the advantage of being about ten miles nearer the sea, and more contiguous to the herring-fishery within the strait; while Bridgetown, another thriving village, lately built at the head of the navigation, receives the agricultural productions of the interior, and carries them off direct, past Annapolis, to a market. The multiplicity of small towns in this, as well as in all parts of America, will ever prevent any of them attaining great prosperity or magnitude, unless it be those, like Halifax, New York, Quebec, Montreal, and St John's, which inherit from nature extraordinary and commanding advantages.

Annapolis was not only the metropolis of the province, while under the dominion of France, but continued so until the building of Halifax, in 1750. It was called Port Royal by France, and named Anna-

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polis by England, in honour of Queen Anne; during whose reign, as has been already observed, it was finally ceded to England. The first governors and their officers resided here, as often as the country changed its masters; and many of the most interesting subjects relating to the history of the province are connected with Port Royal, or Annapolis.

At present it contains about fifty or sixty good dwelling-houses, shops, stores, and out-houses; and, *cæteris paribus*, a court-house, church, Episcopal and Methodist chapels. It has also a respectable seminary of education, supported partly by L.200 from the legislature. The government buildings and fortifications are rapidly decaying and mouldering away; and, as far as common sense or utility are concerned, why should that process of nature which occasions their destruction be arrested? The Indians are no longer either powerful or ferocious; nor under the influence of men who possess the talents, or who make it a doctrine of their order, to uphold whatever they consider necessary to increase its interest or power. The Acadians are no longer the neutrals, who, with filial affection, clung, however wrongly, to the crown, which early impressions taught them to obey as a matter of duty, and as a point of faith.

The government grounds, which encompass the town, and which are not of the least utility to the crown, but which would be of great benefit to the inhabitants, if granted to farmers, or otherwise disposed of, the officers' residences, store, and barracks, might be either left as they are, or more usefully

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appropriated by selling them with the grounds they occupy, and the money applied to the use of the academy in the town.

There are two roads leading from Annapolis to Halifax. The mail road leads through some of the most flourishing settlements in the province. The other new road, opened principally with the view of settling the country, passes through the Dalhousie settlement of disbanded soldiers. The steam-packet for St John's also starts from this place twice a-week, calling at Digby; and a mail coach, built in the American style, runs three times a-week between Annapolis and Halifax. Post roads lead also from it to all the western settlements; and by the way of Yarmouth to Shelburne.

Fishes of various kinds, such as shad, bass, salmon, and particularly herring, frequent Annapolis Basin in vast shoals. They arrive at different times of the season, are of different sizes, and are principally caught in weirs, on the shore of Clements. An account of this fishery will be found where the fisheries of the province are treated of under a general head.

About seven miles from Annapolis, on a stream called Moose River, an iron-foundery was established by a company under the protection of a legislative charter. The ore is excellent, and the company have been at great expense in erecting buildings, and building a very handsome stone bridge across the river. The price of labour, and perhaps more particularly the advantage of coal, which the mining establish-

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ment at Pictou possesses, will likely prevent, at least for some time, the success of this establishment.

The river Annapolis, up to its source, presents as beautiful a country as any part of America. The Acadians, attracted by its rich alluvial lands, had extensive farms on its banks. After their removal, these places, as well as all the best lands, were rapidly settled; and rich meadows, well-cultivated fields, orchards, substantial dwelling-houses, and large barns, grist, and saw-mills, are the leading characteristics with which industry has embellished this extensive district of Nova Scotia.

About fourteen miles above Annapolis, at a bridge which crosses the river, and marks the head of its tide navigation, a pretty thriving village has sprung suddenly up within the last few years, through which the agricultural produce of the interior must naturally pass. It has already its English church, a Baptist, and a Methodist meeting-house, an academy, about sixty dwelling-houses, stores, shops, mills, taverns, and smithies.

The lands lying between Annapolis River and the Bay of Fundy, form a high ridge from Digby Gut to Minas Basin. This tract is settled by industrious families, who have in general excellent farms under fair cultivation. This district of country, about 70 miles in extent, and occupying the fronts of the townships of Grenville, Wilmot, and Aylesford, and part of Cornwallis, has no harbour on the Bay of Fundy. A pier was built at Wilmot to remedy this inconvenience, which appears to answer the purpose. The

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River Annapolis has been cleared of such obstructions as impeded the rafting of timber down to Bridgetown.

The Basin of Minas is one of the two great branches of the Bay of Fundy. It is one of the most beautiful inlets at full tide, and one of the most remarkable at low water, in North America. Its entrance is through a strait about three miles wide, with bold, abrupt shores; within which it widens to from eight to sixteen miles, and, receiving the waters of upwards of twenty rivers and streams, extends about fifty miles to the head of Cobequid Bay.

The tides at full and change, rise from fifty to sixty feet, and recede so far as to leave the beds of the rivers, with the exception of the channels that carry down the fresh water, and many miles of the shores of the basin, dry. The flood-tide rushes in with inconceivable celerity, particularly when under the influence of the winds. The phenomenon called the "Bore," is the attendant, or rather the precursor, of the flood-tide, which approaches in a line of foam, extending across the bay, about four or five feet high, and rolling over the sands at the rate of four *miles*, or more, in an hour. These tides render the navigation dangerous to strangers, who often anchor in five or six fathoms water, sometimes on the steep bank of the channel, when in five or six hours they find their vessels lying dry, and in danger of rolling over if near the edge of the flats. Those, however, who are acquainted with the Bay of Fundy, and know where to anchor until the next flood, consider these

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rapid tides very convenient, particularly when the winds are not fair.

The fertility of the alluvial lands; the rich variety of landscapes, formed by luxuriant woods, lagoons, hills, dales, bays, rivers, and headlands, with several beautiful islands on the north side; and the extensive farms, and thriving villages of this part of the province, give it a just claim to be classed with the delightful valley of Annapolis, and to be designated together, the Garden of the Province.

The shores of the Basin of Minas are parcelled off by no less than ten of those imaginary divisions called townships; and which, in all other parts of North America, have some distinct meaning; but which, in Nova Scotia, seem laid down on the map to perplex descriptions, or at least to render delineations of the country tame, tedious, and utterly uninteresting. We should describe places as we travel through them, or sail along their shores; but these townships disregard all the natural features of the country, and being merely laid down on the maps which the surveyors have in their offices, their straight lines are made to cross rivers, valleys, mountains, lakes, forests, and often through settlements, without the least courtesy to the beautiful divisions or delineations of nature.

From the high abrupt headland of Cape Blomedon (or Blow-me-down), the shores bend south for twelve or fourteen miles to Cornwallis River. Three fine rivers intervene in this distance, the lands of which are inhabited, and the marshes diked. The River

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Cornwallis, or Horton River, as it is named, from winding between these settlements, meanders, it is said, about thirty miles through a fertile and picturesque country. It is fringed with intervale land and diked marshes, which yield heavy crops. The river Gaspereau follows next, and falls into the same pretty bay, about three miles broad, as the last river. It is a rapid stream, flowing through a hilly, rugged part of the province, turning numerous grist and saw-mills, its banks well inhabited, and near its mouth skirted with valuable marshes. At the upper part there is a settlement called Canaan. Between it and the river Avon, there is another stream, called Half-way River, but properly it should retain the French name of Grand Prairie. The banks of this river were first settled by the Acadian French. Their principal village was Minas, between Grand Prè, or Grand Prairie, and the river Gaspereau. They raised dikes, and formed abbateux, which shut out the high tides of the basin from the marshes; these went to ruin after the Acadians were removed from the province.

The present inhabitants are chiefly the descendants of emigrants who were attracted to these places from Massachusetts by their great natural advantages, but more especially by the great improvements made by the banished Acadians, as well as the encouragement in the way of provisions given them by government.

From various causes, which judicious management might, it is said, have prevented, they suffered much distress for some years. No part of the province,

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however, appears to be in a more thriving condition at the present time; vast meadows, corn-fields, gardens and orchards of great extent on every farm, producing delicious apples; good houses, herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, pigs, and poultry, forming the wealth of the inhabitants. There are altogether about seven thousand two hundred and fifty acres of diked land, besides intervales and salt marshes. The Wellington Dike cost about L.21,000, and Grand Prairie about L.10,000.

On these rivers there are also the thriving villages of Horton, Cornwallis, and Kentville, having one or two grammar schools, two English churches, two Presbyterian, three Methodist, one Independent, and five Baptist meeting-houses; twenty-three grist-mills, twenty saw-mills, and four or five other mills. The population of these settlements is in number about nine thousand. The rivers abound with salmon, trout, shad, gaspereau, and smelts.

The Avon is the largest river, unless it be the Shubenacady, which falls into the Basin of Minas. It spreads into three principal branches; the Windsor or Avon, the St Croix, and the Kennetcoot, besides numerous lesser streams.

The tides of the basin flow fifteen miles up, and cover at high water its sand and mud-banks, to the height of from thirty to forty feet. On the west side of the Avon lies the thriving and beautiful settlement of Falmouth; on the east, those of Newport. The river Cock-my-Gun, branches off for some miles to the east; and, three miles farther up, the Avon receives the

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Kennetcoot, another splendid river, about thirty miles long. Four miles above, on the same side, the St Croix joins the Avon, and receives the vassal waters of numerous lakes and streams. The lands between the St Croix and Windsor River are remarkably beautiful, with luxuriant meadows and fertile uplands.

Windsor,* the shire town of the county of Hants, stands at the confluence of the Avon, Windsor, and St Croix rivers; and, except at low ebb, when the muddy bed of the rivers are exposed, it is one of the prettiest situations in the province. The Ardoise, Horton, and other highlands, form an amphitheatre, which, with the luxuriant woods, shelter the beautiful, picturesque valley of Windsor; and the rich dike-lands that fringe the St Croix and Avon rivers, have long been considered the most fertile in Nova Scotia. Along these rivers the Acadians had extensive improvements, and, previous to their banishment, they exported annually several cargos of wheat to Boston. The settlement and improvement of these lands were afterwards retarded for a long time, by injudicious grants to a few individuals. These lands, however, have gradually passed into other hands, and they have since been subdivided and cultivated. There is no bridge across the Avon at Windsor, but it is forded at low-water. Indeed, were it not for the great rise of tide, it would only be a pretty large stream. Some years ago an attempt was made, and abandoned, to

* Called Pesequid by the Acadians.

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raise funds by lottery, to erect a bridge here, which will, however, be built ere long by other means.

Windsor is a neat and pretty built town, or rather village, with a church, Roman Catholic chapel, and a Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist meeting-house; also a Court-house, and of necessity a jail. We must not forget a good hotel. The private houses, about one hundred and thirty, are prettily built, and comfortable within, with large gardens and orchards attached; and the surrounding country exhibits extraordinary beauty and fertility.

On an elevated and beautiful spot of ground, a short distance from Windsor, and forty miles by a good carriage road west from Halifax, stands the University of King's College. It has a royal charter, dated 1802, which gives to it all the privileges that are enjoyed by the universities in Great Britain and Ireland. It is liberally endowed; has a respectable library; the Archbishop of Canterbury is its patron, and the Governor, Chief-Justice, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the President, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Secretary of the Province, compose, *ex officio*, a board of governors.

There is a water communication between Windsor and New Brunswick, and that province has hitherto sent a great proportion of the students to the college. The situation of King's College has been judiciously selected, in a central point of the province, and in a beautiful and pleasant part of the country, which

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has a dry and salubrious climate. I have been informed that since the first opening of the institution, no instance of fatal sickness has occurred among the students.

A very respectable academy, built of free-stone, and called the Collegiate School, stands within the college grounds. The system of instruction at this seminary corresponds with the course of studies at the college; and this institution is in a very prosperous condition, having a numerous attendance of scholars from New Brunswick, and other places, as well as natives of Nova Scotia.

The great objection to it is, that students must subscribe to the thirty-nine articles; a monstrous regulation for a colony, the one-tenth of the inhabitants of which do not even profess to be members of the Church of England.*

The tract of country lying between the Avon and the river Shubenacady is tolerably well settled, and abounds in coal, gypsum, limestone, and slate. The river Shubenacady is a remarkably fine stream, passing through several lakes which intersect the country within a mile or two of Halifax Harbour; and which, when the canal now in rapid progress is completed, will open an inland navigation from the head of the Bay of Fundy to Halifax. Fertile and extensive intervals and diked marshes; beautiful and well-cultivated farms; excellent building free-stone, limestone, gypsum, coal, and other minerals,

* Note H.

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abound along the banks of this river, and those of its numerous fine streams and lakes.

Truro, the most beautiful village in Nova Scotia, and, as far as my impressions go, the prettiest I have seen in America, is situated on the south side of Salmon River, and at the head of the Minas branch of the Bay of Fundy. Its marshes were diked by the Acadians; and soon after the removal of those people, Truro, or Cobequid, was settled under the auspices of a Coll M'Nutt, an emigrant agent, by families from Massachusetts, who came originally from Londonderry, in Ireland. They suffered great misery for some years. This was also the case with those who settled on the opposite side of the river, where the beautiful settlement of Onslow lies.

The private houses of Truro are really imposing and handsome in appearance, and convenient and comfortable within. The inhabitants are also intelligent and industrious. There is a court-house, jail, custom-house, post-office, church, and Presbyterian meeting-house. Through it the post road from Halifax passes, and branches to Pictou, and to the settlements of Cumberland. I think I am safe in saying that the inns at Truro are equal to any I know of in the province. From the adjoining eminences there are extensive, but not sublime prospects, although the views are exceedingly pleasing, rich, and varied. The diked lands are fertile, and agriculture forms the chief employment of the inhabitants. They have oil-mills, grist-mills, saw-mills, and fulling-mills.

The settlements of Onslow, Londonderry, Economy,

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and Parsborough, occupy the northern shores of the Basin of Minas. Along this coast there are several pretty islands, and the country is interesting and tolerably well settled.

Onslow is a populous village, contains fertile lands, and one thousand four hundred acres of marsh meadows.

Londonderry was first populously settled by Acadians. Their private buildings and immense chapel were destroyed by the troops which were sent to disperse them. Its lands are richly wooded, with fertile meadows, and good uplands.

The settlement, or chain of settlements, called by the general name of Parsborough, occupies the coast of Minas Basin and the Bay of Fundy, from Economy to Point Chignecto. The lands are high, often rugged, but by no means unfertile.

The village of Parsborough, between which and Windsor a packet plies during summer, is a pretty little place, situated within a jutting, abrupt, and high headland. Good leading roads pass through these settlements, and they all appear to be in a flourishing condition.

A few miles north of Cape Chignecto, the basin so named, and sometimes called Beaubassin, forms another great branch of the Bay of Fundy, and receives several fine rivers, the largest of which, the Petit Coudiac, winds through the adjoining province. The Cumberland shores of this basin, as far as a point or ridge called on the map Boar's Back, are high, with several coves, and some alluvial

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and rough, but fertile uplands. The diked marshes and meadows along the rivers at the head of this basin, present the most fertile character imaginable. Herds of cattle, stacks of hay, large barns, and good substantial farm houses, enrich this fertile portion of Nova Scotia.

The inhabitants are Yorkshiremen, and native descendants of Americans who left Massachusetts before the Revolution. They prefer grazing to raising grain, and send butter and cheese in great quantities to Halifax and St John's.

The river Missiquash, on the north side of which stood Fort Beau Sejour (now Fort Cumberland), and on the other was afterwards built Fort Lawrence, bounds the north-western extremity of Nova Scotia, which it here separates from New Brunswick.

The proposed canal from River Au Lac to Tidnish River, which would intersect the imaginary line which divides Nova Scotia from New Brunswick, and open a direct intercourse by water between the Gulf of St Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy, would doubtless be attended with great benefit and convenience, by obviating a circuitous and dangerous navigation. The best line has been surveyed by Mr Hall, a skilful engineer. The length is about eleven miles, and the expense, to make a canal navigable for vessels drawing eight feet water, estimated at about L.70,000.

The Bay of Vert is the most northerly inlet and boundary of Nova Scotia. Entering from the Gulf of St Lawrence, it contracts the country to an isthmus

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of about ten miles over to Cumberland Basin. This bay is about twelve miles long, and from five to seven broad, with its shores flat and muddy, but pretty thickly settled. Nova Scotia claims but the south side.

River Phillip, a long winding stream, is the next place of any consequence on the Gulf shore, but not navigable for large vessels. It abounds with salmon, gaspereau, and other fish; and its fine lands have been long settled; but the lumber business has been too much followed, to the detriment of agricultural improvement. Several salt springs are found near it.

Pugwash River, or, as it has lately been called, Waterford, has the same *embouchure* as river Phillip, and is a fine river, navigable for large vessels; but having a bar, and a very crooked channel, a pilot is necessary. The timber trade, which has diverted the inhabitants from agriculture, has also retarded cultivation, and presents a striking contrast to the beautiful lands settled by Scotch Highlanders, lying along the shore between this place and the next harbours. The latter people, as well as those at Fox Harbour, were hardy, industrious emigrants from the Hebrides; ignorant, however, of improved methods of cultivating the soil, yet by adhering to rural labour, they have not only obtained a better livelihood than the lumberers, but they have good farms, with extensive clearings, which secure them against the evils of poverty.

Remsheg, which has lately changed its name to Port Wallace, is a good harbour, with two or three

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small rivers, and one of considerable length falling into it. It was first settled with loyalists, some of whom afterwards left the place. The lands are excellent; but here again they have been too much neglected for the timber business. The freestone, of which the Province Building of Halifax is constructed, was quarried a few miles up Remsheg River, vast quantities of which exist at the same place. Herrings and gaspereau are very plentiful in these harbours. Salmon, shad, eels, lobsters, &c. abound.

A few miles to the southward is Tatmagouche Bay, which is broad and open; and, although the water is deep, exposed to north-easterly winds. It is also a port for shipping timber, and the lands are good and pretty well settled.

From the south side of Tatmagouche, the River John, over which there is a good bridge, branches off. This pretty thriving settlement was settled many years ago by Swiss Protestants; they endured a train of severe hardships from the time they left their native country, until they attained the means of comfort where they or their descendants now live.*

* There is some interest attached to the history of these families. When, after the peace of 1763, the dread of these kingdoms being depopulated by emigrations to America was entertained very generally, the conditions of grants of large tracts of land, in Nova Scotia and in the colonies we acquired by conquest, stipulated that they should be settled on by foreign Protestants. The Swiss, here alluded to, were brought either to Portsmouth or Plymouth, by an officer who received a grant of lands in Nova Scotia; but being unable, or unwilling, to fulfil his engagements with them, he there abandoned them. Their destitute condition came under the consi-

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There is a pretty good road from this place, about eighteen miles to Pictou. The coast along the shore, about twenty miles, to the harbour of Carraboo, is settled by Scotch, chiefly from the Hebrides.

Pictou harbour is one of the best within the Gulf of St Lawrence. It is narrow at the entrance, well sheltered, with seventeen feet depth of water at the lowest ebb; deep and safe within, and sufficiently capacious for more than a thousand ships. Three fine rivers, which wind through a fertile country, branch from the basin, a little above the town. The harbour is, however, frozen over from the last week or end of December, to the beginning or end of April; this is its only disadvantage.

The town of Pictou stands on the declivity of a hill, on the north side of the harbour, and about three miles from its entrance. It is irregularly built, without any plan. Every one who erected a house, since the year 1790, when the first hut inhabited by an European raised its head, planted it where he could, and of dimensions and plan according to his fancy. Its situation is very agreeable. The point of land, called Mortimer's, above the town, with stores and wharfs near the shore, and with a large and very respectable stone house some distance back; Fisher's Grant being a range of farms opposite the

deration of government, and they were sent to Nova Scotia at the public expense. I believe these are the leading points relative to their removal to Nova Scotia; but I only write from my recollection of the account given me, by one of the oldest and most respectable of them, some years ago.

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town; other fine clearings around the harbour; the *embouchures* of three rivers; and the hilly wooded background of Mount Toum, are interesting and picturesque features in the surrounding scenery. The hill above the town commands a very extensive and truly grand view of farms, houses, the harbour, Gulf of St Lawrence, and forest country.

The town contains at the present time an Episcopal church, two Presbyterian kirks, a Catholic chapel, and a court-house; about two hundred dwelling-houses, stores, and other buildings, and about sixteen hundred inhabitants. Pictou has also an excellent grammar school, and an academy called "Pictou College," where the highest branches of education are taught, and to which students of any Christian denomination are admitted. This institution owes its existence to the Reverend Dr M'Culloch, a gentleman of superior acquirements, learning, and abilities. It contains a commodious class-room, a library of good standard works; a laboratory, with philosophical apparatus, printing-press, &c.; and a museum, in which is to be found the only zoological collection worth mentioning of the natural history of the province. The department of ornithology is nearly complete, and the birds remarkably well stuffed and preserved. It is to be regretted that the academy has met with very uncharitable opposition, and I believe the fund given to aid its support has been withdrawn.

The settlement of the district of Pictou commenced

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by the arrival of a few families from Maryland in 1765, which were sent by a company who received a very extensive grant of land known in the province by the name of the "Philadelphia Grant." At the head of this company was Dr Weatherspoon, a man celebrated at the time in colonial story. These people, although they received some assistance in the way of provisions, endured great misery for some years; and thirty families of Highlanders who joined them afterwards, underwent almost incredible difficulties, in consequence of arriving late in the season, having no houses to shelter them, wanting provisions, the general wilderness state at that time of this part of the province, and its great distance from the nearest settlement.*

In the course of a few years, however, great perseverance enabled them to secure the means of living comfortably; and, from that period, this part of the country has continued to improve regularly in its settlement and agriculture; and the port has also continued to be a great *point d'appui* for emigrant ships leaving the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. Settlements consequently extended up the rivers, and along the shores to the north and south-east; and Pictou therefore derives its importance from being the centre of all the intercourse and trade, as well as

* The first settlers had often, during winter, to cross the country, a distance of nearly fifty miles through the woods, for what little food they could drag back on a hand-sledge, to sustain the lives of their wives and children.

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the port of entry, for that part of Nova Scotia lying between the Gut of Canseau and the Bay de Vert.

It was some time ago declared, by an order in council, a free port; and lately, in consequence of the benefit that would probably arise from allowing the Americans to bring articles of United States' growth in their ships, in return for the coal which they require from the Albion mines, it has also been declared a free warehousing port.

The inhabitants of the town of Pictou are remarkably industrious. Fishing, ship-building, shipping timber, coal, &c., have for many years formed their principal resources of enterprise. Their incessant perseverance merits great praise; and although the heavy and visionary speculations in shipping, carried on in the memorable year 1825 in England, was grievously felt by the merchants and traders of this place, yet their usual industry and economy will soon, it is likely, enable them to surmount those losses, and prosper by less speculative pursuits.

Several ships still arrive annually at Pictou for timber, most of which finish their lading at the neighbouring outports. There are also some vessels employed in the West India trade, and several schooners and shallops in the coasting trade, and fisheries.

A packet sails weekly between Pictou and Charlotte Town, Prince Edward Island; the distance is about forty miles. Few places in America are more unlike than these two. Charlotte Town is nearly twice the size, and the houses are scattered over five times the same ground as those of Pictou. Charlotte

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Town is infinitely a cleaner place; the houses have also in general an air of greater gentility; the inhabitants are more fashionably dressed, have more the appearance of people who have either never been engaged in active industrious pursuits, or who have retired with small incomes to a country where they can live very cheaply. In Pictou again, the houses are closely huddled together, some of them built of stone, scarcely any of them with taste or beauty; they have a smoky appearance, and cleanliness is a most striking desideratum; but the place has vastly more the air of activity, industry, and trade. The wharfs, stores, and the *tout ensemble*, indicate a prevailing spirit of enterprise. Charlotte Town has nothing of this.

The town, and whole district of Pictou, are decidedly Scottish. In the streets, within the houses, in the shops, on board the vessels, and along the roads, we hear little but Gaelic or broad Scotch. The Highland dress, the bagpipe, and Scottish music, are also more general in this part of the province than probably in any other part of the country; while the red gowns of the students, which we observe waving here and there like streamers, bring the colleges of Aberdeen and Glasgow, with their associations, into recollection.

Pictou has also a share of its distinction, from being the place in which the synod of the Presbyterian church of Nova Scotia is held. Presbyterianism, indeed, as respects the present British American colonies, may be said to have been first planted in this district. The late Rev. Dr James M'Gregor,

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who left the comforts of a British home, in 1786, to seek toil and privation amidst the forests of Nova Scotia, may justly be considered the father of the Presbyterian church of the province. This venerable and excellent man, who died lately, (1830,) was peculiarly adapted for a country like Nova Scotia. He arrived in it when it was little more than a continued wilderness. He lived to see it extensively cultivated, and in most parts settled, with roads opened between the settlements, and schools generally established over the province. He had none of the bigotry of sectarians; he mixed cheerfully with all men; the wicked he endeavoured to reclaim, but never attempted to promulgate religious dissensions, nor ever to wound the feelings of any on account of their difference of creed. He was, in short, in his own line of duty, the most harmless and most useful of men.

When we arrive as strangers in Pictou, and behold its extraordinary natural advantages, the excellence of its harbour, the fertility of the adjoining country, its vast mines of iron and coal, with limestone, and excellent freestone for building, and the convenience of the place for the rich fisheries of the Gulf of St Lawrence, it is truly painful, if not disgusting, to discover soon after, that society has, for the last few years, been in a state of the most violent agitation, principally from the passion for religious ascendency, probably as much from fanciful individual vanity: when we also find that the very parties who render themselves so truly ridiculous in the cool judgment of reasonable minds, differ, not in doctrines of faith,

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but in some unimportant matter or form of church government, we are still more disgusted at squabbles that cannot possibly originate from honest religious principles or Christian charity. Which of the parties have the best pretensions, it is not, even if it were possible, (which I doubt,) my object to determine; but it is certainly much to be regretted that the harmony which, it is said, prevailed so long among the Presbyterians of the province, should be disturbed, and that such violent animosities should convulse the minds of a population that have such ample scope for being so much better, so much more usefully engaged.*

The lands, a great part of which is intervale, through which the west river of Pictou winds for about sixteen miles, are fertile and extensively cultivated. The middle river is a small stream, but its banks are well settled and improved.

The east river, which divides into two principal streams, flows through a beautiful, fertile, and populous settlement. Six miles up this river, a village, with a few shops and taverns, in the form of a small American town, called New Glasgow, has risen within

* Much has been said of Roman Catholic bigotry and intolerance. I have not been able to discover a solitary instance of the clergy of that church interfering with the professors of a different creed, nor endeavouring to disseminate quarrels or agitations among them; while I regret to have to observe that the Presbyterians who consider themselves in immediate connexion with the Kirk of Scotland, and the Anti-burghers, who, in fact, believe precisely the same doctrines, maintain frequently towards each other the most angry spirit of illiberality.

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the last few years. It receives and exports a great part of the agricultural produce of the upper country, and vessels of about one hundred tons come up to the bridge which crosses the town at this place.

A mile above this village, on the west side of the river, close to Mount Rundel, are the coal and iron mining works of the General Mining Company. This establishment is named the "Albion Mines;" and the company, which was formed in London in 1826, holds for sixty years, on certain conditions, from the crown, the right of working all the mines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, with the exception of those that may be found in a few tracts which have been granted without reserving the mines to the Crown. The Annapolis Mining Company, which commenced working previously on a small scale on land held by one of these grants, is the only mining establishment in the province that does, or likely will, in any way compete with the Albion Company.

The operations of the last association have been commenced and conducted under the direction of Mr Richard Smith, a gentleman of scientific abilities and experience.

At the Albion Mines there are smithy furnaces and two steam-engines at work. Stores and several dwelling-houses have also been erected. The coal formerly dug up was from near the surface, but the main shaft of the mine worked at present is sunk two hundred and fifty feet deep, and the coal is raised and the mine drained by steam power. The coal of this mine is not esteemed so much as that of Cape

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Breton for common fireplaces, but it is much superior for making coke, and equal to any ever used for the furnace, and particularly as fuel for steam-engines. Iron ore, equal to the very best Swedish, is abundantly interstratified with coal in the same mine.

The Pictou coal is much esteemed by the citizens of the United States, and their ships come to the Albion mines for it. This company are also about building one or more steam-boats, for purposes connected with their establishments; since they commenced their operations, a marked spirit of industry, activity and improvement, has spread over the vale of the east river.

Some may object to the extensive privilege granted to the Albion Mining Company, but not with good reason, when we consider the vast investment of capital necessary to form extensive establishments, and to carry forward the operations of mining, and that the province generally, and this part of it in particular, must derive vast advantage from the spirited exertions of this association.

Miragamichi is the next harbour to the eastward of Pictou. It has a bar across the entrance, but there is water over it for large vessels. The settlers are principally Scotch Highlanders. From this place to Cape George,* a distance of thirty miles, and from thence round to Dorchester, at the head of Antigonishe Bay, the lands are high, but fertile, and thickly settled by Highlanders, among whom Gaelic continues to be

* Note J

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the language of common usage; and at the settlement of Arisaig, on the Gulf shore side of this part of the country, a traveller can discover nothing in language, habits, dress, and Highland hospitality, that differs from what he would find in Arisaig, in the Western Highlands of Scotland, from whence that of Nova Scotia derives its name.

The village of Antigonishe (or, as it has lately been named, Dorchester) stands five miles up this river, above the harbour so called, at the head of a deep bay, and in the midst of a beautiful fertile country. It is the shire town of the county of Sydney, and contains sixty or seventy houses, with a court-house, a large Catholic chapel, a Presbyterian and a Baptist meeting-house. Roads branch off from this very pretty village to various parts of the province.

Between Antigonishe and the Gut of Canseau lie the small harbours of Pomquet, Tracadie, and Aubushè, the inhabitants of which are Acadian French, who employ themselves in the occupations of farming, fishing, and coasting with their shallops. They neglect the cultivation of the soil too much for the latter pursuit, and are, consequently, not so independent in their means, nor so simple in their manners, as the Acadians of Clare.

On the south of the Gut of Canseau lies Chedebucto Bay, which enters from the Atlantic, between Madame Island and Cape Canseau. It is twenty-five miles in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. At the head of this bay there is a beautiful inlet, called

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Milford Haven, about a mile wide, and twelve or fifteen in length. It admits large vessels, but its entrance is intricate. On each side stands a pretty village; that on the north is called Manchester, the other, opposite, Guysborough. They contain about fifty houses each, but the latter is the county town, and has a court-house, Episcopal church, Catholic chapel, and Methodist meeting-house. The lands bordering on this inlet and river are of excellent quality, and the scenery luxuriant and remarkably pretty.

The shores of Chedebucto Bay, and particularly at Fox Island, are the great resorts of the herring and mackerel fishermen, and abound in fish of various kinds in extraordinary plenty.

Canseau harbour, with its islands, on one of which there is a lighthouse, was formerly a place where very extensive fisheries were carried on, both by the French and the English. At present there is but a very scanty population, who live principally by fishing.

From Cape Canseau to Halifax, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, and which will bring us back to where I commenced my description of the province, the whole sea-coast presents a succession of innumerable but excellent harbours, and very thinly settled by fishermen and people who employ themselves with their schooners and shallops in the coasting trade.

Description can scarcely exaggerate the ruggedness of this coast, and the general stubbornness of the soil;

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yet several miles back, at the head of some of the harbours, there are a few spots of good land; and along the banks of the principal rivers some tracts of excellent intervale land are met with.

The harbour and river of St Mary, distant about a hundred miles from Halifax, though little known, yet claim some notice. A bar, with eleven feet at the lowest ebb, and with about eighteen feet at high water, is an objection to its harbour, but its channel is never frozen over, which is a great advantage.

The river is navigable for large ships eight miles, and for vessels of a hundred tons two miles farther, to the little village of Sherbrooke, which stands on a pretty spot of alluvial soil, embosomed within rugged forest land. For ten miles farther up, the river is navigated by boats, where it divides into two principal branches. Canoes can proceed about twenty-five miles up the western branch, and ten or twelve up the eastern. Five or six miles above the forks, the eastern branch divides again into two streams, one of which issues out of a beautiful sheet of water, called Lochaber Lake, at the head of which there is a fine vale; the west branch is said to rise in Mount Toum, above Pictou, and flows fifty miles through a thickly wooded country, and among excellent tracts of intervale lands, before its confluence with the other branches.

The settlement of this neglected but important part of the province has been retarded by grants of large tracts of the best lands having been made to

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several persons who have neither settled on or cultivated them. The timber business has formed the chief pursuit of the settlers. The lands along both branches, embracing an extensive district, are adapted for agriculture; but the settlers have found it more convenient to grasp the more immediate resources of the fir forest. For three or four years past from twelve to fifteen large ships have loaded in this harbour with timber and deals for England. There are several saw-mills on the rivers; but agriculture and rearing cattle must eventually be considered the sources which will cause these settlements to thrive and become populous.

A road leads from Sherbrooke village, which branches to Guysborough, to the Gut of Canseau, to Antigonishe, and to Pictou. All these, however, are as yet little better than paths. The road to Halifax passes through the flourishing settlement of Musquodobit, extending along a fine river of the same name, which falls into the Atlantic thirty miles from its source.

Places of lesser note than the foregoing, and which are scattered over different parts of the province, or forming along the various roads, can only be described by tedious repetitions, their characteristic features are so strikingly similar, and present little that could be interesting, after knowing that all embryo settlements in America are nothing more than log-houses, in small openings made in the forests, scattered along banks of rivers, roads, or the sea-shore, with occa-

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sionally a saw-mill, grist-mill, smithy, tavern, shop, place of worship, and school-house.*

* The gradual appearance of a settlement, on lands previously occupied by the forest, is beautifully described in a delightful little poem, entitled the "Rising Village," by Mr Oliver Goldsmith, of the commissariat department, and now or lately stationed at Annapolis, Nova Scotia. He is a collateral descendant of the author of the Deserted Village. I believe the "Rising Village" was published in this country; at all events, its merits claim approbation.

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CHAPTER X.

Agriculture—Former Neglect of Systematic Husbandry—Agricola's Letters—Board of Agriculture—Soils—Agricultural Returns—Live Stock.

THE soils of the province have been already mentioned in the first chapter, and the most fertile districts pointed out in the foregoing one; it will, therefore, be sufficient to notice, in respect to the agriculture of the province, a brief account of its progress and present condition. The cultivation of the soil of Nova Scotia was long neglected for other pursuits; it was even considered as disreputable, as if a portion of that spirit had been transplanted to the colony, which in Europe, during the feudal times, viewed husbandry as a degraded employment, in which villains or slaves should alone be engaged. A ridiculous pride certainly prevailed for a long time, and still, in some measure, exists in America, which showed itself by holding rural labour in contempt. This has been the principal cause of poverty among the old settlers, who, when any other employment offered, generally escaped from the occupation of husbandry.

Strange as it may appear in England, where such opinions will be laughed at, the petty shopkeeper,

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who retailed rum, sugar, and tea; the pedlar, who carried about tape, thread, needles, and pins; the keeper of a common tavern or dram-shop, the constables who served the writs or summons of the justice of peace, and the cheating horse-dealer; in short, all who made a living by scheming or rascality, considered themselves much more important persons than the truly more respectable, and assuredly more honest man who cultivated his own lands.

Unfortunately, many of the farmers themselves considered the cultivation of the soil so far beneath them, that they only held the plough from necessity, as a degraded employment, while their sons skulked from rural labour to the woods, or to seek for employment on board of the coasting vessels, and the daughters were ashamed of being found engaged in the dairy, or assisting in the occupations of haymaking and harvest.

During the war, the means of living, it is true, were easily procured; but the folly of the farmers and their families brought on poverty at the peace, which convinced, or at least should have taught them, that those who have to depend on their labour and industry, cannot attain real independence in America, without applying both with unremitting energy to the cultivation of the soil.

The distress which came among the inhabitants along with the last peace, produced, however, great benefit to the province, by leaving agriculture as the only certain occupation from which relief could be obtained.

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During the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie, the attention of government and of the inhabitants was directed, with great spirit, to the cultivation of the soil. Much of the merit of the extraordinary excitement which gave birth to a new train of ideas on the subject of agriculture, must be attributed to a long series of letters on the subject, under the signature of "Agricola," which were published in one of the weekly papers, and written with great vigour and ability.*

A provincial board of agriculture was therefore formed in 1817, under the immediate patronage of the Earl of Dalhousie, the governor, at Halifax; and numerous branch societies were soon after formed in every district in the colony. The objects of this board are,—the encouragement of agriculture, on the most approved system; improving the breed of horses and all kinds of live stock; importing the best kinds of seeds; awarding prizes for the best acres of green and white crops, the finest cattle, and to those who excel at ploughing-matches. Under such encouragement; the agriculture of Nova Scotia has advanced more rapidly than, from the ideas previously entertained respecting its climate and soil, was considered possible. Before this time, the cultivation of the soil was certainly attended to only in the most slovenly

* The author, Mr John Young, formerly of Glasgow, was not known for a long time to the public as the writer of Agricola's Letters. He is at present a member of the Provincial Parliament of Nova Scotia. Agricola's Letters have been since published at Halifax, in one large octavo volume.

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and barbarous manner. Mr Young observes very justly,—"The principles of vegetation were so grossly misconceived, that few even of the farmers imagined that plants, like animals, stood in need of food, and manures of all kinds were either disregarded, or shamefully thrown away. The dung by many was suffered to accumulate about the barns, till it became a question of expediency whether it was less expensive to shift the site of the building, or remove such an intolerable nuisance, and several instances are on record where the former alternative was preferred." *

Soon after the establishment of the Central Board of Agriculture, the Scottish system of husbandry began to spread over all parts of the province, at least so far as it could be adapted to the nature of the country; for forest lands must always be cleared and cultivated in all parts of America early in the same manner as I have already described.

Great, however, as the change and improvement in the agriculture of the province has been, we must yet consider farming, comparatively speaking, in a rude state. There still exists a lazy attachment to the make-shift system,—an absence of neatness, amidst

* I have observed at New London, in Prince Edward Island, the dung in several heaps, as high as the cowhouses, on one farm only, but in the other colonies the circumstance was formerly common. Manures were formerly, and in many parts still, as much neglected in the United States as in Nova Scotia. We learn from the travels of Professor Kalm, a Swedish gentleman, that, in 1749, when a spot of ground was exhausted by repeated crops, rather than manure it, the inhabitants preferred clearing and cultivating a fresh piece of forest land.

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luxuriant vegetation. In short, the mere means of living are too easily obtained; and when this is the case, the stimulus to improvement and the attainment of order seems to cease. Time, and a great increase of population, will alone create an effective change.

The soil will produce, and the climate ripen, all the agricultural productions of England in great perfection. The uplands, intervales, and diked marshes, have each their peculiar features and qualities.

Uplands are those which are neither overflown by the tides nor by the freshets occasioned by the waters that swell the rivers and streams, when the sun and spring thaws dissolve the winter snows. The uplands are always fertile when they naturally produce maple, beech, and black or yellow birch, with a mixture of other trees.

Intervale land consists of flat tracts along the rivers and brooks, originally formed of deposits carried down from the uplands by the spring freshets. We find this description of soil along all the rivers of North America. Its fertility appears greater when long narrow rivers wind through it, than when occurring along the banks of broad rivers.

The vast tracts of marsh lands in this province, from which the tides are shut out by embankments, are also of alluvial formation, being partly formed by deposits brought down by the thaws, and partly by the mud and other substances thrown up by the impetuosity of the tides.

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The aboiteau, an Acadian term, is a mound raised on a foundation secured by piles, and provided with flood-gates. The lands thus recovered form in many parts extensive plains, which produce luxuriant crops of grain, or become the richest pastures in the world. A marsh, after being newly diked, is left three or more years untilled, during which period it becomes firm and fit for the plough.

Wheat, although scarcely ever cultivated with great care, produces at an average on marsh, intervale, or good uplands, from fifteen to eighteen returns, or about thirty bushels per acre. On newly tilled lands, especially on diked marshes and intervales, twenty-five returns, or fifty bushels per acre, is a common crop. Wheat crops often fail in America, not in growing, but from the grain being checked in ripening by rust or blight; a careful selection of seed, the use of lime, and early sowing, generally ensure a good crop. Winter wheat is seldom sown; although, on lands that are sheltered by surrounding wood, it yields much greater returns than summer wheat, and ripens so much earlier, that it is never affected by either rust, blight, or the Hessian fly. On lands exposed to the sweeping snow storms and drifts, which lay the ground bare, and expose it to intense frost, and which, after a thaw, becomes incrusted with ice, winter wheat will not succeed; but the enclosure and subdivision of fields with hedges for shelter, would most likely, under all ordinary circumstances, ensure a good crop of winter wheat.

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Indian corn produces extraordinary returns; from sixty to ninety bushels per acre are common.

Oats, buck wheat, barley, and rye, are always certain crops. Beans may be raised in vast abundance; they are frequently sown along with Indian corn, and we sometimes observe pumpkins also growing intermingled with them.

Good land will produce about two hundred bushels of excellent potatoes per acre; turnips, mangel wurzel, carrots, cabbages, and all kinds of culinary vegetables, grow to great perfection.

White and red clover, and timothy, are the grasses cultivated; two to four tons per acre may be considered the general crop.

What is said of seed-time, hay-making, and harvest, in treating of Prince Edward Island, applies to this province. The cradle, an implement of American invention, in which there is a scythe fixed below a framework, is oftener used to cut down the corn than the sickle.

From the richness of intervales and diked marshes, (the latter never requiring any,) manures were not formerly much used. A rotation of crops, the use of stable dung, marsh mud, and occasionally lime, have, however, for some years, been attended to; and the face of the country exhibits striking evidence of improvement.

Grazing has, in the fertile districts of Cumberland, Windsor, Cornwallis, Horton, and Annapolis, particularly in the first, been probably too much attended to, in preference to the cultivation of the lands.

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Excellent butter and cheese, the latter quite equal to that of Cheshire, are made in those places; and the cattle, especially the oxen, that feed among the rich pastures of the diked marshes, are remarkably large and fat.

The sheep are generally, as respects their wool, of an unprofitable breed, but they thrive well, and their meat is excellent. The swine, although the best breeds thrive remarkably well, are still the most miserable, long, lank, ill-favoured animals imaginable. An improvement is, however, observable.

The horses of Nova Scotia are rather small, but wonderfully hardy and full of spirit. They may be considered a mixed breed of the Canadian and English horses. Several excellent saddle horses may be found among them; and some English blood horses have been, during the last few years, imported to the province to improve the breed.

Horticulture is but little, and always slovenly, attended to. This is generally the case all over America. The country is capable of producing many fruits in the open air that would not ripen in England, which may be accounted for from the greater heat of summer. Wild vines, covering several acres, were discovered several years ago near Digby.

The Acadians had small orchards in all their settlements, clumps of the apple-trees of which are still in existence. On the settlement of the country by emigrants from the New England and Southern States, the raising of apple-trees was not neglected by them; and we may have as good apples produced

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in Nova Scotia as in any part of America. In the orchards of Windsor, Cornwallis, Horton, &c., great quantities are raised, from which excellent cider is made for domestic use and exportation.

Along with the progress of improvement in the cultivation of the soil, a great improvement has also taken place in preparing its productions for use. Much more attention is directed to the construction of grist-mills, and cleaning and grinding wheat, barley, and oats, than formerly. Oat or shelling-mills have been also erected in the agricultural districts; and the ploughs, harrows, and carts of the farmers, are generally well made. Greater care is also taken in the salting of meat, which was long most unpardonably neglected.

The slovenly want of arrangements which we still discover among the farmers, may be attributed to two causes,—the high price of labour, which will long prevent gentlemen from becoming to any great extent practical farmers, and the facility with which the labouring farmer can obtain the necessaries of life.

Generally speaking of the climate and soil, we must admit that a great belt of the province, extending along the whole Atlantic coast, is for many miles back as rugged and sterile as any part of the habitable globe; and that the chilly sea-fogs, even where a little soil is to be found, will always render the culture of wheat uncertain; while experience has, at the same time, proved beyond dispute, that a vast proportion of Nova Scotia is eminently adapted by nature for a rich agricultural country.

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CHAPTER XI.

Trade—Commercial Resources—Former Restrictions—Advantage of Mr Canning's Policy in prohibiting the Admission of United States' Vessels into the Ports of the West Indies—Impolicy of opening these Ports to the Americans—Petition on the Subject—Mr Combrelling's Report—Exports and Imports—Whale, Herring, and Cod Fisheries, &c.

THE geographical position and configuration of Nova Scotia, with its natural resources, give this colony most important advantages in respect to commerce.

Its fisheries, mineral riches, forests, and pastures, afford abundant resources for obtaining articles of export, while its soil is at the same time capable of producing plenty of food for its inhabitants.

There were formerly many restrictions on the trade of the colonies, which prevented the inhabitants from resorting to foreign markets, and which compelled them to carry all their productions and commodities in a raw state to Great Britain, with the exception only of fish; and to import, direct from England and Scotland, all the articles they required from other countries, with the exception of salt for the fisheries, horses and provisions from Ireland, and wines from the Western Islands and Madeira. Certain West India productions were afterwards per-

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mitted to be exported direct to Gibraltar and Malta; and in order to encourage the fisheries, a variety of European articles were also allowed to be imported from ports south of Cape Finisterre, by vessels arriving from our colonies with British American fish, or colonial productions. Other privileges were at different periods extended to the colonial trade; but the celebrated act of 6 Geo. IV., entitled "An act to regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad," which came into operation 5th January, 1826, may be said to have almost completely unshackled the commerce of the colonies, and to have extended to them the most liberal privileges, without injuring in any degree the interests of the mother country.

Halifax, which was previously declared a free port, with Quebec, St John's in New Brunswick, Kingston in Jamaica, and Bridgetown in Barbadoes, were by this act free warehousing ports. The same privilege has since been extended to Pictou.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to enter into the details of the privileges granted to the colonies; and those who may be engaged in colonial trade, should be well acquainted with the provisions of, and possess the act mentioned.

Great advantages to the British American colonies have arisen from the Americans of the United States having refused to avail themselves of the benefits that this act held out to them, on condition that they should place the ships and commerce of Great Britain and her colonies on the same footing as those of the

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most favoured nations. The consequence of their refusal to do so was, that Mr Canning, with the spirit and vigour of a great British statesman, shut the ports of our West Indian colonies against the ships of the United States. This measure has therefore been highly favourable to our North American possessions, and by no means injurious, although I am aware that many think otherwise, to our sugar colonies. The former can supply with great facility all that the latter require from the Americans; and a great increase in the consumption of British manufacture and West Indian produce in the North American colonies, is another important consequence of this measure of policy, while a vast number of British ships are also engaged in the trade, which would otherwise be enjoyed by the Americans. The British colonies take, in return for the lumber,* cattle, fish, flour, butter, and salted provisions, which they export to the West Indies, rum, sugar, molasses, &c., while the Americans, who require but little of those articles from others, were taking away the circulating specie, and causing, in consequence, much inconvenience among the inhabitants of the sugar colonies. Besides which, the Americans contrived, as long as their vessels were admitted into the ports of the British West Indies, to carry on a great smuggling trade, for money payments, by vending tea, East India and foreign goods among the inhabitants, while they finally prohibited nearly altogether the direct

* Lumber is a general colonial term for planks, boards, beams, &c.

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importation of the manufactures of the United Kingdom, by their impolitic tariff.

The Americans know well the vast importance of being again allowed to trade to the British West Indies; but the granting of this privilege would be a measure of the greatest impolicy on the part of his majesty's government, and the cause of general discontent among the colonists.

The merchants of British America have invested a great part of their capital in the trade between the colonies and the West Indies, under the full confidence that the trade should remain as it is; and throwing the ports open again to the ships of the United States, would bring inevitable ruin upon the merchants and shipowners now engaged in supplying the West Indies with colonial productions. We, even now, under the present regulations, in a great measure thwart the object of the American tariff, by the immense quantities of British manufactures that find their way through the colonies to the United States, for which the Americans pay either in dollars, or in flour, provisions, staves, lumber, and pot and pearl-ashes, which, with the exception of flour and corn, the present laws allow to be shipped from the colonial free ports, as if the same were the produce of the British plantations. From these circumstances, therefore, not only the manufactures of the United Kingdom, but the British shipowners, and the inhabitants of the colonies, derive profitable and important benefits; and it would be the *ne plus ultra* of weakness in ministers to destroy this trade

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merely to gratify the Americans, who will assuredly give us no solid equivalent in return.

There is no matter which requires such delicate management as interfering with any well-established trade, nor so hazardous as changing commercial regulations with which the inhabitants of a country are satisfied. The British colonies are so perfectly contented with the present state of things, and assuredly they have every reason to be so, that if government were to ask them what farther could be done for their commerce, they might, with great truth, make the reply, "Laissez nous faire," leave us to act as we are, which the French merchants made to M. Colbert when he asked them a similar question.

On the subject of the trade between British North America and the West Indies, the following extracts from the joint address of his Majesty's Council and House of Assembly of the province of Nova Scotia to the King, may be considered as the general opinions of the inhabitants of all the North American provinces, the spirit and substance of the addresses to his majesty from each of the other colonies being the same. This address commences,—

"May it please your Majesty,

"The Council and House of Assembly of your loyal province of Nova Scotia beg leave most humbly to approach your Majesty, to represent the great alarm which has been excited throughout British America on learning that the government of the United States are endeavouring to induce your Ma-

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jesty to permit a direct trade between the ports of that country and your Majesty's possessions in the West Indies.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia desire most humbly to express their gratitude for the benefits which this province has derived from the acts passed by the Imperial Parliament during your Majesty's reign, for extending the trade of your Majesty's colonies.

"Fully aware of your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the happiness and welfare of your subjects in every part of your extensive dominions, they are convinced it will be gratifying to your Majesty to learn that the benefits expected to have been derived from these acts have been realized in British America, and they think they may add, in your Majesty's Trans-atlantic dominions in general.

"It has long been noticed by all who have paid attention to the principles which actuate the government of the United States, that, in their domestic policy, they avail themselves of the vast variety of soil and climate which their extensive territories embrace, and strive to cement the union of the confederate states, by encouraging an interchange of their respective productions.

"Upon this principle, they are now encouraging to the utmost of their power the manufacture of sugar, spirits, and molasses; and it may be confidently asserted that those articles, which comprise the staple of the West India trade, are already produced in the Flori-

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das and Louisiana, to an extent nearly equal to the supply of the United States.

"The inhabitants of British America feel, with proud exultation, that they are the subjects of a Monarch whose dominions extend to every quarter of the globe, and they know that if an interchange of the various productions of the several portions of the British empire is encouraged, such wise policy would enable your Majesty to confer commercial privileges upon your colonial subjects, infinitely more important than any that the government of the United States can bestow upon its citizens.

"That the distance which separates the several portions of your Majesty's dominions from each other, enhances the benefits which the empire would derive from their intercourse, as the interchange of their respective productions would be carried on in British ships, navigated by British seamen, and thus increase the resources of that naval power which has made Great Britain the mistress of the seas, and to which she is mainly indebted for the proud station she holds among the nations of the earth.

"That your Majesty's loyal subjects in North America have no desire to advance their local interests at the expense of those of the Empire in general, but humbly conceiving that, in the present case, the general interest is identified with theirs, they trust that the citizens of the United States will not be allowed to participate in a trade which would render them dangerous rivals to your Majesty's subjects in their northern colonies, and prove most injurious to their

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interests, without producing corresponding benefits to the West India Islands.

"Those Islands now receive through these colonies a regular supply of the articles which they require from the continent of America, for the greater part of which they pay with their own produce. This not only creates a most beneficial barter trade between the northern colonies and the British West Indies, but increases the intercourse between the northern colonies themselves. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in consequence of their situation on the Atlantic, became the carriers between the Canadas and the West Indies. The fish caught on the coast of British America, is carried in the vessels of the Atlantic Colonies to the Islands, and there disposed of for rum, sugar, and molasses, with which those vessels return to supply the wants, not only of the Atlantic Colonies, but of the Canadas also. The Canadians pay for these supplies in flour, pork, and other articles of agricultural produce, which are required for the fishermen on the sea-board, and all the colonies are thus made to feel how beneficial they are to each other.

"The demand for West India produce in British America must increase with the rapid augmentation of the population in these healthy countries; and the wealth which the inhabitants will derive from this trade, if it is preserved to them, will enable them to become better customers every year to the British manufacturer.

"That no burdens in the shape of protecting duties can ever be imposed upon British manufactured goods

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in the North American Colonies; and, by fostering their trade, and encouraging their prosperity, Great Britain ensures to herself a valuable market for her domestic productions.

"That the duties which the American Congress has imposed upon West India produce, in order to encourage their own planters and distillers, nearly amount to a total prohibition of the imports of those articles into the United States, which, added to the decrease in the demand from abroad, in consequence of domestic supply, would prevent the Americans from taking payments in produce for any cargoes they might carry to the islands.

"Their admission, therefore, would drain the British islands of specie—nor would the evil be confined to this—they would probably proceed to the foreign islands, and with that specie purchase the clayed sugars which are in demand in Europe, and carry them thither, from whence they would return with such foreign European goods as are suited to the American markets.

"By this impolitic measure, then, Great Britain would provide a country, which appears destined to become her rival, with the means of procuring full freights upon their several voyages, and thus add to their commercial wealth and their maritime power at the expense of our own.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia most humbly state to your Majesty, that when the American government, in adhering to the system of fostering its own trade, forebore to avail itself of the

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offers held out to the foreign powers by the acts of the Imperial Parliament, and declined to place the commerce of Great Britain upon the footing of the most favoured nations, your loyal subjects in British America were induced to believe that your Majesty's Government would persevere in the measures it then thought proper to adopt, and would not renew any negotiation relative to the intercourse between the United States and your Majesty's Colonies.

"That the declaration of your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the American Minister, then in London, confirmed them in this opinion, and encouraged them to invest a large capital in the commercial and agricultural pursuits, which an adherence to such a line of policy is calculated to foster and increase in these colonies.

"That the alarm which the mere report of an intention of departing from this judicious system has occasioned, has, in some measure, paralyzed the efforts of those engaged in such pursuits; and if that intention is acted upon, it will involve all who have thus embarked their capital in inevitable ruin.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia humbly conceive that the adoption of the measure now pressed upon your Majesty's government by the Minister of the United States, would prove injurious to British shipowners throughout your Majesty's dominions; would encourage dangerous rivals to British merchants in the foreign ports of Europe; would increase the carrying trade of America at the expense of that of Great Britain; would diminish, if not destroy, the

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intercourse between the several portions of your Majesty's dominions, which must ultimately prove so beneficial to the whole empire; and would in a more especial manner prove ruinous to the North American colonies.

"The Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia, therefore, humbly trust that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to adhere to that wise and enlightened policy which has distinguished your Majesty's reign, and preserve to your faithful and loyal subjects in North America, a trade so essential to their prosperity; and as in duty bound, they will ever pray."

To preserve the deep-rooted attachment of the inhabitants of so great and powerful a country as British America is destined to be, for Great Britain, and to repair as far as possible the political blunders which we have committed, in giving up a full participation of our colonial fisheries to the French and Americans, it will be wise in ministers to persevere in the line of policy which has been adopted towards the colonies and the United States.

That the liberal and intelligent citizens of the United States, are convinced of the political errors of their government, will, I believe, fully appear from the following extracts from the able report of Mr Cambrelling, submitted, February 1, 1830, by the committee of trade to the Congress of the United States. This document states, "The policy of this country must be regulated in some measure by the commercial laws of our maritime rival. Our com-

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merce with Great Britain and her dependencies is far more important to us than that with any other country; and the trade with the United States is, in a commercial point of view, the most valuable branch of the foreign commerce of Great Britain. There are no two countries so deeply interested in securing and preserving the most friendly and liberal reciprocity.

"The interest of both, however, has been hitherto, and we fear may be hereafter, sacrificed to those political jealousies, which are too apt to influence the councils of countries naturally rivals for naval ascendency. We should, however, in our foreign policy, avoid such influence, and cultivate, with an indiscriminating and just equality, the most friendly intercourse with all nations. But in wishing this reciprocal commerce, without anticipating the probability of future conflicts with any power, it is among our highest obligations vigilantly to superintend our means of national defence, and, with a wise foresight, to prepare for any emergency.

"It will be discovered, on examination, that while we have been for fifteen years wasting our energies and resources in crude and speculative experiments, other nations have kept a vigilant eye on the growth of their commercial marine.

"From 1788 to 1807, we enjoyed an almost uninterrupted commerce, under rates of duty so moderate, that they were scarcely felt or perceptible. From that time till 1815, we were driven, through political necessity, into a train of measures which

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disturbed our intercourse with foreign nations. From 1815 to the present time, our commerce, though uninterrupted, has been depressed by immoderate imposts on consumption, and restrictions on our foreign trade.

"It is a common impression that our early maritime prosperity was owing to the wars growing out of the French revolution, which enabled the United States and Great Britain to monopolize the carrying trade. Those who think so, take but a superficial view of the causes which gave a strong impulse to our navigation at that early period.

"These were our rich and increasing agricultural resources; the removal of all the countervailing laws of the states; our commercial enterprise, and a foreign commerce without restrictions.

"But what exhibits in the clearest light the dangerous tendency of our late measures, is the extraordinary increase of her (England) tonnage in the trade with her North American possessions.

"The prosperity of these colonies proves not only that we have aided Great Britain in her plans to enlarge her commercial marine, but that, by the extraordinary folly of her own laws, we have assisted her in opening a new and indirect channel for the illicit introduction of her manufactures to the consumption of North America. Such is the extraordinary manner in which we have been for fifteen years countervailing the policy of Great Britain: we need not apprehend her retaliation while we persist in a policy so admirably calculated to destroy ourselves,

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and to encourage the growth of her colonies. She may put an end to our commercial treaty, which one of her late ministry told us he renewed conditionally, for the express purpose of resorting to that expedient, if they could not terminate that system of commercial hostility, which England was not the first to begin, but the first to lament. Whether she executes this threat or not is immaterial. She carried into full operation in 1825 a policy in relation to her North American possessions, which, if we persevere in our prohibitory system, must inevitably place the finances and navigation of the United States in the worst possible condition. The resources of no country were ever placed, by the folly of its own government, in such peril, so entirely at the discretion of the very power whose maritime strength she has most and just reasons to apprehend. The ministers of Great Britain will understand their advantages over us, and how to use them. Knowing that the trade with their colonies would be more profitable as they might enlarge their intercourse with other countries, and perceiving how effectually they could countervail the policy we are blindly pursuing, they continued from time to time to grant new privileges to their northern possessions on our frontier. Our tariff of 1824 had scarce become a law, when Parliament adopted, in June and July 1825, those liberating measures which went into operation on the 5th of January, 1826. By these acts, they granted to the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, substantially, all the commercial privileges of an independent nation; and they not only

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imposed more moderate duties than are charged upon the consumption of any country, but they placed the revenue at the discretion of their local legislatures for the use of the colonies.

"We have not yet realized the fatal consequences that are to result from the permanent operation of two such tariffs on the North American continent. The illicit trade actually existing, however extensive it may be, is nothing when compared with that which is to come, should we unwisely persist in an attempt to enforce our present high duties. The free-trade policy of Great Britain was not made complete in her northern colonies till 1826. It is our duty to anticipate and prevent, by timely measures, the consequences which must result from two systems of government, so opposite in character, but so harmonious in their tendency, to destroy our navigation and revenue. These provinces consume the produce and manufactures of Great Britain and her dominions almost free of duty; they enjoy the commerce of the East India Company, of Europe, and North and South America, charged with duties averaging not more than 10 per cent, while the voluntary taxes of the United States on the primary necessaries of life, average 100 per cent *ad valorem*. What can Great Britain desire more, if she wishes to see our resources paralyzed and exhausted, than that we should continue the policy we have pursued since the war? But a few more privileges to her northern possessions, and another fifteen years of restrictions, and this legislative war will be closed, with little honour to those

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who have been intrusted by the people with the direction of our national commerce.

"With New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the Canadas, on the north; with Bermuda, the Bahamas, her West Indies, and the Spanish Island of Cuba, on the south; with restrictions on our side, and free-traders on theirs, what must in time become of our revenue and navigation?

"Britain has already perceived the advantages to her of this indirect trade through her colonies, by destroying our navigation employed in the direct trade. She has long imported through Canada much of the produce of the United States, at a less duty than the same could be imported direct. Immediately after the passing of our late tariff, she carried this policy one step farther, by the act of August 1828, admitting cotton, when imported from any British province, at fourpence, or seven cents on a hundred and twelve pounds, and charging six per cent *ad valorem*, when imported direct.

"Let Great Britain admit the produce of the United States free of duty, through all her possessions, northern and southern; let her levy a discriminating duty, when imported direct, equal to the freight; let her open the navigation of the St Lawrence, as wide as law can make it; let American property pass freely to and fro, through her northern colonies, and we shall soon see how completely we have placed the resources of our country in the power of the ministers of that rival nation, whose measures we

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are pretending to countervail. These northern colonies stand in a peculiar and dangerous relation to us.

"A free trade on that frontier must effect our finances and navigation, as sensibly as if Louisiana were to set our revenue laws at defiance, and proclaim the port of New Orleans open to all the world. It is even worse. Our navy might blockade the mouths of the Mississippi, and we might take the chances of involving ourselves in a war, by intercepting the vessels of foreign powers; but we have not even that security, dangerous as it may be, against importations through the northern colonies. They are not under the dominion of our laws, nor can we blockade their ports; neither have we any right to complain, if they enjoy commerce without taxation or restriction. It is not their fault if our colonized neighbours are treated more liberally, and more indulgently, by Parliament, than we are by our own representatives. There is, indeed, little consolation in the prospect before us. If we wish to gratify Great Britain, and promote her interests by injuring ourselves, and increasing her navigation, we shall keep our laws in their present condition, or make them worse, by piling new restrictions on trade; if we mean to save our revenue, and protect our resources, we must adopt some wiser plan to countervail the policy of our maritime rival."

The imports of Nova Scotia, as has been observed under the head of Halifax, consist principally of British manufactures and West India produce; while the privileges extended to that port and Pictou, as

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free and warehousing ports, constitute them places of deposit for foreign productions and manufactures to be distributed to other ports.

The export trade consists, in the first place, of timber, a very small share of which is carried on from Halifax; but this trade has for many years employed a great number of ships, which have loaded principally at Pictou, Port Wallace, Le Have, Port Medway, and Liverpool.

The timber and lumber shipped at Halifax is carried there from the out-ports; and great quantities of deals, boards, shingles, and scantling,* to make up assorted cargoes for the West Indies, will hereafter be brought to Halifax by the Shubenacady Canal.

Gypsum, which the Americans will always require for manure, has long formed an article of export; but the coal and iron mines of this province must, however, in all probability, become the most important of its exports; and Nova Scotia become in respect to other parts of America, what Newcastle, Sunderland, and Maryport, are to the United Kingdom.

The fisheries, however, claim, at the present time, the first right to our attention.

The whale-fishery, which was at one time carried on with great activity from Dartmouth, has been, as already observed, revived with much spirit by the

* Scantling means timber hewed, or sawed, to the proper size for beams, rafters, and other parts of the framework of a house.

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merchants of Halifax. This branch of enterprise has long been profitably followed by the inhabitants of Nantucket, and the seaports from Cape Cod to New London. The character of these people is grave, sober, and persevering; and they retain much of the deportment which characterised their ancestors, who were either Quakers or Puritans. Their ships in this employment, or their whale fleet, amount to about two hundred, registering from two hundred to six hundred tons. With these vessels they navigate the greatest oceans, and most stormy regions. Their voyages average about two and a half years, but they are fitted out for three years; and care is taken to have every article that may be considered necessary to promote the comfort and preserve the health of the crews.

The preparation for whaling voyages, and the departures of the ships, are attended with the most interesting circumstances. The mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters of these hardy and adventurous men, are, long before the day of sailing, busily engaged in collecting every delicacy for the voyage, and providing and packing up all sorts of clothing suitable for the stormy and cold rigours of the Antartic regions, as well as for the mild climate and gentle seas of the Pacific. On parting with them for a period of nearly, or more than three years, the old, middle-aged, and young of both sexes, manifest, in the most tender and affectionate manner, all the endearing feelings of the heart.

Some of these ships proceed round Cape Horn,

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others round the Cape of Good Hope, and they frequently meet in the Pacific. The Indian, Chinese, and Pacific Oceans are better known to these men than to any other navigators; and to this circumstance, and their great caution in keeping two men always stationed at the mast-head, on the look-out for land or breakers, must be attributed the very few shipwrecks among them, for they certainly navigate the most boisterous regions, and the most imperfectly known seas, especially on the charts, in the world. The dangers to which they are exposed are great in the extreme, and innumerable are the hazards they encounter.

The whales most valued are considered as becoming scarcer, and ships are going farther south than before; and those engaged in the South Sea seal-fishery proceed still farther than the whalers towards the South Pole. The ships seldom remain more than three months at a time over each whaling ground.

During these long voyages, the young men receive instructions, from those older, in mathematics, navigation, geography, the natural history of the South Seas, and in practical knowledge connected with their hazardous profession. They occasionally land and refresh themselves in some of the beautiful islands of the Pacific, and return on shipboard, invigorated and recruited, to follow their proper pursuits.

In the two splendid ships fitted out for the South Seas at Halifax, and in the one equipped for the Brazil Bank, about sixty young men, natives of the

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colony, have gone out for the purpose of qualifying themselves for the South Sea whale-fishery; and from the intrepid character of the Nova Scotians, and the flattering accounts of the success of these ships, there is every reason to expect that the whale-fishery will hereafter become a most important part of the trade of the province.*

The seal-fishery, for which Halifax and the Atlantic ports of Nova Scotia are well situated, is only of recent standing; but this branch of enterprise is likely to be followed up with spirit.

The cod-fishery of the province is of much importance to it, in providing a portion of the assorted cargoes required in the West Indies; but encouragement, extended by the legislature to the fisheries, in the shape of bounties, has been found expedient to enable the fishermen to compete with the Americans on the coast of Labrador.

The shores of Nova Scotia may be considered as the greatest resort of herring and mackerel fishermen.

A small variety of herrings, exceedingly fat and delicious, frequent the shores of the Bay of Fundy in May; and about the end of the month enter Annapolis Basin, where, on the shore of Clements, they have been caught in amazing quantities. They are usually smoked or cured as red herrings, and packed up in boxes, which hold each half a bushel, and con-

* Two of these ships have returned with very fair success. There are now five or six ships in all fitted out from Halifax.

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tain about two hundred. A hundred thousand boxes of these have been exported during some years, but they are said not to be so plentiful as formerly.

Herrings of large size, full of spawn, arrive in all the harbours in May; but these, although taken in great quantities, are poor, and not much esteemed. The spring mackerel are also lean, and not much valued, although they keep better than others in hot climates.

The fall herrings and mackerel are exceedingly fat, and much esteemed. The regulations, by legislative enactment, for inspecting the quality of fish packed up in the province, which must all be in new casks, have, although complained of at first, established the preference for the pickled fish of Nova Scotia in foreign markets.

Crow Harbour, and Fox Island, both near each other, and within Chedebucto Bay, have always, especially in autumn, been the great resort of mackerel and herrings. Nets are sometimes used, but the great bulk of the fish is caught with seines. These places, while the fishing season lasts, are generally the scenes of the most lawless disorder and licentiousness, occasioned by the violence of the fishermen contending for the best places to haul their seines ashore; the pillaging of the fish; the selling and drinking of rum; the smuggling of goods by the Americans; the exactions of those who possess the lands bordering on the shores; and often from the mere spirit of spoliation and mischief. A ship of war has been occasionally sent round from Halifax to preserve

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some sort of order among the multitudes of men, boats, and schooners that resort to these harbours; and certainly these fisheries, from their great importance, require protection and the establishment of regularity for their governance.

A novel method of catching mackerel was some time ago discovered by the fertile genius, in such matters, of the Americans. The method is, simply, on arriving over the fishing grounds, to cut up in very small pieces a quantity of old pickled herring or mackerel, for the mincing of which the Americans have also invented an instrument, and on scattering the same in the sea, round the vessel, myriads of mackerel appear near the surface, when they are caught, as fast as they can be taken in, with a rod and line, the hook being baited with a small piece of shark or mackerel. Sprinkling salt on the surface of the water is said to have the same effect, but it is more expensive.

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CHAPTER XII.

Seminaries of Education—Religion—Population—Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia—General Characteristics of the same Classes of Settlers in all the Colonies—American Loyalists, English, Lowland Scotch, Highland and Island Scotch—Germans—Acadians—French—Freed Negroes of Nova Scotia.

WHAT places Nova Scotia, more than any other circumstance connected with its history or establishments, in a point of view that has accelerated its prosperity, while it at the same time gave an intellectual ascendency to those brought up in the colony, is, that the benefits of education were always, or at least since the American revolutionary war, to be obtained in the province. Amidst all the active engagements of the inhabitants, in occupations where the acquisition of wealth is the sole object, they have not neglected to cultivate the field of learning. It would, indeed, appear as if they were, from their first settling in the country, fully impressed with the truth, that New England owed its prosperity as a country, and its inhabitants, power and property as a people, in consequence of the superior intelligence of its population, and the liberal provision that was always made in that state for the education of youth.

It will be considered, I am aware, matter of some

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astonishment in England, where we so frequently hear the deplorable ignorance of the North American colonists talked of, that we will find, on becoming properly acquainted with Nova Scotia, that it is a matter of doubt whether more general and useful knowledge, among all grades of the population, can be discovered in any country than will be found to prevail in this province. Many of those born and educated in it, have distinguished themselves not only at home, but in different parts of the world; and the natives generally possess a ready power of apprehension, a remarkably distinct knowledge of the general affairs of life, and the talent of adapting themselves to the circumstances of such situations as chance, direction, or necessity, may place them in.

The college of Windsor, from its constitution, claims the first notice among the seminaries of education; but it is much to be regretted that the illiberal policy which has all along restricted the admission of students to those only who subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, has prevented the province from deriving the full benefits of this college.*

To obviate this objection, Dalhousie College, a handsome and commodious edifice, was built at Halifax during the administration of the noble earl whose name it retains, and nearly L.10,000 invested in the funds for its maintenance. Its constitution is similar to that of the University of Edinburgh; but some difficulties connected with its funds or manage-

* Note K.

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ment have as yet prevented its being opened for the admission of students.*

There is an excellent grammar school established at Halifax. Also a national school, and one on the Lancasterian system, which was established by Mr Bromley in 1813.

Besides these institutions, there are at Halifax Sunday schools, a very large school for the Catholics, and several smaller schools. Grammar schools have also been established in each county, and common schools in the settlements.

I have already mentioned the excellent academy and grammar school at Pictou; I trust that party feelings will not prevent the prosperity of these useful institutions.

The Provincial Legislature grants about L.4000 annually, to aid the maintenance of the various seminaries of education.

The Episcopal Church of England is established, by provincial statute, as the fixed form of worship, but without the power of assuming any control over any other denomination of Christians. All religious professions are not only tolerated, but may be considered perfectly free.

* I have lately learned that an academy has been opened for more than a year in this building; and the annual examination of the pupils in English reading and grammar, in Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, &c., which took place on the 30th of July last, (1830) afforded the most satisfactory proofs of the abilities of the reverend gentleman who directs the tuition, and of the rapid, yet solid progress of the scholars.

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The population of the province, including Cape Breton, may safely be estimated at one hundred and sixty thousand, and consists of natives, the descendants of Europeans, English, Scotch, Irish, American loyalists, Germans, Acadian French, Indians, and freed negroes. Their religious professions may agree nearly with the last census; and, including Cape Breton also, may be distributed in the following order:

Inhabitants, including children, classed as professing the creed and forms of the Church of England,	32,000
Church of Scotland,	49,000
Church of Rome,	34,000
Baptists,	22,500
Methodists,	13,500
Lutherans,	3,000
Dissenters from the Church of England,	4,500
Ditto, ditto Scotland,	500
Universalists, Quakers, Sandemanians, Antinomians, Swedenborgians, and Unitarians,	300
Doubtful,	700
	160,000

The clergy of the Episcopal Church are about twenty-two in number, and supported, as missionaries, by a salary of two hundred pounds from the Society for Promoting Religion in Foreign Parts. The diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia includes also New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Bermuda.* The laws do not give him

* The present bishop, Dr Inglis, is an eloquent and highly-gifted preacher, and a gentleman of superior polite and literary acquirements.

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any control whatever over the clergy of other professions, and the Episcopal clergy possess no exclusive powers in the province, unless it be that, in consequence of the governor's having, I believe, always directed marriage licenses to them, they claim the privilege of marrying by license as their peculiar right.

The Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, without regard to the speculations that have created divisions in the Church of Scotland, has established a provincial synod, which regulates the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

The Presbyterian clergy in these colonies are about forty in number. Some unhappy dissensions have arisen, which are much to be regretted, and which I have already noticed when treating of Pictou; but still the Presbyterian Church is in a very flourishing condition, and the clergy, as a body, are very intelligent, respectable, and assiduous in their avocations. They are wholly supported by their congregations.

The Roman Catholic clergy are about fourteen in number, under the control of a bishop, all of whom are respectably maintained by their congregations.

Among the Baptists, which include a numerous and respectable body of the inhabitants, each congregation is considered independent, but the whole may be said to be voluntarily governed by the decisions of their annual association meeting, which very much resembles the Wesleyan conference. The Baptist clergy are also maintained by their congregations.

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The Wesleyan Methodists are in connexion with the general conference in England. They have their district meetings, and also their annual conference, composed of ministers from various stations in the three aforementioned colonies. They occasionally receive some assistance from the funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London; but they are principally supported by voluntary contributions from the members of their own congregations.

Notwithstanding all that may have been said to the contrary, these colonies have all the benefits of religious instruction as fully as the people of the United Kingdom; and although fanaticism may have occasionally disturbed the brains of the ignorant in some particular districts, my enquiries have not, except in one or two instances, discovered any thing so extravagant as the delusion or frensy which has lately agitated so many individuals* on the banks of the Clyde.

In describing the manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, they, like those who form the population of all the rest of British America, retain most of the habits and ideas which were common to the various parts from which either they themselves or their ancestors came; modified, however, by their marrying and mingling together in the settlements, and by their mutual wants requiring mutual acts of neighbourly assistance.

The geographical position of Nova Scotia has imparted to its inhabitants a somewhat more adventu-

* Miss Campbell's disciples.

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rous character than is observed in the other colonies,* and the advantages of education have given them, generally speaking, as a people, an ascendency among the inhabitants of British America. In other respects, the following observations, which apply generally to British America, may be considered equally correct in regard to Nova Scotia.

In the English farmer we observe the dialect of his county, the honest John Bull bluntness of his style, and other peculiarities that mark his character. His house or cottage is distinguished by cleanliness and neatness, his agricultural implements and utensils are always in order; and wherever we find that an English farmer has perseverance, for he seldom wants industry, he is sure to do well. He does not, however, reconcile himself so readily as the Scotch settler does to the privations necessarily connected, for the first few years, with being set down in a new country, where the habits of those around him, and almost every thing else attached to his situation, are somewhat different from what he has been accustomed to; and it is not until he is sensibly assured of succeeding and bettering his condition, that he becomes fully reconciled to the country.

There are, indeed, in the very face of a wood farm, a thousand seeming, and, it must be admitted, many real difficulties to encounter, sufficient to stagger

* Those engaged in the north-west free trade, now connected with Hudson's Bay, form an exception to this general, but by no means particular, observation.

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people of more than ordinary resolution, but more particularly an English farmer, who has all his life been accustomed to cultivate land subjected for centuries to the plough. It is not therefore to be wondered at that he feels discouraged at the sight of wilderness lands, covered with heavy forest trees, which he must cut down and destroy. He is not acquainted with the use of the axe; and if he were, the very piling and burning of the wood, after the trees are felled, is a most disagreeable piece of labour. He has, besides, to make a fence of the logs, to keep off the cattle, sheep, and hogs, which range at large; and when all this is done, he must not only submit to the hard toil of hoeing in grain or potatoes, but often to live on coarse diet. Were it not for the example which he has before him of others, who had to undergo similar hardships before they attained the means which yield them independence, he might indeed give up in despair, and be forgiven for doing so.

The Scotchman, habituated to greater privations in his native country, has probably left it with the full determination of undergoing any hardships that may lead to the acquisition of solid advantages: He therefore acts with great caution and industry, subjects himself to many inconveniencies, neglects the comforts for some time which the Englishman considers indispensable, and in time certainly succeeds in surmounting all difficulties, and then, and not till then, does he willingly enjoy the comforts of life.

The Irish peasant is soon distinguished by his brogue, his confident manner, readiness of reply,

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seeming happiness, although often describing his situation as worse than it is. The Irish emigrants are more anxious, in general, to gain a temporary advantage, by working some time for others, than by beginning immediately on a piece of land for themselves; and this, by procuring the means, leads them too frequently into the habit of drinking—a vice to which a great number of English and Scotch become also unfortunately addicted.

The farmers and labourers born and brought up in America, possess, in an eminent degree, a quickness of expedients where any thing is required that can be supplied by the use of edge-tools; and, as carpenters and joiners, they are not only expert, but ingenious workmen.

Almost every farmer, particularly in the thinly settled districts of America, has a loom in his house, and their wives and daughters not only spin the yarn, but weave the cloth. The quantity, however, manufactured among the farmers, is not more than half what is required for domestic use.

The houses of the American loyalists residing in the colonies are better constructed, and more convenient and clean within, than those of the Highland Scotch and Irish, or indeed those of any other settlers who have not lived some years in America. Although the house of an English farmer who settles on a new farm is, from his awkward acquaintance with edge-tools, usually very clumsy in its construction; yet that comfortable neatness, which is so peculiar to England, prevails within doors, and shows that the vir-

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tue of cleanliness is one that few Englishwomen, let them go where they may, ever forget.

The Highland Scotch, unless intermixed with other settlers, are not only careless, in many particulars, of cleanliness within their houses, but are also regardless of neatness and convenience in their agricultural implements and arrangements. All this arises from the force of habit, and the long prevalence of the make-shift system; for whenever a Scotch Highlander is planted among a promiscuous population, no one is more anxious than he to rival the more respectable establishment of his neighbour.

The Scotch settlers from the Lowland counties, although they generally know much better, yet remain, from a determination first to accumulate property, for some years regardless of comfort or convenience in their dwellings; but they at last build respectable houses, and enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The lower classes of Irish, familiarized from their birth to a miserable subsistence and wretched residences, are, particularly if they have emigrated after the prime of life, perfectly reconciled to any condition which places them above want, although by no means free of that characteristic habit of complaining which poverty at first created.

Of all the civilized people of America, there are none who can more readily accommodate themselves to all the circumstances peculiar to a country in a state of nature than the descendants of those who first settled in the United States. Far from being

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discouraged at the toil of clearing a new farm, they, in countless instances, make what may with great propriety be called a trade of doing so. These people fix on a piece of woodland, clear the trees away from off a few acres, build a house and barn, and then sell the land and improvements the first opportunity that offers. When this is accomplished, they probably travel one, two, or three hundred miles before they settle on another wood farm, which they clear, build on, and dispose of in the same manner as the first. These men must generally be excluded, in point of character, from the honest, stationary American loyalists. Those who make a trade of levelling the forest, will run in debt and cheat whenever they can; yet, like private vices which often become public benefits, these men are useful in their own way, being the pioneers that open the roads to the remote districts.

Few people, however, find themselves sooner at their ease than the Highland Scotch; no class can encounter difficulties or suffer privations with more hardihood, or endure fatigue with less repining. They acquire what they consider an independence in a few years; but they remain, in too many instances, contented with their condition, when they find themselves in possession of more ample means than they possessed in their native country. This observation is, however, more applicable to those who settled from thirty to forty years ago in America, and who retain many of the characteristics which prevailed at that time in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. I have observed, that wherever the Highlanders form dis-

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tinct settlements, their habits, their system of husbandry, disregard for comfort in their houses, their ancient hospitable customs, and their language, undergo no sensible change. They frequently pass their winter evenings reciting traditionary poems in Gaelic, which have been transmitted to them by their forefathers; and I have known many who might, with more propriety, be called faithful counterparts of the Highlanders who fought at Culloden, than can now, from the changes which have during the last fifty years taken place, be found in any part of Scotland. In many instances, as warm a veneration for the royal house of Stuart exists among the old Highlanders who settled, about forty years ago, in different parts of America, as was ever felt in Scotland; but with this difference, that they are sincerely and faithfully attached to the present royal family. The enthusiasm of those brave Celts is by no means of a rebellious and turbulent nature. They merely cherish a kind and filial remembrance for persons whom they consider to have been unfortunate, and for whom all the associations of childhood created respect. Nothing contributed to produce these feelings more than the legendary tales, songs, and music of the Highlanders. That statesman knew the human character well who said, "Let me write the songs of my country, and, let who will make the laws, I will rule the people."

There is scarcely a Highland settlement in North America in which there is not a piper, who plays with great spirit the same wild martial music which has for centuries resounded among the mountains

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and glens of Lochaber, Rannoch, and Aberfoil. At their weddings, and often at their dances, and even at their militia musters, the piper is considered indispensable. At their dances within doors, they, however, generally prefer the old Highland fiddler, or the young one who has learnt the same music, which is at all times played with the spirit and rapidity of which the Scotch reels and strathspeys are so eminently susceptible.

Their dancing is assuredly at the very antipodes of our fashionable quadrilling; with them every muscle and limb is actively and rapidly engaged, and they often maintain the floor till one, whose strength of body or lungs is weaker than that of the others, yields to the fatigue, and sits down. They have always dances at their marriages, and also when the bride arrives at her lord's house. Christmas is also with them the season of making merry. The Lowland Scotch have dances much in the same way and on the same occasions; indeed, they mix much with each other, as the neighbours are generally, be they of what country they may, all invited. The Highlanders are as superstitious in America as they are, or were, in Scotland, believing in second sight, ghosts, and prognostics of good or evil fortune.

Of the Highlanders who settled in America about fifty years ago, there are numbers still living in excellent health and spirits, although from seventy to ninety years of age. They relate the tales of their early days, and the recollections of their native land, with enthusiastic rapture; and the wish to tread once

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more on ground sacred to their dearest feelings, and hallowed from containing the ashes of their ancestors, seems paramount to the ties of property and every connexion which binds them to a country in which they have so long been domiciliated. There are but few indeed that I ever met with in any part of America, who do not, in a greater or less degree, feel a lingering wish to see their native country; and although prudence or necessity forbids their doing so, yet nothing appears to destroy the warm affection they retain for the land where they first drew breath. This feeling descends to all their offspring born in America, and all call the United Kingdom by the endearing name of "home."

Various circumstances connected with Scotland, make the attachment which her children retain for a country to which destiny allows but few of them to return, differ widely from what is usually observed among the natives of England or Ireland. Among the latter, indeed, both the recollection of their country and an affection for relatives are strong, but the distress to which they were inured, under the peculiar circumstances of their native country, seems to have extinguished an attachment which would otherwise have been warmly cherished.

The honest pride of an Englishman makes him consider every country inferior to his own, nor can he on earth discover a nation so eminently blessed as England is with comforts and advantages; but, when abroad, he seems to think too much of its many sources of enjoyment, and to sigh too frequently for

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its sports and amusements, to support that spirit which is the soul of adventure. All these feelings are natural, but they check the ardour which conquers difficulties.

With the native of North Britain, not only does the education he receives at school, and the principles inculcated at the fire-side of his parents, impress on him, as well as the usual course of instruction does on the native of England, that correctness and propriety of conduct are essential to form a character that will succeed in the world, as well as gain the confidence of mankind; but the lessons of early life infuse also, among the lower and middle classes in Scotland, a spirit which will endure the greatest hardships without repining, wherever a manifest utility is to be attained.

The pride of rising in the world, the consciousness that friends left behind will be gratified and elated on learning that prosperity attends one's pursuits, and the natural ascendency which one acquires in society, by the superior and successful exertion of one's abilities, are, altogether, motives that have an irresistible influence over the character and actions of the majority of those who have left Scotland for other countries. The vast numbers of them also who meet abroad, form attachments, which the recollections of early days, and conversing on circumstances connected with their native land, strengthen and maintain. This alone is the cause of their assisting, and their associating so much with, each other in distant countries.

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The amusements of the farmers and other inhabitants settled in the British colonies, are much the same as they have been accustomed to, before leaving the countries from whence they came. Dances on many occasions are common; families visit each other at Christmas and New-Year's-Day; and almost all that is peculiar to Scotland at the season of "Hallowe'en" is repeated. Among the young men, feats of running, leaping, and gymnastic exercises, are common; but that in which they most delight in is galloping up and down the country on horseback. Indeed, many of the farmers' sons, who could make a certain livelihood by steady labour, acquire a spirit for bargain-making, dealing in horses, timber, old watches, &c., in order to become what they consider (by being idle) gentlemen; those who lead this course of life seldom do any good, and generally turn out lazy, drunken, dishonest vagabonds.

The insufferable forwardness of many of the sons of very worthy and industrious men who emigrated at different periods to America, is truly disgusting. Their fathers, by steady labour and honesty, have generally some valuable property in land and cattle. The sons, observing few in better circumstances than themselves, begin to think, especially if they have been taught a little learning by a straggling Irish schoolmaster, or by a disbanded soldier, that they should not work as their fathers have done; that "scheming" or "head-work" will answer much better; and they consequently acquire, in a short time, the vices, principles, and manners of the worst of the

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Americans. I quite agree with Mr Howison, when he says, " that the *ne plus ultra* of impudence, rascality, and villainy, is comprehended in the epithet *Scotch Yankee*."

The term *frolic* is peculiar, I believe, to America, in the different senses in which it is there used. If a goodwife has a quantity of wool or flax to spin, she invites as many of her neighbours as the house can well accommodate; some bring their spinning-wheels, others their cards. They remain all day at work; and, after drinking abundance of tea, either go home, or remain to dance for some part of the night. This is called a " spinning frolic."

They are on these occasions, as well as at other frolics, joined by the young men of the settlement, and in this way many of their love-matches are made up. When a farmer or new settler wants a piece of wood cut down, he procures a few gallons of rum to drink on the occasion, and sends for his neighbours to assist him in levelling the forest. This is again called a " chopping frolic."

In New Brunswick, and other parts where husking Indian corn is a matter of some moment, the young men and women assemble for the purpose of performing the job. On these occasions, which they call " husking frolics," they have rare frolics indeed; tumbling and kissing each other among the corn, forming a prominent share in the amusement.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Acadian French.

THE present condition of the Acadians, and the leading particulars of their eventful history, are both subjects too interesting to be omitted in an account of Nova Scotia, although we now find them settled in distinct villages throughout New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and the district of Gaspè. For many years after the first French adventurers resorted to Nova Scotia, the cultivation of the soil was neglected for hunting, fishing, and the fur trade. The rich intervales, however, and the vast marshes which abounded within the basins of Minas and Chignecto, with the fertile lands of Port Royal or Annapolis River, at length riveted the industry of the Acadians to grazing and husbandry, and secured to them all that was necessary to render their condition as happy as can probably ever be the lot of humanity. They became strongly attached to the country, and they formed a simple, moral, and contented peasantry, who, when Nova Scotia was finally ceded, in 1710, to the Crown of England, had, by regularity of conduct and steady industry, attained to affluent circumstances, in so far as possession of

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extensively cultivated farms, and large herds of cattle, can constitute riches.

For a long time after they changed masters, they remained unmolested; and in giving an account of the Acadians at that period, I cannot omit the beautiful, and, I believe, just, picture of their condition drawn by the Abbé Raynal.

"Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country, that the Acadians," says the Abbé, "who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called French neutrals.

"No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them, and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them, and they were equally strangers to him.

"Hunting, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes and lowlands, by repelling the sea and rivers which covered these plains with dikes. These grounds at first yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards twenty times as much at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

"At the same time they had immense meadows,

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with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of horned cattle were computed there, and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

" The habitations, built chiefly of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, and which was, in general, wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cider, to which they sometimes added rum.

" Their usual clothing was, in general, the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own sheep; with these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisburg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

" The neutral French had no other articles to dispose of among their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each family was able, and had been used, to provide for its wants. They therefore knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie which had stolen into the colony, did not promote that circulation, which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it.

" Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of

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importance enough to be carried before the Court of Judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvest.

"These were plentiful enough to support more than a sufficiency for every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved before it was felt, and good was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

"So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connexions of gallantry, which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion of flocks. This

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family grew up and prospered like the others. They altogether amounted to eighteen thousand souls."

The Abbé continues to observe :—

"Who will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wish for the duration of its happiness? Who will not construct in imagination an impenetrable wall, that may separate these colonists from their unjust and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A long series of favourable events is necessary to raise them from misery, while one instant is sufficient to plunge them into it. May the Acadians be exempted from this general curse! But, alas! it is to be feared they will not."*

The fears of Raynal were too truly realized. I have already briefly observed, in a former chapter, the miserable dispersion of the Acadians. Their sufferings in the southern colonies, to which they were transported, were severe and undeserved. They were treated not like innocent men, but, as if they were condemned convicts.

They were accused of having joined the troops from Canada; but those who did so, pleaded being forced to join their countrymen; and certainly a great share of their misfortunes must be laid to the charge of the French at Canada and Cape Breton.

* History of the East and West Indies, by the Abbé Raynal. Vol. v. p. 312, et seq.

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But again, their accusers were their judges, and they were visited with punishment, the severity of which can never be defended.

The ardent attachment which they cherished for Nova Scotia during their exile, is forcibly and feelingly expressed by them, in the language of their petition to his Majesty George the Second.* After stating their conscientious scruples as to the oath required of them; and their being forcibly carried away from the province to uncongenial climates, this memorial concludes:

"Thus we, our ancient parents and grand-parents (men of great integrity and approved fidelity to your Majesty,) and our innocent wives and children, became the unhappy victims to those groundless fears; we were transported into the English colonies, and this was done in so much haste, and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that, from the most social enjoyments and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life: parents were separated from children, and husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessaries, especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives; and even those

* Note L.

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amongst us who had suffered deeply from your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to your Majesty's government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which Réné Leblanc, the notary-public before mentioned, is a remarkable instance: he was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people, and his family, consisting of twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grand-children, were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than of us, notwithstanding his many years' labour and deep sufferings for your Majesty's service.

"The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced, for a livelihood, to toil and hard labour in a southern clime, so disagreeable to our constitutions, that most of us have been prevented by sickness from procuring the necessary subsistence for our families; and are therefore threatened with that which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers, and exposed to contagious distempers unknown in our native country.

"This, compared with the affluence and ease we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen, in this province of Penn-

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sylvania, two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but your Majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress. We therefore hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially enquired into, and that your Majesty would please to grant us such relief, as in your justice and clemency you will think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray, &c."

This petition was disregarded, and the Acadians were allowed to pine, and many of them to die, in the southern colonies. Those who were afterwards allowed to return, settled where they best could, as the lands they previously possessed were occupied by others; and the Acadians are now to be found (as before mentioned) in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and the district of Gaspè, always by themselves in distinct villages. They still continue averse to settling among other people; and I have not been able to discover more than four instances of their intermarrying with strangers. They profess the Roman Catholic faith, and observe the most rigid adherence to all the forms of their church. On Sunday, we observe a decorum and simplicity in the appearance of the Acadians, men, women, and children, that reminds us of what we read of the amiable manners of primitive ages. Their

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general character is virtuous, honest, and inoffensive. Religiously tenacious of their dress, and all the habits of their forefathers, they have no ambition to rise in the world above the condition in which they have lived since their first settling in America. The dread of being exposed to the derision of the rest, for attempting to imitate the English inhabitants, and the want of an education that would conquer prejudices, are the principal causes that prevent individuals among them, who would willingly alter their dress and habits, from doing so.

In Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Richibucto, Magdalene Islands, and the River St John, the Acadian women dress nearly in the same way as the Bavarian broom girls, with small neat calico caps, and sometimes a *coiffe* or handkerchief tied over the head. Their petticoats of woollen stuff are liberally formed as to breadth, striped red, white, and blue, thickly plaited in large folds at the waist, but they seldom reach within six inches of the ankle; they usually wear blue stockings. On Sunday, their clothes and linen look extremely clean and neat; and they wear over their shoulders a small blue cloth cloak, reaching only half-way down the body, and generally fastened at the breast with a brass brooch. On week days they are more carelessly dressed, and they usually wear *sabots* (wooden shoes). The men dress in round blue jackets, with strait collars, and metal buttons set close together; blue or scarlet waistcoats, and blue trowsers, with sometimes the Bonnet Rouge, but generally round hats. Among all the Acadians in Prince Edward Island, I never knew but one per

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son who had the hardihood to dress differently from what they call " notre façon." On one occasion he ventured to put on an English-made coat, and he has never since, even among his relations, been called by his proper name, Joseph Gallant, which has been supplanted by that of " Joe Peacock."

At Arichat, the Acadians, both men and women, sometimes depart in their dress from the fashions of the Acadians, and wear coats and gowns made in the English fashion.

At Caraquette, I observed also a partial deviation from their usual dress : some of the men wearing coats, and a few of the women wearing gowns. The head-dress of the women on the south side of the Bay de Chaleur, is, I believe, peculiar to themselves. Instead of the Bavarian-like small caps worn by all the other Acadians, they delight in immense muslin caps, in shape like a balloon.

The women are always industrious ; and in the fishing settlements they are perfect drudges. The men, after splitting the fish, leave the whole labour of curing to the women, who have also to cook, nurse their children, plant their gardens, gather what little corn they raise, and spin and weave coarse cloth. The old worn clothes they either cut into small strips, and weave as waft into coarse bed-covers, or they untwist the threads into wool, which they again spin and make into cloth.

The occupations of the Acadians depend much upon their local situation. In Arichat, Magdalene Islands, Rustico, Tracady, the Bay Chaleur, and some other places, where they principally follow fishing,

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they are not in such easy circumstances as at Clare, Cumberland, and some places in Prince Edward Island, where they chiefly depend on agriculture. Wherever we discover the Acadians depending on the cultivation of their lands, we find them nearly approaching the condition of their ancestors as described by Raynal. They marry very young, five to thirty couple at one time in the same chapel, are very affectionate to their children; and the husband seldom makes a bargain or enters on any project without first consulting his *femme*. Domestic virtue they may lay an eminent claim to. One instance in a thousand cannot probably be discovered of a child being born out of wedlock. They have large families, and their children, when young, are fat and chubby, but few are so when they grow up.

The Acadians are nearly destitute of education; scarcely any of the women, and few of the men, can read or write; and, like all ignorant people, it matters not of what religion, they are exceedingly bigoted and superstitious.*

* The following anecdote was related to me by different persons in Prince Edward Island:—At St Eleanor's, Colonel Compton, to whom the township of St Eleanor belongs, lived about thirty years ago. Near his house is a small river, the entrance of which opens early in the spring, at which time it is usually frequented by flocks of wild-geese. St Eleanor's was then populously settled with Acadian French; and during the residence of Colonel Compton, one of the inhabitants (Louis Gallant) died without the usual consolatory attendance of a clergyman, there being but one priest at the time on the island, who lived about seventy miles distant, and who could not, it appears, come in time to hear the confession of the dying man. Louis, it seems, was one of those Acadians who did

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Most of the men understand English, but French is, and will long continue to be, their language. It is a still more corrupted *patois* than that spoken by the Canadians; but they perfectly understand French as spoken in France. Dancing, fiddling, and feasting,

not surrender when the island was taken; and while lurking about in the woods, he found two Englishmen sleeping, during the summer heat, under the shade of a tree. Louis, considering them his natural enemies, as well as the conquerors of his country, felt no scruple in killing them with his hatchet. The murder, however, made Louis miserable, and his conscience was a most troublesome one to him as long as he lived, although his dying hour only developed the mysterious cause of his misery. A little after his death, a solitary wild-goose made its appearance in the opening of the ice at the mouth of the river, near the village of St Eleanor's. The young men, who were all considered such good shots as to be able to hit a goose at a hundred yards distance with a musket-ball, fired frequently but ineffectually at this one, which they at last began to think invulnerable. At this time there was on a visit at Colonel Compton's an Irish officer belonging to the troops stationed at Charlotte Town. He had with him an excellent double-barrelled gun, and the Acadians beseeched him to try its virtues by shooting the wonderful goose. He accompanied them, crept within shot of the object, and being (although a Catholic himself) amused at their superstitious fears, he, at the moment he was apparently going to fire, started up as if in great terror, and told the Acadians that no one must attempt firing again at what they took for a wild-goose, that his gun possessed the peculiar and wonderful property, when he aimed with it at a supernatural object, of exhibiting it to him in its proper form, and that what they had vainly attempted to shoot, was the ghost of Louis, who would doubtless haunt St Eleanor's until a clergyman was sent for to deliver his soul from the pains of purgatory. A deputation of young men was immediately dispatched for the priest, the goose disappeared, and the good Acadians rejoiced in having performed a religious duty, which the felicity of their lost friend rendered necessary.

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at Christmas, at Mardi-Gras, before Lent, and feasting at or after Easter, are their principal sources of amusement or indulgence.

They labour under the impression that justice is not, under the British government, administered impartially to them in the courts of law; and this has arisen perhaps entirely from the conduct of the justices of the peace, many of whom, appointed in the settlements, are stupid, ignorant men; and I regret to say, that I have often known them to make iniquitous and unjust decisions against the Acadians.

The descendants of the French, settled in the north side of the Bay de Chaleur, are mostly Acadians; but, from their intimate intercourse with Quebec and the Canadians, are a more intelligent people than the other Acadians, whom they, as well as the Canadians, denominate "Les Sauvages." This appellation is owing to some of the Acadians having, in consequence of their ancestors marrying Indian women, the indication of Micmac blood apparent in their countenances. The Acadians have swarthy complexions, seldom fair hair, are generally well made, but the men are very rarely inclined to corpulency. The women are usually under the middle stature, with thick waists and ungainly figures. The features of their faces are, however, generally regular, with fine eyes and expressive countenances.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Negroes from the United States—Sierra Leone Company—Fatal Consequences of removing the Negroes from Nova Scotia to Africa—Maroons sent from Jamaica to Halifax—Removed also to Africa—Chesapeake Negroes settled at Hammond Plains and Prescot—Wretched Condition.

THE negro slaves who were brought to the province from the United States at different times, were, whenever they chose, liberated; and after the American Revolution, some hundreds of freed negroes emigrated to Nova Scotia. The mistaken philanthropy of the Sierra Leone Company caused the removal of eleven hundred and ninety-six of these people in 1792, at extraordinary expense, in sixteen vessels, to Africa; sixty-five of them died during the voyage, and many of the remainder became victims to a climate not congenial to them, although it was naturally so to their ancestors. The rest became turbulent and ungovernable.

Some time after, three ships, with the rebellious Maroons of Jamaica, arrived at Halifax. Great but unsuccessful efforts were made to settle these people in the province. For some time their labour at the fortifications, and their obedience to authority, while well fed and clothed, occasioned them to be consi-

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dered rather an acquisition than a burden to the colony. They were afterwards enrolled as a militia corps, and, in a warm climate, would have made good soldiers, as they were passionately fond of arms. It was also attempted to convert them to religion, in which, however, there does not appear to have been the least progress made; a plurality of wives, or rather women, and the African burial ceremonies, they declared they would never abandon; and, in short, they only listened to the ministers of religion with contumely.

Two or three hard winters, however, produced sulky discontent among them, and they evinced a determined reluctance to work for themselves. Although they were housed and fed without working, and allowed to indulge themselves in their accustomed sensuality, and card-playing, the spring only brought about fresh murmurs and complaints, alleging that the various engagements intimated to them on leaving Jamaica were disregarded; and after costing the island of Jamaica L.47,000, and the British Government L.10,000 annually for some years, they were, in 1800, also removed to Sierra Leone.

The folly of making Nova Scotia a rendezvous for freed negroes, was not yet however completed. While a British squadron was blockading the American coast, in 1815, some hundreds of negroes fled from their masters, and were received by the English Admiral, who sent them to Halifax. These people became idle vagrants, rather than stationary settlers. Although lands were laid out for them, and tools,

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implements of husbandry, and rations, were provided for them during winter by government, they became sulky and discontented. They thought that to be free, meant to be idle, in fact, to live without working. A few of them stole off to the United States, ninety of them were removed at the public expense to Trinidad; and, as if nothing else were wanting to crown the folly of this most absurd philanthropy, one million,—I believe the sum is correct, but I speak from memory,—was granted to the United States as a compensation for these negroes. The Americans themselves sneer at this ultra stretch of English generosity, and it has actually gone a great way to strengthen the common impression among them, that there is nothing too unreasonable to ask of, or with which to gull, honest, credulous, kind-hearted John Bull.

Slavery does not exist in Nova Scotia, and the number of freed negroes may be equal to three thousand. Of these, part came originally from the West India Islands; others are the residue of those from the United States; and the remainder were born in the province. A settlement was laid out for them at Hammond Plains, and another at Prescot, both in the neighbourhood of Halifax, and every facility afforded them by the provincial government; yet they are still in a state of miserable poverty, while Europeans, who have settled on woodlands, under circumstances scarcely so favourable, thrive with few exceptions. There are at Halifax, and in most of the country settlements, several negroes who live as domestic servants among the inhabitants, and in this

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condition they are generally industrious, obedient, and well provided with food and clothing. We find them also on board the ships as sailors, but more frequently as stewards and cooks. There are not, probably, ten exceptions to be found among all the negroes in the province who are their own masters, that are not indolent, improvident, miserable, and ragged. They gather wild fruits in summer, which they sell in the Halifax market, and in winter they bring in brooms, which they dispose of for rum, and what food they can get. They seem inclined indeed to do any thing, and even meet starvation in the face, rather than cultivate the ground with patient industry. They think the returns for their labour too slow, too distant to wait for until the seed they sow produce a crop. Whether their wretchedness may be attributed to servitude and degradation having extinguished in them the spirit that endures present difficulties and privations, in order to attain future advantages; or to the consciousness that they are an unimportant and distinct race; or, more properly, to the fact, that they find it more congenial to their habits to serve others, either as domestic servants or labourers, by which they make sure of the wants of the day—certain it is that they prefer servitude, and always live more comfortably in that condition than they do when working on their own account.

Thirteen years after they were settled at Hammond Plains, I had the opportunity of knowing their condition. It was wretched in the extreme. The grown up and the aged in rags, and the children nearly

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naked. Their habitations, destitute of furniture or common necessaries, were also unfit to defend them from the inclemency of winter. To a man unacquainted with our possessions abroad, it might be difficult to account for the poverty-stricken and unhappy condition of these unfortunate beings. To me the causes of their penury and misery were distinct and evident. The surrounding settlements, though the lands of which were not originally of better, and in some cases not of equally good quality to that occupied by the negroes, were cultivated by emigrants, who arrived in the colony from time to time, with nothing but their industry to acquire the means of living. They received no public assistance, and they had all to pay some pounds before they secured titles to the lands on which they settled; yet I found these people, with very few exceptions, in comfortable circumstances, with their houses commodious and conveniently furnished, their farms well cultivated, themselves and their families well clothed, their tables well supplied with excellent food, their moral character correct, their attention to public worship regular, and the instruction of their offspring attended to. What then has secured to them all these blessings? neither more nor less than persevering industry and good management.

Then to what are we to attribute the penury and the misery of the freed negroes of Nova Scotia, to whom the legislature have yearly afforded assistance, and to whom the blessings of religion and the benefits of education have been as fully extended as to

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the other inhabitants of the province? To no cause but the absence of steady well-directed industry, and judicious management.

We then come to enquire, how does it arise that the freed negroes are an indolent, improvident class of men? To account for this fact, we have only to reflect that man, in order to husband and manage the fruits of his labour, as well as to regulate his moral conduct, must be trained from infancy, by example and education, so as to render such a course of life natural and desirable to him; and by which means alone, will he be prepared in due season to act prudently or wisely on his own responsibility.

The previous life of the negro is so very different from that of Europeans, that even when in Africa, in his freest state, it would require the operations of useful and liberal instruction for more than one generation, to adapt him for acting, according to his own free will, with the steady industry, good management, and discretion, necessary to render his condition equally happy with that of the husbandmen and artisans of Europe, or of their descendants settled in America.

It is far from my wish, in making these observations, to inculcate the revolting doctrine, that slavery is the most happy condition in which negroes can live; but all my observations, in our colonies, have led me to conclude, unbiassed by prejudice or by interest, that the attempts hitherto made to render the freed negroes more happy or more virtuous than they were as slaves, have been unsuccessful; and

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that unless the West India negroes be gradually prepared for personal liberty, they will, on obtaining their freedom, become objects of much greater commiseration than they now are in a state of bondage; and the history and present condition of the freed negroes of Nova Scotia fully substantiate these assertions.

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NOTES TO BOOK I.

Note A, page 7.

Beautiful specimens of agate, jasper, chalcedony, amethyst, &c., are found along the coast of the Bay of Fundy. A number of the American Journal of Science for 1828, (which, from having mislaid, I cannot refer to,) contains much interesting information respecting the mineralogy of the western part of the province, communicated by Mr Jackson, and Mr Alger of Boston, who travelled over a great part of the country.

Note B, page 23.

"In 1634, La Tour arrived at the harbour of Boston, in a ship having one hundred and forty men on board; the master and crew of which were Protestants of Rochelle. He stated to the governor that his fort on the River St John was besieged by his rival, and that he had come for the purpose of seeking aid to remove him. Recourse was had to the Bible, as was usual with the Puritans on all doubtful occasions, to discover if possible some case which would, by analogy, apply to the present, and furnish a rule for their conduct. On the one hand, it was said the speech of the Prophet to Jehoshaphat, in 2d Chronicles, xix., 2, and the portion of Solomon's Proverbs contained in chap. xxvi., 17th verse, not only discharged them from any obligation, but actually forbid them to assist La Tour; while, on the other hand, it was agreed that it was as lawful for them to give him succour, as it was for Joshua to aid the Gibeonites against the rest of the Canaanites, or for Jehoshaphat to aid Jehoram against Moab, in which expedi-

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tion Elisha was present, and did not reprove the King of Judah. These conflicting authorities divided their councils, and though either course was sanctioned by Scripture, it did not appear that there was any certain rule on the subject, while the safest course was to adhere to the old maxim, *Dubia causa bellum non est suscipiendum.*"—HALIBURTON'S *Nova Scotia*, p. 54.

NOTE C, page 31.

"LE PERE RALLE, who had been a missionary among the savages for forty years, resided at Noridgewaak at this time, and had erected a church there. They loved and idolized him, and were at all times ready to hazard their lives for his preservation. He was conversant with the English and Dutch languages, and master of the several dialects of the Abenaquis nation. His literary attainments, though of little use to him in such a situation, appear to have been very respectable; and his Latin, in which he generally addressed those gentlemen at Boston with whom he had occasionally a controversial correspondence, was pure, classical, and elegant. As both those persons (the Baron Castine and Le Pere Rallè) were supposed to have instigated the Indians to hostility, as well in Nova Scotia as on the confines of New England, and were in the immediate interest of the Governor of Canada, they became very obnoxious to the English." Charlvoix informs us, "that La Pere Rallè, though unprepared, was not intimidated, and advanced towards the English in order to attract their attention *to him*, and thus screen his flock by the voluntary offer of his own life. As soon as he was discovered, he was saluted with a shout, and a shower of bullets, and fell, together with seven Indians, who had rushed out of their tents to shelter him with their bodies, at the foot of a cross which he had erected in the middle of the village." He adds, "that the savages, when the pursuit had ceased, returned to weep over their beloved missionary; and that they found his body perforated with balls, his head scalped, his skull broken with hatchets, his mouth and eyes filled with mud, the bones of his legs fractured, and his limbs dreadfully mangled. After having bathed his remains with their tears, they buried him in the site of the

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chapel, where the preceding evening he had celebrated the sacred rites of religion."—HALIBURTON's *Nova Scotia*, p. 104.

NOTE D, page 75.

DURING the session of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, in December last (1830,) the dispute between the Council and House of Assembly has been most satisfactorily adjusted, and the most perfect harmony restored, with the determination of both to coalesce in carrying into effect whatever may promote the public good.

NOTE E, page 81.

A VERY interesting military spectacle—a sham fight—took place at Halifax last August (1830). The 24th regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Fox, with the volunteer militia companies, represented the enemy; and the 8th, under Colonel Cathcart, and the 52d, under Colonel Fergusson, defended the peninsula of Halifax. After several counterfeit, but apparently real, desperate rencontres, the enemy of course was defeated, and compelled to retreat from the town and fortification.

NOTE F, page 86.

IN December 1828, I returned in one of the Halifax Company's ships to England. We made our voyage in eighteen days. The rapidity of the passage, and the comfortable arrangements of the ship, made the voyage appear little more than a pleasure excursion on the water. The living was sumptuous: *déjeûner à la fourchette*, the prominent materials of which, with coffee, tea, bread, butter, and eggs, were cold fowls, ham, tongue, cold beef, hot beef-steaks, and fish. Luncheon at twelve; dinner at three, in which the courses were chosen from the well-supplied stores of fresh beef, mutton, turkeys, geese, fowls, hams, tongue, and fish, with abundance of puddings, cheese, fruits, spirits, wines, and malt liquors.

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Tea and supper afterwards followed in due time for those who chose to partake of them. So that with feasting, walking on deck for exercise, conversation, books, cards, and sleep, the time passed by most rapidly; and it was somewhat difficult to think, on entering the river Mersey, that Halifax was two thousand five hundred miles distant.

Note G, page 104.

The rivers which flow through the southern part of Nova Scotia, rise principally at the foot of a range of hills situated in the interior, between Argyle Bay and Annapolis Basin, and called the Blue Mountains. The Indians are said to have formerly resorted periodically to groves among those wilds, which they considered as consecrated places, in order to offer sacrifices to their Gods.

Note H, page 122.

The regulation which stipulated that students, on their matriculation at Windsor College, should subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, has, since the text was printed, been wisely dispensed with, except as respects those who take degrees in divinity.

Note I, page 136.

A sandy cove, near Cape George, is called Malignant Cove, not from any evil connected with its history, nor from any forbidding feature in its appearance, but from the Malignant frigate having run ashore on its beach, to avoid the certain destruction of all on board, on the iron bound coast to the eastward.

Note K, page 175.

See Note H.

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Note L, page 196.

Fragment.

The following, translated by a gentleman in Nova Scotia, was written by M. De Ch-t-l-n, one of the sufferers of 1755, and translated from the original French manuscript, in the Library of "L'Hôtel Dieu," Quebec:—

The Tears of Acadia.

"And must we from our native land depart?
Break—break asunder, oh my bleeding heart!
Driven from our altars, and our happy home—
Strangers and poor—through other realms to roam.
Our wives and infants share the direful fate—
Unspotted victims of tyrannic hate.
See them on bended knees, with tears o'erflown,
In our calamities lament their own.
Sever'd from father, brother, son, and friend,
Unheard of sorrows shall their steps attend.
Yet some sad trembling hope still flutters near,
That we shall meet again, though never here;
Meet to divide the mis'ries of our chain,
But never to enjoy a smile again!
* * * * * * * *
Our flocks shall follow strangers—now no choice,
Though still unknown to them the stranger voice.
Our faithful dogs may trace these *ruins* round,
And mourn the masters never to be found.
Oh never shall we tread the peaceful plain,
Where our brave fathers toil'd for us in vain!
Oh, never shall we see Acadia's shore—
Ours once, by Heaven's decree, but ours no more.
Our churches burn—behold the ascending glare,
Bearing to Heaven our agonizing prayer!
Eternal Judge, to whom revenge belongs,
Forbear to visit for our num'rous wrongs;
Let us in patience bow beneath the rod,
And say with Christ—'Thy will be done, oh God!'

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—How shall we go?—Soldiers, some pity feel,
Nor goad the ling'ring exile with thy steel!
Let us one longing look behind us cast,
Our fathers' sepulchres demand the last.
'Tis done—and oh! what horrors rise to view!
Without a ray of light to cheer us through.
In foreign lands our days of woe to spend—
In foreign lands our hopeless days to end.
There will no sympathy for us be shown:
Unpitied all our tears—our cries unknown;
Our nation scorn'd—our faith despised as vain;
And ev'ry bigot* riveting our chain:
E'en when the wearied spirit seeks release,
No shepherd of our fold to whisper peace!
* * * * * * * *
Thus do the English fix our fatal doom,
And crown with woes our passage to the tomb!"

* *Visionnaire*, in the original.

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BOOK II.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Boundaries—Geological Features—Minerals—Wild Animals—Fishes, &c.—Climate, &c.—Settlement of the Country—Sufferings of early Settlers—Governor Carleton—General Smyth—Sir Howard Douglas—Constitution—Administration of the Laws, &c.

THE province of New Brunswick extends from the River St Croix, which is considered the boundary line of the United States, to the Bay de Chaleur and the River Restigouche, which divide it from Canada. The greater part of this colony is yet in a wilderness state, although its soil, with the exception of a few rocky districts, principally on the Bay of Fundy coast, and several but not extensive swampy tracts, is rich and fertile.

The River St John, with its lakes and myriads of streams; the tributary waters of one side of the St Croix; the River Petit Coudiac; the Miramichi, with its majestic branches; the river Nipisighit, and many lesser rivers, open an inland navigation into almost every part of the province.

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Dense forests cover nearly the whole country; and the trees, which grow to an immense size are of the same kind and quality as already described under the head of forest trees. Pine abounds in greater plenty than in any of the other lower provinces. Birch, beech, and maple, are the prevailing hardwood trees.

The quality of the soil here, as elsewhere in America, may always be ascertained by the description of wood growing on it. Along the countless rivers of this province there are also innumerable tracts of what is termed intervale land: this kind of soil is alluvial, with detached trees of luxuriant growth, principally elm, maple, and black birch, and butternutt; and is, like the lands of the Nile, annually irrigated and enriched by the overflowing of the rivers. In several parts of the interior country, generally along small brooks, are wild meadows, caused originally by the industry of the beaver, in consequence of the irrigation of a flat tract by the water, arrested by the dams constructed by these animals.

The aspect of the coast of New Brunswick, along the Bay of Fundy, is generally rugged, and the soil near the shore stubborn and difficult to cultivate.

The geology of the province is very imperfectly known. Limestone, greywacke, clay-slate, with sandstone, interrupted occasionally by gneiss, trap, and granite, seem to prevail on the southern coast. Among these, however, calcareous rock appears to predominate. Marble, of fair pretensions to beauty, abounds at Kennebecasis, and probably in other parts

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of the country. Coal is plentiful, and iron ore abundant. Copper, plumbago, and manganese, have also been found, and great research may likely discover many other minerals. Gypsum and grindstone are abundant near Chignecto Basin.

Along the shores of this province, facing the Gulf of St Lawrence and Chaleur Bay, sandstone prevails. Grey sandstone and clay-slate seem to predominate, as far as I could observe, along the course of the Miramichi; among which, granite, mica, quartz, and ironstone, in detached rocks, occasionally occur. Specimens of amethyst, cornelian, jasper, &c., have been picked up in various places. Some sulphurous, or hepatic springs, of much the same properties as the waters of Harrowgate, have lately been found. Salt springs, strongly saturated, are believed to be numerous. Some of the salt produced by boiling the water of one of these springs was shown me, which resembled the finest table salt we have in England.

As we proceed from the sea-coast up the rivers of this province, the rich fertility of the country claims our admiration. A great flat district may be said to prevail from the parallel of the Long Reach, up the River St John, to the foot of Mars' Hill. High hills occasionally rise in ridges in various places, but no part of New Brunswick can be considered mountainous.

The scenery of the rivers, lakes, and cataracts, is generally picturesque and beautiful, and often wild and grandly romantic.

The wild animals are bears, moose-deer, and car-

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riboo; foxes, loup-cerviers, tiger-cat, racoon, porcupine, martin, beaver, otter, mink, musquash, fisher, hare, weasel, &c. Most of the birds enumerated as common to America are also plentiful.

Along the coasts, cod, haddock, mackerel, and nearly all the kinds of fishes caught in the North American seas, are abundant; salmon, shad, bass, &c., frequent the rivers and shores; and a variety of other descriptions of fish, among which are chub, smelt, trout, eel, and perch, are plentiful in the streams or lakes. A kind of fish, called in New Brunswick cusk, and considered excellent eating, is caught in the rivers. I have not seen it elsewhere. It somewhat resembles the white fish of the Canada lakes, but is less in size, and quite a different species.

The climate of New Brunswick is salubrious; the epidemic fevers of the southern states are unknown; and colds, and their consequent diseases, can only be considered as common in this province. An erysipelatous disease, previously unknown in the country, made its appearance three or four years ago; at which time it prevailed also in Nova Scotia. It must have been produced by some peculiarity in the season of that year, or brought on by accidental circumstances. Consumption, although not apparently so common as in England, is the principal cause of death among the young, or those between twenty and thirty. Fevers, generally in the form of mild typhus, occur frequently in the beginning of winter, most probably for want of proper attention in fortifying

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the body in time with additional clothing against the sudden change from warm to cold weather.

In a country like New Brunswick, where the inhabitants expose themselves so much to all the varieties of climate, and to the waters of the sea and rivers, rheumatism often afflicts the working classes, especially the lumberers, who are so often, during fall and spring, drenched in the remarkably cold waters of the rivers. The diseases, however, that are most fatal to life, are those brought to the province from other countries, principally by passenger-ships, such as fevers, small-pox, and measles. Generally speaking, the climate may be considered at least equally healthy as that of England.

The temperature of the climate of the southern parts is much milder than that of those parts which border on the Gulf of St Lawrence, the Bay de Chaleur, and Lower Canada. Sea-fogs frequently envelope the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and render the culture of wheat near the coast uncertain, but do not appear to cause any unhealthy consequences.

With the difference of more humidity in the southern coast, and a few miles inland, and that the harbours within the Bay of Fundy, at least from St John's to the State of Maine, are seldom long obstructed with ice, and the frosts in the northern parts being somewhat more severe, what I have observed in treating of the climate of America generally, will apply equally to this province.

The natural advantages of New Brunswick are equal to those of any wilderness country in America;

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and it requires only a great addition of industrious settlers to its present population, to secure its prosperity, and to make it one of the most important of his majesty's colonies. Its resources are great, and it is capable of maintaining at least three millions of inhabitants.

The history of New Brunswick is embodied with that of Nova Scotia, of which province it formed a part until 1785. The first settlement attempted by the British was in 1762, by a few families from New England, on the River St John, about fifty miles from its mouth, and named Maugerville.

These people experienced great misery, and met with many obstacles before they established themselves. The difficulties inseparable from settling in the finest wilderness country in the world, are sufficiently formidable and discouraging, but the hostile spirit of the Indians harassed them still more, and the savages were only at last appeased by the payment of large sums for the wild animals which the English colonists had killed.

During the American war, several other families left New England, and planted themselves on the lands adjoining Maugerville. This district became then the seat of the court of law, and obtained the name of Sunbury.

At the peace of 1783, there were about eight hundred inhabitants in this part of the province. They endured many hardships before they secured ample means to subsist on; but it appears, however, that private dissensions and separate interests formed no

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small share of the evils that prevented their prosperity.

Three thousand persons from Nantucket arrived at the River St John in the spring succeeding the peace with America. Many of these were men who served during the war; twelve hundred more from the same place followed during the autumn of the same year. The sufferings of these settlers were extremely severe. They had previously enjoyed all the comforts which a country, subdued and cultivated by the endurance and industry of their forefathers, afforded, and they had all at once to encounter all the horrors of an approaching winter, without houses to shelter them, amid the wilds of New Brunswick. Their sufferings are described as follow, by a gentleman now residing at Fredericton, in a small pamphlet descriptive of the province:—"The difficulties," he says, "which the first settlers were exposed to, continued for a long time almost insurmountable. On their arrival, they found a few hovels where St John's is now built, the adjacent country exhibiting a most desolate aspect, which was peculiarly discouraging to people who had just left their homes in the beautiful and cultivated parts of the United States. Up the River St John, the country appeared better, and a few cultivated spots were found unoccupied by old settlers. At St Ann's, where Fredericton is now built, a few scattered French huts were found; the country all round being a continued wilderness, uninhabited and untrodden, except by the savages and wild animals; and scarcely had these firm friends of

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their country (American loyalists) began to construct their cabins, when they were surprised by the rigours of an untried climate; their habitations being enveloped in snow before they were tenantable. The climate at that period, (from what cause has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained,) being far more severe than at present, they were frequently put to the greatest straits for food and clothing to preserve their existence; a few roots were all that tender mothers could at times procure to allay the importunate calls of their children for food. Sir Guy Carleton had ordered them provisions for the first year, at the expense of government; but, as the country was not much cultivated at that time, food could scarcely be procured on any terms. Frequently had these settlers to go from fifty to one hundred miles, with handsleds, or toboggans, through wild woods, or on the ice, to procure a precarious supply for their famishing families. The privations and sufferings of these people almost exceed belief. The want of food and clothing in a wild country was not easily dispensed with, or soon remedied. Frequently, in the piercing cold of winter, a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep fire in their huts to prevent the other part from freezing. Some very destitute families made use of boards to supply the want of bedding; the father, or some of the older children, remaining up by turns, and warming two suitable pieces of boards, which they applied alternately to the smaller children to keep them warm, with many similar expedients.

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"Many of these loyalists were in the prime of life when they came to this country, and most of them had young families. To establish these they wore out their lives in toil and poverty, and by their unremitting exertions subdued the wilderness, and covered the face of the country with habitations, villages, and towns. I have not noticed these circumstances as if they were peculiar to the settlers of New Brunswick, but to hold up to the descendants of those sufferers the hardships endured by their parents; and to place in a striking point of view, the many comforts they possess by the suffering perseverance and industry of their fathers.

"Under the judicious and paternal care of Governor Carleton, assisted by several of the leading characters, many of the difficulties of settling an infant and distant country were lessened. The condition of the settlers was gradually ameliorated. The governor himself set a pattern, in which he was followed by several of the leading men in the different offices. A variety of grains and roots were cultivated with success, and considerable progress made in clearing the wilderness."

In 1785, a royal charter was granted to New Brunswick as a distinct province, and the administration confided to Governor Carleton. The safety of property, and the personal protection of the inhabitants, secured the improvement of the country; and its settlements, agriculture, and trade, advanced from this time with little interruption: the inhabitants following such pursuits as necessity directed, or those

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that were most profitable, or at least agreeable to their inclinations.

Few men have been more anxious to promote the prosperity, and to guard the interests of a country committed to their care, than Governor Carleton. He left New Brunswick for England in 1803, where he resided until his death in 1817. During this period the government of the province was administered by presidents.

Major-General George Stracey Smyth was appointed lieutenant-governor in February 1817. He administered the government until his death in 1823, from which time it was held by Mr Chipman, as president, and afterwards by Mr Bliss, until the arrival of Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, Baronet, in August 1824, as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief.

His administration has been uniformly directed to the welfare of the province. His indefatigable exertions to promote its agriculture and trade, to open roads through the country, and his anxious attention to the administration of justice, and the establishment of seminaries of education, merit the highest praise.

The constitution of New Brunswick is similar to that of Nova Scotia. The Council consists of twelve members, and the Legislative Assembly, which meets in winter, of twenty-six representatives. The courts are, the Courts of Chancery, of which the governor is chancellor. In the Supreme Court, which represents in its practice the King's Bench, one chief justice and three assistant justices preside. All important civil causes are decided, and all capital crimes tried in this

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court. The salary of the chief justice is L.750, and that of the assistant justices L.500 each. The terms are in February, May, July, and October.

There is also an inferior court, or Court of Common Pleas, held in each of the counties, in which two or more justices preside. In this court petty crimes are tried, and civil causes of small amount are determined. It exercises also within the county extensive powers in the appointment of parish and police-offices, auditing parish accounts, regulating the licenses of public houses, and fixing such small parish assessments or county rates as may appear necessary.

Debts under five pounds are recovered before magistrates, who take cognizance also of breaches of the peace, as in England. The provincial laws are much the same as those of Nova Scotia, differing only in some instances, to accord with local circumstances.

The public burdens are so very similar to those of Nova Scotia, already described, and so trifling, that an account of them is unnecessary. The statute labour, and militia laws, also correspond. The revenue is raised by trifling imposts; and a casual revenue to the king arises from the rents of wild meadows, and lands belonging to the crown. The amount of the revenue raised by imposts and legislative enactments, averages about L.43,000. It is appropriated by the House of Assembly to the purposes of opening and improving of roads, erecting public buildings, encouraging agriculture and the fisheries, supporting seminaries of education, &c.

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CHAPTER II.

Divisions of the Province—Description of the City and River of St John—Prairie—Suburbs of Portland and Carleton—Society—Lower Cataracts—Indian Town—Steam-boat—River Scenery—Grand Bay—Keanebecacis—Alwington Manor—Long Reach—Belle-Isle Bay—Washedemoak—Grand Lake, &c. FREDERICTON—Beauty of its Situation—Luxuriant Scenery—Public Buildings—Governor's House—New Brunswick College—River St John, continued—Woodstock—Beautiful Alluvial Islands—American Encroachments—Mars' Hill—Tributary Rivers—Grand Falls—Acadian Settlement at Madawaska—Route to Canada—Lake Temiscouata, &c.

THE representative constitution of the province, and the administration of justice, required that it should, like Nova Scotia, be divided into counties: these are—St John's, Westmoreland, Charlotte, Sunbury, Queen's, and York counties, through which last the River St John winds, and the county of Northumberland,* which fronts on the Gulf of St Lawrence and the Bay de Chaleur, and which is watered by the Miramichi, and other rivers.

The principal settlements are along the River St John and its lakes, on the north banks of the St Croix, on the Gulf of St Lawrence, on the River Miramichi, and on the shores of the Bay de Chaleur.

The corporate town, or city of St John, is situated

* Note A.

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in 45° 20′ N. latitude, 66° 3′ W. longitude, on the southern declivity of a peninsula, and on the northern side of the entrance from the Bay of Fundy to the River St John.

On approaching St John's from the Bay of Fundy, the aspect of the country on each side is bold and rugged. Meogenes Island and several coves open to the left; a bold headland on the right, between which and Partridge Island, on which there is a lighthouse, is the proper entrance to the harbour. The town, with part of Carleton on the opposite side, opens to view at several miles distance; and the wooded mountainous background, and various additional picturesque features, with the masts of ships, wharfs, stores, houses of various sizes and colours, spires of churches, forts, and the beautiful range of new barracks, form altogether a very splendid picture.

The rise of the tide is from twenty-five to thirty feet. When the sea flows so as to cover the shores, the appearance of the Harbour of St John, viewed from Carleton, and all the surrounding objects which fill up the landscape, is beautiful and magnificent; but at low water the aspect of the front of the town, which exhibits muddy shores, high wharfs, and timber booms covered with slime, is exceedingly disagreeable. One of the most beautiful and extensive prospects of scenery is, however, from the heights on which are the ruins of Fort Howe, over that part or division of the town named Portland. The view from this station is really magnificent: the harbour, prairies, mountains, woods, a bird-eye view

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of the town and shipping, a broad prospect of the Bay of Fundy, with Nova Scotia high and darkly blue in the distance, are its prominent features.

Fort Howe is now in ruins,—its position is very commanding. On the Carleton side, situated also on a commanding height, there is another fortification, and some guns are also planted on Partridge Island.

St John's is not the metropolis, although the largest town in the province. It is about half the size of Halifax, but contains nearly two-thirds as many dwelling-houses. The government and public buildings, if not splendid, are certainly handsome structures. The wharfs, with warehouses built either over them or immediately adjoining, and the private houses, closely resemble the buildings in Halifax. The ground on which the town is built is rocky and very irregular, and the forming and levelling of the streets required vast labour. Much improvement is still necessary to level them sufficiently for carriages to drive along agreeably; and the abruptness of some of the streets renders them very dangerous in winter.

The public buildings are, a very commodious and handsome stone court-house, built lately on the high ground above the middle of the town, a marine hospital, poor-house, and, of course, a jail. Previous to this period, the courts were held over the market-house, a very mean building.

There are two Episcopal churches; the oldest, built of wood, but painted so as to resemble white stone, is a very handsome edifice, with a pretty spire. The interior is arranged nearly in the same man-

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ner as most modern English churches of the same size.

The new Episcopal church is a substantial edifice, built in the Gothic style, of rough stone, and its interior very handsomely planned and finished. Both these churches have good organs.

The Scotch kirk is a plain neat building, with a tall spire, and handsomely fitted up within. Besides these places of worship, there are a Catholic chapel, two or three Methodist chapels, and one Baptist meeting-house.

There is a respectable grammar school, a central school, on the Madras system, and some other institutions, principally Sunday schools, where the rudiments of education are taught.

There are also two or three Bible and religious societies, and the benevolent societies of St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick. The poor-house is made to answer also the purposes of an hospital.

The provincial bank, or, in reality, the bank of St John's, established under an act of the legislature, with a capital increased since its formation to L.50,000, has paid handsome dividends, and has been of great benefit, as well as occasional injury, to those engaged in trade. It facilitates sales by discounting promissory-notes at three months' date; but this accommodation is apt to tempt men into imprudent transactions. The directors, however, are said to guard with much caution against risks. When its stock was increased in 1824, by legislative enactment, the new shares sold at 175 per cent. There is also a

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bank for savings; and a marine assurance company, established also by an act of the legislature, seems to prosper, and has hitherto been singularly fortunate in its risks. There are two public libraries, and a respectable news room, where the English, Colonial, and United States papers are taken.

The Chamber of Commerce is formed on much the same plan as that at Halifax. Four or five respectably-conducted weekly newspapers are published at St John's, one at Fredericton, one at St Andrew's, and one at Miramichi.

St John's is a corporate town, and styled a city. Its municipal government is lodged in a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and six assistants, designated, "Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of St John."

The other civil officers are a sheriff, coroner, town-clerk, chamberlain, two marshals, a high constable, and six petty constables.

The mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, and town or common clerk, hold their appointment of the governor, continuing in office from one year to another. The aldermen are elected annually by the freemen. The mayor and council appoint the other officers.

The mayor and council make laws for the improvement or government of the town, which expire in one year, unless confirmed by the governor and council; they have also an annual revenue at their command for public improvements, &c., and they constitute a Court of Record, or Common Pleas, for the "City and County of St John." Small debts are

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recovered before an alderman's court, held once a-fortnight. The aldermen are all justices of the peace.

On the opposite side of the river to St John's, and under its municipal government, stands the pretty little town of Carleton, with a neat English church and a chapel. The saw-mills within the aboiteux, a little above this place, are well worth visiting. On the Point of Carleton several ships have been built.*

The upper part of St John's is named Portland, and the whole, including Carleton, is divided into six wards. Opposite to the town, in the middle of the stream, is Navy Island, small, low, and muddy; and, as the Indians would have it, carried down at one time by the stream in a body. It is evidently formed by alluvial deposits.

There are always some troops stationed at St John's; and the barracks, situated above the lower cove, and near the extremity of the peninsula, are spacious, handsome, and commodious.

The country in the vicinity is stubborn, but, when subjected to cultivation, fertile. An extensive prairie, named the marsh, containing about 3000 acres, and occupying a space, which is by some considered to have been once the bed of the River St John, lies near the town. The tide is shut out by an aboiteux, over which the road to Indian Town passes. The soil of this beautiful alluvial tract is remarkably rich, and neutralized by the application of lime, which is abundant in the neighbourhood.

* A fine vessel, intended for a steamer, was on the stocks when I visited this place.

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There are several handsome houses along the rising grounds which follow the course of the prairie; and their situation and appearance seem to render them desirable and comfortable residences.

As to the condition of society, I am not able to treat so explicitly as I have done in respect to Halifax, from having less intercourse with the inhabitants than a traveller could have wished. There were no public amusements there at the time, or if there had, these are not the places to draw a just picture of society. At both the churches, and at the Scotch kirk, the general appearance of the congregations was highly respectable; and their dresses were in the fashions prevailing about a year previously in England. Two or three ladies, however, I observed dressed in the full Parisian style of 1828.

Many of the ladies are very pretty, but walk rather stiffly and affectedly. Of their manners or accomplishments I can say nothing. The gentlemen that I have had an opportunity of being acquainted with while there, or that I have met with from St John's in other places, were generally intelligent and well-bred.

From the information given me by people living in St John's, it would appear that a very tolerable share of bickerings and divisions prevails among the inhabitants;—one family arrogating a rank and respect which others will not admit; and some building their pretensions on their families being of the number of the first royalist settlers; others measuring their respectability by the length of their purses. All

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this, however, is common in larger towns than St John's; and the same ease and freedom of manners which have gained the ascendant at Halifax, will likely, as the population increases, and a greater intercourse with the world takes place, distinguish this city. When we also consider the few years which form the age of St John's, we must make the most charitable allowance for any defect in the condition of its society. Sir Howard Douglas has done wonders in the way of knitting society together, and the influence of his own family example has been of great benefit.

Assemblies are common during winter, once a-month, or oftener. They excite, as elsewhere in America, from the necessity of forming some fixed line of demarcation as to admission, the angry bile of those who are excluded. Carriolling, pic-nic, and private parties, are also common; and there are races annually near the town.

Fifty years ago, the site of this thriving city was covered with trees, and only a few straggling huts existed within its harbour. This was its condition at the peace of 1783; and when we now view it, with its population of above 12,000, its stately houses, its public buildings, its warehouses, its wharfs, and with the majestic ships which crowd its port, we are more than lost in forming even a conjecture of what it will become in less than a century. Its position will ever command the trade of the vast and fertile country watered by the lakes and streams of the River St John. All towns through which the bulk

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of the imports and exports of the country in which these towns are situated necessarily pass have, in consequence, flourished.

We view this in the long and continued prosperity of Hamburgh, the boundless commerce of Liverpool, and the amazing prosperity of New York.

The River St John, called by the Indians Looshtook, or the long river, is, next to the St Lawrence, the finest river in British America. About a mile above the city of St John, at rugged narrows, the river is interrupted by huge rocks, over and among which the waters of this great river, and its tributary streams, roll and foam, and render the navigation, except for four short diurnal periods, impracticable. The great rise of tide at St John's, however, so far overflows these falls or rapids, that, when the flood rises twelve feet at the fort, sloops and schooners pass in safety for about twenty minutes, and for the same time when the tide ebbs to twelve feet.

This cataract, viewed from the high ground on the Carleton side, forms, with the adjoining scenery, a picturesque and, indeed, romantic picture. The foam is frequently carried down in frothy bodies past St John's; and the agitated waters, holding the juices of mossy deposits from the interior in solution, and running to the sea, impart to it, in the spring, at St John's, and for some miles out at the Bay of Fundy, a dark-brown colour.

A chain-bridge, at the cost probably of not more than L.10,000, might be suspended across the River St John at the Falls, where the breadth is not more

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than four hundred feet, and the precipices on each side sufficiently high; there are also more than one rock in the centre, on which abutments might be built; but these would not, I think, be found necessary.

The prairie, lying between the town and the height of land that separates the former from the present channel of the river, is considered by the speculative as the ancient bed of the River St John. I admit this conjecture to be quite within the bounds of probability; but, on examining the features of both places, I could observe no reasonable ground to conclude that any other than the one over which this great river now rolls, was at any former period its channel.

Above the Falls, the river widens, and forms a bay of some magnitude, surrounded by high and rugged woodlands. At the lower part of this bay, there is a small village called Indian Town, about a mile and a half, by a good road, from St John's. From this village the steam-boat for Fredericton starts. Passing up the bay, we are struck with the extraordinary wildness and desolation of the country, although within a few miles of the city of St John. Huge calcareous rocks, bursting through stern dark fir-forests, stretching up the sides of lofty hills and promontories, which frown over the dark waters, impart a most savage and menacing character to the scenery. A miserable hovel, in a mere speck of cleared land, occasionally opens to view; and those who inhabit these huts derive little more benefit

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from the soil, then the lime which the rocks afford, and the fuel which the forest supplies, for both of which they find a market at St John's.

Proceeding up the river, and entering Grand Bay, scenery of much the same character prevails. From this extensive bay, Kennebecacis Bay and River bends off to the eastward for nearly forty miles; twenty of which are navigable for large vessels. The shores of the Kennebecacis are generally abrupt and rocky; but, near the head, we arrive at a beautiful tract of country, called Sussex Vale, populously settled, and allowed to be one of the most fertile districts of the province. Leading roads, but not in very good condition, lead through it from St John's to the River Petit Coudiac, and to the settlements on the River St John. The banks of the Kennebecacis abound in limestone, gypsum, coal, and salt springs. The inhabitants manufacture great quantities of maple sugar.

Fatal accidents frequently happen to the raftsmen in passing down Grand Bay; and few years occur without some of them being drowned. A small arm, named South Bay, branches off to the south; and, as we proceed up the river, the country begins to assume less forbidding features. On the left, we pass a beautiful and picturesque spot, called Alwington Manor,* near which, on receiving the Neripis from

* Alwington Manor once belonged to General Coffin. He cleared and cultivated it; but I was told on passing it, that, like the American backwoodsmen, he had then removed several miles back into the forest, to subdue a fresh tract of the wilderness.

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the west, the river bends rather abruptly, and forms a beautiful vista of eighteen miles, called the Long Reach; along which the cultivation of the soil appears to be attended to, but carrying firewood to St John's is said to occupy too much of the attention of the settlers. The lands are stony, but, when subjected to cultivation, very productive.

At the head of the Long Reach, the lands on each side the river, and the pretty islands which divide it into several streams, present beautiful and rich features. Belle Isle Bay, a fine sheet of water, receiving several rivers, branches off here, for upwards of twenty miles, to the eastward. The River St John then winds to the north, from the head of the Long Reach to Fredericton, receiving the waters of the Washedemoak and Grand Lake from the east, and the Oromucto from the west. No part of America can exhibit greater beauty, or more luxuriant fertility, than the lands on each side, and the islands that we pass, in this distance. I can only compare it to the St Lawrence, from Fort William Henry to Montreal; and those who have had the opportunity of observing both, will readily agree with me in considering the banks of the River St John to be naturally quite as beautiful and fertile as those of the St Lawrence.

The parishes of Maugerville and Sheffield, on the right; Gage Town and Oromucto, on the left; and Long Island, with its neat church, are truly imposing.

This part of the province, including the lands around the Grand Lake, and along the Washede-

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moak,* must become a very populous and rich country. A great proportion of the soil is intervale or alluvial, and coal is found in great plenty, near the Grand Lake.

Fredericton, although yet but little more than a village, is the seat of government; and is situated on a pretty point of land formed by a bend in the river, nearly ninety miles above St John's, and in front of as richly wooded hills as ever eye beheld; for soft picturesque scenery it is not surpassed by any part of the province. In front, the River St John, something more than half a mile in width, flows past, sometimes smoothly, but often in rapid overflowing grandeur; and immediately opposite, it receives the Nashwaak, a rapid stream, which winds from the west thirty miles through fertile lands, settlements, and forests. The magnificent view from the College, lately built on the brow of a hill above the town, embraces, during summer and autumn, much of what poets and romance-writers tell us about Fairyland. Before us we have the neat white buildings of the town, with their pretty gardens, and the verdant foliage of their trees; then the River St John, with the *débouché* of the Nashwaak, and an extensively ascending forest country, stretching far to the north. Downwards, we have a commanding prospect of

* The folly of many of those who occupy some of the fine *cleared* farms in this part of the province, in neglecting their cultivation, has been attended by the usual consequence. Their farms are, I am informed, in most instances, heavily mortgaged.

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several windings, for many miles, of the river; the banks and headlands of which are beautifully adorned with clumps of trees, interspersed among the cultivated uplands, or intermingled with the rich fringes of alluvial soil, which its waters have created. Upwards, our eyes and imagination feast on a splendid view of luxuriant islands, water, cultivated farms, farm-houses, blue distant hills, wooded to their summits; with the presence of human industry—herds of cattle on the farms and islands, one or more sloops on the river, timber-rafts, *bateaux*, and the white canoe of the savage—to lend animation to the whole.

The plan of the town is regular, the streets crossing at right angles, and in appearance much like Charlotte Town, in Prince Edward Island. The building-lots contain each a quantity of an acre, eighteen of which form a square. The public buildings are, a provincial hall—a mean-looking building, in which the courts are held, and in which the Legislative Assembly sit—a jail, and a building which answers the double purpose of a market and county court-house. There are also an Episcopal church, of very humble appearance, but standing in a sweet spot, near the river, and three chapels, one each for the Catholics, Presbyterians, and Baptists. The barracks are handsome and commodious.

The new stone building, erected for the residence of the governor, stands at the west end of the town, in a charming situation. It is rather a large house, the front and elevation striking, but not elegant; and to me the design appeared, in many respects, to out-

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rage good taste, as well as the rules of architecture; while convenience and comfort as to interior arrangements have also been either disregarded, or not understood. The drawing-room, ball-room, and presence-chamber, are, however, magnificent.

The college is a spacious handsome stone building, and, in my opinion, exactly what it should be. Some consider it too large. For the present state of the province, it certainly is; but it will not be thought so, when twenty years more pass away.

The dwellings, however, are principally built of wood, and look clean and handsome.

The residence of the commissioner of crown lands, above the town in particular, attracts observation, from its pleasing and respectable appearance.

The inhabitants are principally loyalists, or their descendants. Society is limited, but respectable. The trade of Fredericton consists principally in selling British goods to the settlers along the River St John and its streams, and receiving in return timber and agricultural produce. The town being at the head of the sloop-navigation, must increase and prosper in the same ratio as the settlement and prosperity of the vast interior country will necessarily advance. Many people consider that the capital should be at Oromucto, twelve miles below, and above which the river is much shoaler; others consider it should be still higher up. My own opinion is, that Governor Carleton, who founded it in 1785, could not have been more judicious in selecting any other spot. It has three or four religious institu-

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tions, an agricultural and emigrant society, printing establishment, a weekly paper, a public library, an academy, &c.

Proceeding up the River St John for nine miles to where it receives the Madame Keswick, we pass several beautiful alluvial and cultivated islands, and the banks of the river are lined with farms, under fair tillage. The tide is not perceived to rise above this place; and at Fredericton it only rises from six to ten inches. We may still, however, ascend the river in *bateaux*, or tow-boats, encountering, it is true, many rapids, for one hundred and thirty miles. In this distance, the St John winds through a fertile wooded country, and receives several rivers, the principal of which are the Maduxnikik, Tobique, Restook, and Salmon rivers. The Tobique, famous for its red pines, is, following its windings, two hundred miles in length. The Indians have a chapel here.

The Restook has been explored for about a hundred miles, and it is tolerably well settled along its banks. The principal places on the St John, are Woodstock and Northampton, sixty-three miles above Fredericton, and on opposite sides of the river, where many beautiful islands are also situated. The banks of the St John have, above Fredericton, besides these places, on each side farms and settlements; but very thinly scattered, when compared to the St Lawrence. In the rear of Woodstock the Americans have established themselves, and formed an extensive settlement, which they have named Houlton Plantation.

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The river, indeed, approaches within a few miles of the American line, from Eel river, about forty miles above Fredericton, to Mars' Hill. This height of land forms the point of dispute between the British and Americans, as to the boundary question; the latter claiming the vast and valuable country lying to the north-west of this eminence, which was undoubtedly the height of land understood by the British Commissioners at the treaty of Ghent. At Presque Isle, there appears the ruins of a garrison, which has been long mouldering to dust, accompanying, as it were, the fate of all those who formerly planned, occupied, and maintained it. The scenery up the river, from this place to the Grand Falls, assumes a bolder character than below. The banks are frequently abrupt, and the rugged bed of the river, in many places, from the Grand Falls to within a few miles of Fredericton, renders the navigation dangerous. The part most to be dreaded, is the Maductic Falls, or rather rapids; yet rafts and *bateaux* are dexterously navigated through the unbroken channels that divide the foaming torrent.

On ascending Mars' Hill, we have on all sides an extensive prospect of uninhabited country. The scope of vision, however, only ranges over the surface of boundless woods, varying in shade from the funereal green of the firs, to the bright verdure of the birch. Imagination alone penetrates underneath the boundless covert, amidst the intricacies of which, the traveller may so suddenly lose himself; but among which are the haunts where the moose, carriboo,

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and bear, safely feed and wander, unless pursued by the wants or avarice, and ensnared by the wiles of man.

Ascending the river until we reach the latitude of 46° 53′, our progress on the water is arrested by its turbulence; and we stop at a cove or small bay, the usual landing-place of the *bateaux* and other craft that come up the river; and which, to avoid the falls, are often carried across a neck of land to another small bay, a little above the mighty turmoil of waters.

Immediately below this bay, the river is suddenly contracted between rugged cliffs, overhung with trees, and sweeps along a descent of several feet with furious impetuosity, until the interruption of a ridge of rocks, close to the edge of the Grand Falls, changes the hitherto unbroken volume into one vast body of turbulent foam, which thunders over a perpendicular precipice, about fifty feet in height, into a deep vortex filled with huge rocks, among which the magnitude of the waters is for a moment partially lost; but, still whirling and roaring, they instantly rush out through a channel, confined still more in width; dashing along afterwards with inconceivable velocity, over a succession of falls of some feet each, for more than half a mile. The cliffs on each side in this distance overhang and frown over falls and rapids, in terrific sublimity, and in some places, so far do the rocks project, that the waters are nearly hidden from view.

Although these falls (hitherto, I believe, scarcely ever described by any traveller) bear in magnitude no comparison to those of Niagara, yet there is a *tout-*

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ensemble of tremendous rocks, gigantic woods, and a continuity of cataracts and broken waters, below the Grand Falls of St John, which impart much greater variety to the magnificent scene, than the otherwise unparalleled Niagara can boast of.

Proceeding up the River St John, from the cove above the falls, its waters become smooth, deep, and sluggish. The boats and *pirogues* of the Acadians, and occasionally the white bark canoe of the Indian, appear now and then on its surface, while we pass for some miles along the wilderness but fertile lands through which it flows, until we arrive at the straggling settlement of Acadian French at Madawska. This is comprehended within the vast rich country claimed by the Americans, which if we be so supine as to relinquish, farewell to firmness in the councils of Great Britain.

The Acadians of Madawaska are even more simple in their manners, and much more limited in the extent of their intelligence, than those I have described in a former book. This arises from their situation: living since their childhood along the banks of an unfrequented river, which flows through an almost boundless forest, they have had no intercourse with the rest of the world, unless it were once a-year to Fredericton, to sell their surplus grain. They are descendants of the original French settlers in Nova Scotia, who retreated here to avoid the English. A few families from Canada also joined them; and since that period they have remained a quiet, loyal people, confined to their own means of procuring subsistence,

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and to their own resources alone for social enjoyments. They have a chapel, and a priest from Canada officiates among them; they live by agriculture, but they are slovenly farmers, and regardless of cleanliness or comfort in their houses. Their wants are, however, so few that little serves them; and as their wives make, of the wool of their sheep, and the flax they raise, all the clothes they require; and being ignorant of the luxuries of the world, and what we are accustomed to call comforts, they are, therefore, independent of them, and live among themselves happy, and comparatively free of the cares which accompany the refinements of civilisation. They are hospitable to strangers, chaste, strongly attached to hereditary customs, strict in their religious observances, and very superstitious.

Some miles above the Acadian settlements, the St John receives the waters of the Madawaska, which previously winds through the forest, about thirty miles after issuing from the Lake Tamisquata. This lake, which is about twenty-eight miles long, and in some places several miles across, and in many parts deep, receives numerous streams, several of which issue from smaller lakes. The country surrounding these waters appears to be very fertile; the mountainous ridge of the Alleghany chain lies between them and the River St Lawrence; and across which, by this route, the courier with the mail for Canada travels by way of Kamouraska to Quebec.

Leaving the Madawaska, the River St John winds to the westward, branching over an extensive coun-

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try into numerous streams, some of which approach within a mile or two of those falling into the St Lawrence. It issues from some small lakes near the source of the River Penobscot; and, with its tributaries, waters the disputed territory.

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CHAPTER III.

Coast of the Bay of Fundy—Passamaquoddy Bay, and Islands—Grand Manan—Campobello—Deer Island—American Frontier—Eastport and Robinstown—Town of St Andrew—St Stephen's—Rivers St Croix and Schoodie—Digdaquash—Magaquadavic—L'Etang—Le Preaux—Musquash—Quaco—Chepody—Petit Coudiac—Memramcook—Westmoreland—Great Roads—Interior Settlements, &c.

THE Bay of Passamaquoddy separates the sea-coast of New Brunswick from that of the state of Maine. This magnificent and beautiful inlet is studded with numerous islands, some of which are richly wooded, and afford soil of fair quality, and most of them have convenient advantages for fishing.

Grand Manan, which lies at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, is about thirty-five miles from Brier Island, on the coast of Nova Scotia, and from eight to nine miles from the shores of Maine. Its length is about fourteen miles, and its breadth six or seven. It is chiefly covered with trees, growing on a soil of tolerable fertility, 4000 to 5000 acres of which are under fair cultivation. The population is about 700 or 800, and consists principally of families, whose parents or themselves removed from the United States, and whose habits and manners resemble very much those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring state of Maine.

They have often been considered as particularly

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au fait at scheming and overreaching; but I think the reputation of the multitude has been too severely charged with all the villainy of some daring adventurers. The situation of the island certainly offers all that could be desired, either for a school or a rendezvous for smugglers; and the late American tariff offers temptations to evade revenue laws, and to despise the vigilance of revenue cruisers, of which they take the full benefit. It forms a parish, and has an Episcopal church.

Ship-building, fishing, and agriculture, as well as interchanging commodities, either by open or illicit means, are each followed by the inhabitants, in their turn. The dangerous ledges and rocks that abound round Grand Manan, particularly on the south and south-east; its perpendicular rocky cliffs, in some places 600 feet high; its position, at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, with the violence of the tides, and the fogs which prevail, when the winds blow from the Atlantic, render this island at all seasons the dread of mariners. A lighthouse, as projected by the late Mr Lockwood, surveyor-general of the province, on Gannet Rock, and an efficient light on Brier Island, in place of the beggarly one now on it, are objects that should seriously engage the consideration of the respective legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.* On Quoddy-head, the Americans have a

* On my passage to New Brunswick, in 1828, we approached the Bay of Fundy, on a remarkably fine evening in September. At sunset, we saw the high lands of Mount Desert to the west. The wind was fair, yet the master, an experienced and very able sea-

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good lighthouse, which renders the pasage between it and Grand Manan comparatively safe.

Campobello Island, which is about ten miles long, lies within the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and a narrow deep channel separates it from Maine, in the United States. Its harbour is safe, and conveniently situated, and by many considered far superior to St Andrew's for a free port, more particularly for transshipping gypsum, or plaster of Paris, from British to American vessels. No place can possibly be better calculated for smuggling; and many of the inhabitants here, and on the opposite coast, may be considered sufficiently vigilant and daring in carrying on a successful illicit trade, to rival even the far-famed "Dirk Hatteraick."

There are many other islands within this bay, of which Deer Island is the largest.

In no part of America, north of New York, can vessels, during the severity of winter, proceed without being obstructed by ice, so far from the ocean, as up Passamaquoddy Bay and the River St Croix. This is important, particularly to vessels which load with timber during winter for the West Indies.

On a point of low land at the mouth of the St

man, seemed unusually anxious and watchful in shaping his course, so as to be at a safe distance from the ledges of Manan, and those of Brier Island. The tide, however, baffled all his attention and reckoning; and when we thought we had passed both, we were suddenly alarmed by land appearing close *a-head*, and to leeward of us, which proved to be the coast of Nova Scotia, between Cape St Mary's and Cape Forchu; and on sounding, we found ourselves passing over a ledge in three fathoms water. Had it been foggy, we should soon have been on the rocks.

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Croix, and in front of a hilly ridge, stands the town of St Andrew. Its houses are respectable in size and appearance; and it has two principal streets, which are crossed by several others; a population of about three thousand; an Episcopal church; and a handsome Scotch kirk, built at the expense of a resident merchant, Mr Scott, and gratuitously presented by him to the members of the Church of Scotland. It has also its government school, court-house, jail, printing establishment, weekly newspaper, commercial bank, savings' bank, emigrant and agricultural society, Bible society, &c.

The site of the town is pretty, and the prospect from it, embracing the spacious Bay of Passamaquoddy, and a distant view of the islands, the coast of Maine, and the lands to the eastward, is truly grand and picturesque; yet, in more than one respect, objections to its situation are very apparent. The harbour is by no means a good one for large vessels, which can only enter it at full tide, while they have to lie aground within it, nearly twelve hours out of the twenty-four, and a bar and ledge render its entrance dangerous to strangers. The principal article of export, lumber, has also to be rafted at great expense to it down from the Rivers St Croix and Schoodic, and from Magaquadavic. It is, however, a thriving place, and carries forward a brisk trade in exporting square timber, deals, and staves. Ship-building has also been a source of adventurous rather than profitable enterprise, in which the inhabitants of St

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Andrew's and its neighbourhood, have for some time been extensively engaged.

Proceeding twelve miles further up the St Croix, near that part of the river called the ledge, its navigation for large vessels is interrupted; but here they can load near St Stephen's in safety, and this is, in many respects, the very place where the principal town on the river should be built.

A few miles above St Stephen's, the St Croix divides into two main branches; that leading to the westward, called the River Schoodic, penetrates the state of Maine, and receives the waters of an extensive chain of lakes. The other, or the St Croix, stretching far to the north and north-west, receives also the waters of several streams and lakes; and flows through a fertile country covered with lofty forests, but its navigation is often interrupted by rapids and cataracts. There are numerous saw-mills on these rivers, and the annual average quantity of lumber sawed by the whole is estimated at twenty-two millions of feet. On the Digdaquash, a few miles east of St Andrew's, there are also several saw-mills.

The river Magaquadavic, or, as it is usually pronounced, Macadavick, falls into the bay about ten miles east of St Andrew's, and carries down the waters it receives from numerous streams and lakes, along a course of more than sixty miles through the province. Its resources are great, having extensive fertile lands, and excellent timber on its banks. Its navigation is, however, interrupted near its mouth by high falls; and numerous cataracts and rapids

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occur in its course, but still a vast quantity of timber is rafted down to the harbour.

From St John's Harbour, along the coast, up the Bay of Fundy, a distance of about eighty miles, to Shepody Bay, small settlements are scattered. The principal of these is Quaco.

The lands near the sea-coast, along this extensive distance, are remarkably stubborn, and difficult to cultivate, but not unfruitful in producing barley, oats, potatoes, &c. The ripening of wheat crops cannot be depended on. The shores of Shepody Bay, which receive the Rivers Petit Coudiac and Memramcook, are thickly settled. The Petit Coudiac is a rapid river; and, following its winding course, is about seventy miles long, and up which the tide flows forty miles. It has excellent marshes, and remarkably fine lands, well wooded along its banks, which are in many places, particularly at the beautiful settlement of Dorchester, thickly inhabited. Ships occasionally proceed as far up as Dorchester for timber; but the impetuous tides of the Bay of Fundy render the navigation difficult. The river Memramcook has fine extensive diked marshes, and is settled by Acadian French. Large clearings abound along the river, and many farmers, living a great way up, follow agriculture alone; but most of the inhabitants have devoted their time occasionally to the timber business.

In that part of the province comprehended within the county of Charlotte, the spirit of agriculture appears lately to have acquired fresh animation; and

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the cultivation of the soil is followed with greater attention than before the eventful commercial crisis of the year 1826.

There are several other settlements along the coast, between Passamaquoddy and St John's, among which L'Etang, Beaver Harbour, Le Preaux, and Musquash are the principal, and at each of which ship-building, hewing timber, fishing, and a little agriculture, have alternately been followed by the inhabitants.

The country bordering on Shepody Bay, Cumberland Basin, and the rivers which fall into them, and which are included in the county of Westmoreland, is equal in respect to population, soil, and cultivation, to any part of the province. It was formerly comprehended in the county of Cumberland, as belonging to Nova Scotia, which it adjoins. The inhabitants are principally farmers and graziers; among whom are several settlements of industrious Acadian French. The most thriving settlers, however, are Englishmen from Yorkshire, or their descendants, who rear large herds of cattle, and raise luxuriant crops of grain and hay on their fine diked marshes. They export their overplus butter and cheese, and drive their fat cattle to the markets of Halifax, St John, and Miramichi. Great quantities of grindstones are sent from the county of Westmoreland, most of which find their way to the United States.

Along the principal roads of this province settlements are gradually forming; accordingly, while travelling along, we pass by farms and houses in all

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the various gradations of improvement, from the miserable rude hut, and the first few trees felled in the forest, to the handsome clap-boarded, shingled, and painted house, and large barn, amidst several acres of land cleared of the stumps, and under grass, grain, and potatoes.

The roads in New Brunswick were, with scarcely ten miles in one place of an exception, worse than the generality of those I have travelled over in any of the other colonies, always leaving Newfoundland, which can only boast of one short road, out of the question.

The road from Fort Cumberland, through Westmoreland, and along the River Petit Coudiac, and thence through Sussex Vale, and across Hammond river to St John's, is the best I know of, and the bridges it crosses are tolerable.

The road from St John's to St Andrew's is truly bad and dangerous. The road opened from Carleton, opposite St John's, by the way of the River Nerepis, to Fredericton, is particularly bad from the Nerepis to Oromucto; and from Fredericton to the Canada line there is only about 65 miles on which we can attempt to drive any sort of carriage. The distance from St John's by this route, which follows the river to the falls of Madawaska, and from thence across the high lands to the St Lawrence below Kamouraska, is 347 miles, from which, by an excellent road along the banks of the St Lawrence, the distance to Quebec is 107 miles.

The road from opposite Fredericton, along the Nashwaak, and thence to Miramichi, is also very

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bad; as is also the road from Fredericton to St Andrews. There is a pretty good road from the Petit Coudiac to Chediac, on the gulf coast, by which hay is frequently hauled to the latter place. The road from Chediac to Miramichi is, particularly from Richibucto to the last place, abominable. Several paths, which are misnamed roads, have also been opened between the various settlements.

The Legislative Assembly have certainly at different times appropriated large sums in aid of the statute labour, for the purpose of opening and improving the roads of the province. But, somehow or other, road-making was, until lately, either not understood, or the labour and money must have been misapplied, as good leading roads were, at least three years ago, an essential *desideratum* in New Brunswick. The expense of making a good road through a forest will be about L.100 per mile.

An object of paramount importance and convenience to the lower and upper colonies, would be to open a good carriage road from Nova Scotia to Fredericton, and thence to the River St Lawrence. It should be made at the joint expense of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as all would derive equal advantage from accomplishing an undertaking that would open a direct line through all the British colonies.

Another line of road, and certainly a most desirable one, was pointed out by Governor Sir Howard Douglas, as a great military road from Halifax to Quebec. This line would be a continuation of the road from

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Halifax to the bend of the River Petit Coudiac, thence to the gulf coast, to the River Miramichi, and thence, by the way of the River Ristigouche, to the St Lawrence at Metis, about 200 miles below Quebec.

The benefits of such roads would be great. The colonies would be connected so much closer in their interests by greater facility of communication; the military forces could easily and speedily move wherever required; the crown lands would be disposed of at a much better price; and, by throwing open the rich lands of the interior, they would be settled upon rapidly.*

Several small settlements along the roads in New Brunswick appear to be in a flourishing condition. Disbanded soldiers, however, do not generally make good settlers, unless placed under proper officers or superintendents. On the woodlands, along the road from the Nashwaak to Miramichi, I observed several untenanted huts, which were occupied by disbanded soldiers, who had the lands granted them, but who deserted their habitations as soon as they expended the rations they received from government.

While travelling over this province we cannot help being amused at the names given to many places in the colonies by the whim of the first settlers. It is natural for people to cherish associations connected with their birthplace, and we are not surprised, on arriving at a fine thriving settlement, inhabited by Welshmen, who planted themselves amidst the forest

* Note B.

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about fifteen miles from Fredericton, that it is named Cardigan; nor that an equally thriving settlement of industrious Irish, on the shores of the Bay Chaleur, is called New Bandon; but we can hardly repress a smile on hearing places through or by which we pass, called Canaan, Mount Pisgah, &c.

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CHAPTER IV.

Coast of New Brunswick within the Gulf Shore—Miramichi River and Settlements—Chatham, Newcastle, &c.—Occupations of the Inhabitants—Timber Trade—Cultivation of the Soil—Salmon Fishery—Tremendous Fire of 1825—Effects on the Soil—Harbours on the Gulf Coast, &c.

MIRAMICHI* River enters the province of New Brunswick in latitude 47° 10 N., and in longitude 64° 40′ West. It is navigable for large ships for about forty miles. There is a sand bar across off the entrance, but the channel over it is broad, with water for ships of from six hundred to seven hundred tons; and vessels entering the river seldom meet with any accident. The land near the sea, like the whole of the north-east coast of New Brunswick, is low, and clothed near the shore with dwarf spruce and birch-trees; beyond which, the whole country is covered with heavy timber. This magnificent river divides into two great branches, and these again into numerous streams.

The importance attached to Miramichi has arisen within the last twenty-five years, in consequence of

* Miramichi is not the Indian name, as generally supposed, but probably a corruption of Miracheet, the name of a tribe of Micmacs that once occupied its banks. The Indian name is *Lis-tee-gooi deetch*, and its north-west branch is called by the Indians *Atlee-ma-nagan*.

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the vast quantities of pine timber exported from thence.

It was scarcely known thirty years ago, except to a few adventurers, who traded with the Indians for furs; and those who first settled on the banks of the river, were attracted thither by its plentiful salmon-fishery, which formed for some years a profitable source of enterprise. The exportation of timber has since then superseded almost every other pursuit; and the waters of the river being much disturbed by vessels, boats, and rafts of timber, a decrease in quantity has followed in the salmon-fishery; but whether in consequence of this circumstance, as the inhabitants always assert, or from some unknown natural cause, must, I think, be difficult to determine. The salmon-fishery on the river still affords more than is required for the use of the settlers and lumbering parties.

On the south side of Miramichi, a little within its entrance, lies Bay des Vents, where ships occasionally load, and where there is safe and sheltered anchorage; on the north, is the bay and settlement of Negowack, where ships also load, but where there is not much shelter.*

Houses are seen thinly scattered along each side as we sail up the river; but little cultivation appears. About twenty miles up, on the south side, stands the town or village of Chatham, where many of the timber ships load, and where several of the merchants

* Note C.

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are settled, who have erected stores and wharfs. Some of the latter, particularly the fine stone warehouse, stores, wharfs, and timber booms, belonging to the very extensive establishment of Messrs J. Cunard and Co., are on a most respectable scale. About four miles further up, the houses of Nelson village, with one or two wharfs, rise along the banks of the river; and here also a few vessels occasionally load with timber. On the opposite side, the village of Douglas, and the extensive mercantile establishment of Messrs Gilmour and Rankin, where several ships load, appear rising along the shore.

Four miles further up than Chatham, and on the north side of the river, stands the village or town of Newcastle, with its wharfs and stores. It is considered the shire town for the county of Northumberland. Its public buildings, and most of the dwelling-houses and stores, were consumed by the fire of 1825, which reduced almost every thing else it contained to ashes; even in the churchyard I observed, three years afterwards, marks of that terrible conflagration. A new church, court-house, jail, and many private buildings, have been since built.

It is much to be regretted that the houses, stores, and wharfs, which are now scattered in four different places, each claiming the designation of a town, were not all built in one convenient place, where together they would now form a town of some consequence in extent; and where the operations of commerce would be carried forward with much greater convenience.

A little above Newcastle, and a short distance

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below the confluence of the two great arms of the river, lies Frazer's Island, where there are stores, and a ship-building establishment.

On the banks of this river and its great branches, there is yet but a thinly scattered population, who employ themselves chiefly in hewing timber during winter in the woods, and in rafting it down the river in summer to where the ships load.

Fertile tracts of intervale, and excellent uplands, abound along its banks and in the extensive upper country, watered by its numerous streams, which are capable of most profitable cultivation; but the lumberers, who compose probably more than half the population, are neither from habit nor inclination likely to become constant or skilful farmers; which accounts for the cultivation of the soil having been so long neglected.

The depression, however, in the value of timber, which took place in 1826, and the poverty and distress occasioned by the fire the preceding year, drove the actual settlers to the cultivation of the soil for the means of subsistence; and since that time they have devoted their attention nearly with as much industry to agriculture as to the timber business.*

* On coming down the south-west branch, in the autumn of 1828, from where the road from the River St John joins the Miramichi, about eighty miles above Chatham, I was astonished at the unexpected progress made during so short a period in the cultivation of the soil.

Near where the foregoing road parts off for Fredericton, an American, possessing a full share of the adventurous activity of the citizens of the United States, has established himself. He told me,

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In October 1825, about a hundred and forty miles in extent, and a vast breadth of the country on the

that when he planted himself there, seven years before, he was not worth a shilling. He has now (1829) more than three hundred acres under cultivation; an immense flock of sheep, horses, several yokes of oxen, milch cows, swine, and poultry. He has a large dwelling-house, conveniently furnished, in which he lives with his family, and a numerous train of labourers, one or two other houses, a forge, with a powerful trip-hammer worked by water power, fullingmill, grist-mill, and two saw-mills—all turned by water. Near these, he showed me a building, which he said he erected for the double purpose of a school and chapel, the floor of which was *laid*, and on which benches were arranged, so as to resemble the pit of one of our theatres. He said that all preachers who came in the way were welcome to the use of it. An English parson, a Catholic priest, a Presbyterian minister, or a methodist preacher, should each, he said, get something to eat at his house, and have the use of the chapel, with equal satisfaction to him.

He then showed me his barn, and in one place a heap, containing about ninety bushels of Indian corn, that grew on a spot scarcely an acre, which he pointed out to me. This man could little more than read and write,—his manners were quite unpolished, but not rude, yet he had wonderful readiness of address, and as far as related to his own pursuits, quick powers of invention and application. He raised large crops, ground his own corn, manufactured the flax he cultivated, and the wool of his sheep, into coarse clothes; sold the provisions which his farm produced, and rum and British goods, to the lumberers, kept a tavern, employed lumberers in the woods, and received also timber in payment for whatever he sold. He made the axes and other tools, required by the lumberers, at his forge. He ate, gambled, and associated with his own labourers and with the lumberers, and all others, who made his house a kind of rallying point. He appeared, however, to be a sober man, and a person who had in view an object of gain in every thing he engaged in.

He talked much in praise of the rich interior country, and how rapidly it would be settled and cultivated if possessed by the

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north, and from sixty to seventy miles on the south side of Miramichi River, became a scene of perhaps the most dreadful conflagration that occurs in the history of the world.

In Europe we can scarcely form a conception of the fury and rapidity with which fires rage through the forests of America during a dry hot season, at which period the broken underwood, decayed vegetable substances, fallen branches, bark, and withered trees, are as inflammable as the absence of moisture can render them. To such irresistible food for combustion, we must add the auxiliary afforded by the boundless fir forests, every tree of which contains, in its trunk, bark, branches and leaves, vast quantities of the most inflammable resins.

When one of these fires is once in motion, or at least when the flames extend over a few miles of the forest, the surrounding air becomes highly rarified; and the wind consequently increases till it blows a perfect hurricane. It appears that the woods had been, on both sides of the north-west, partially on fire for some days, but not to an alarming extent until the 7th of October, when it came on to blow furi-

Americans. He complained of the alien act, as he was born a citizen of the United States, and consequently held his lands only by sufferance, as he did not find his conscience (I doubt if that monitor troubled him much on this subject) would allow him to take the usual oaths, or, as he added, to receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England. I have noticed the condition of this man merely as being strictly characteristic of thousands of Americans who settle on wilderness lands.

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ously from the westward; and the inhabitants along the banks of the river were suddenly surprised by an extraordinary roaring in the woods, resembling the crashing and detonation of loud and incessant thunder; while at the same instant the atmosphere became thickly darkened with smoke. They had scarcely time to ascertain the cause of this awful phenomenon, before all the surrounding woods appeared in one vast blaze; the flames ascending from one to two hundred feet above the tops of the loftiest trees, and the fire, rolling forward with inconceivable celerity, presented the terribly sublime appearance of an impetuous flaming ocean. In less than an hour, Douglas Town and Newcastle were in a blaze, and many of the wretched inhabitants, unable to escape, perished in the flames. The following account was obtained and printed in the papers for public information a few days afterwards:—

"More than a hundred miles of the shores of Miramichi are laid waste, independent of the north-west branch, the Baltibog and the Nappan settlements. From one to two hundred people have perished within immediate observation, while thrice that number are miserably burnt, or otherwise wounded; and at least two thousand of our fellow-creatures are left destitute of the means of subsistence, and thrown at present upon the humanity of the Province of New Brunswick.

"The number of lives that have been lost in the remote parts of the woods, among the lumbering

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parties, cannot be ascertained for some time to come; for it is feared that few are left to tell the tale.

"It is not in the power of language to describe the unparalleled scene of ruin and devastation which the parish of Newcastle at this moment presents. Out of upwards of two hundred and fifty houses and stores, fourteen of the least considerable only remain. The court-house, jail, church, and barracks; Messrs Gilmour, Rankin, and Co.'s, and Messrs Abrams and Co.'s establishments, with two ships on the stocks, are reduced to ashes.

"The loss of property is incalculable; for the fire, borne upon the wings of a hurricane, rushed on the wretched inhabitants with such inconceivable rapidity, that the preservation of their lives could be their only care.

"Among the vessels on the river, a number were cast on shore; three of which, namely, the ships Concord of Whitby, and Canada of North Shields, together with the brig Jane of Alloa, were consumed; others were fortunately extinguished, after the fire had attacked them.

"At Douglas Town, scarcely any kind of property escaped the ravages of the fire, which swept off the surface every thing coming in contact with it, leaving but time for the unfortunate inhabitants to fly to the shore; and there, by means of boats, canoes, rafts of timber, timber logs, or any article, however ill calculated for the purpose, they endeavoured to escape from the dreadful scene, and reach the town

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of Chatham: numbers of men, women, and children, perishing in the attempt.

"In some parts of the country, the cattle have all been destroyed, or suffered greatly, and the very soil is in many places parched and burnt up, while scarcely any article of provisions has been rescued from the flames.

"The hurricane raged with such dreadful violence, that large bodies of timber, on fire, as also trees from the forest, and parts of the flaming houses and stores, were carried to the rivers with amazing velocity, to such an extent, and affecting the water in such a manner, as to occasion large quantities of salmon and other fish to resort to land; hundreds of which were scattered on the shores of the south and west branches.

"Chatham at present contains about three hundred of the unfortunate sufferers, who have resorted to it for relief, and are experiencing some partial assistance; and almost every hour brings with it great numbers from the back settlements, burnt, wounded, and in the most abject state of distress."

Great fires raged about the same time in the forests of the River St John, which destroyed much property and timber, with the governor's residence, and about eighty private houses at Fredericton. Fires raged also at the same time in the northern parts of the province, as far as the Bay de Chaleur.

It is impossible to tell how many lives were lost, as many of those who were in the woods among the lumbering parties had no friends or connexions in

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the country to remark their non-appearance. Five hundred have been computed as the least number that actually perished in the flames.

The destruction of bears, foxes, tiger-cats, martens, hares, and other wild animals, was very great. These, when surprised by great fires, are said to lose their usual sense of preservation, and becoming, as it were, either giddy or fascinated, often rush into the face of inevitable destruction. Even the birds, except those of very strong wing, seldom escape; some, particularly the partridge, become stupified; and the density of the smoke, the rapid velocity of the flames, and the violence of the winds, effectually prevent the flight of most others.

If the benevolence and charity of mankind were ever manifested in a more than common degree of feeling for the sufferings of unfortunate people, it was assuredly on this memorable occasion. No sooner did accounts of the calamity arrive in the neighbouring colonies, than clothing and provisions were collected and sent, with the utmost expedition, to ameliorate the distress of the sufferers; and the governor, Sir Howard Douglas, crossed the country, without any delay, to ascertain personally the extent of the calamity. Subscriptions, for the relief of all those who were subjected to want, were raised, to an amount hitherto unexampled, in Great Britain, in the United States, and in all the British Colonies; and the funds placed for distribution under the management of Sir Howard, and a committee appointed for the purpose in the province. L.200, which remained

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in the hands of the committee at Liverpool, was afterwards appropriated in aid of a school at the scene of the calamity.

Miramichi may now be said to have completely surmounted the misery and loss occasioned by the ravages of so terrible a visitation. Newcastle has not only arisen from its ashes, but will likely, in a few years, contain as many and much better houses, and as great a population, as formerly. The country laid waste by the insatiate element, is of much less value, it is true, when compared with its former worth. The majestic timber trees, which acquired their gigantic size by many ages of growth, have been destroyed, and a smaller species, originally common to sterile soils, and scarcely ever fit for the timber of commerce, have sprung up in their room.

I have often heard it maintained in England, by people unacquainted with America, that the lands must become much more valuable by being cleared of the woods by fire, as immense labour and expense in clearing the forest-lands would consequently be saved. No opinion can be more erroneous. Settlers, who understand the value of wilderness lands, always choose those covered with the heaviest trees of promiscuous kinds; and the strongest objection that can be made to a plot of land is, its having been previously subjected to fire, which withers the remaining standing trees, and leads to the exhaustion of fertility in the soil, by its producing afterwards two or three tall crops of weeds, which require as much nourishment as the same number of corn crops

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would. From the nature of those plants, very little of the sustenance drawn by them from the ground is again returned to it, as they wither, standing, into dry hollow stalks; and their juices, escaping gradually by exhalation, and mixing with the surrounding atmosphere, are carried off by the winds.

If the *burnt lands*, as they are termed, were, immediately after being overrun by fire, brought under cultivation, they would then be of exactly the same value as those cleared in the usual way; but even in this case they are objected to, as the great fires scour over the surface with such rapidity, that the trunks of the large trees are only very partially destroyed, and scarcely ever levelled, while, by losing their sap, they soon become much harder, and more difficult to cut, than green wood, and, by being all charred on the outside, exceedingly disagreeable to work among. The clearing and cultivating of ground on which the trees are all in a fresh growing state, is therefore preferred to that which has been subjected to fire, which seldom consumes effectually more than the underwood, decayed fragments, and the branches of the large trees.

The great business of Miramichi is the timber trade. Scarcely any other branch of trade is attempted; yet vast quantities of fish might be brought in from the Gulf of St Lawrence, which, with the salmon caught in the river, would form portions of assorted cargoes with lumber for the West Indies. This business has lately been partially prosecuted. In 1824, 141,384 tons of square timber were exported from

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Miramichi to ports in the United Kingdom, in nearly three hundred ships; and, although a depression occurred in 1826, the trade has since then been extensively followed.

The principal articles of provisions, and all others of general consumption, are imported, which will long continue as necessary to supply the wants of the settlers and lumberers. When the interior country, watered by the branches of this river, becomes tolerably well settled by farmers, the importation of provisions must, from want of demand, necessarily cease. The fixed property, in saw-mills on this river and its tributaries, is of important value.

To the southward of Miramichi, New Brunswick extends about seventy-five miles, along the strait of Northumberland, to Cape Tormentine. On this coast are the harbours of Richibuctu, Buctush, Cocaigne, Chediac, and the Harbour of Chemogui for small vessels. Several rivers also occur in this district. The soil is generally fertile, but the lands are very thinly inhabited, although many thousands of settlers might be *located* on the vacant lands lying between the sea and the Rivers St John and Petit Coudiac. The few roads opened as late as 1827, were then bad beyond the powers of description. Since then the energy of Sir Howard Douglas, with the cooperation of the legislature, have improved them greatly.

Richibuctu harbour has a bar across the entrance; but at high water ships drawing sixteen feet may pass safely over it. Within the last few years vast quantities of timber have been exported from

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this place. Its river, dividing into several streams, flows through an extensive country. It is navigable for several miles, and many of the settlers are Acadian French. The timber business, hitherto, has been chiefly attended to, as affording the most ready means of living; but agriculture, long considered of minor importance, now also engages the attention of the settlers.

Buctush is also a bar-harbour, and a port from which timber is exported. Several families of Acadian French are settled at this place.

Cocaigne lies to the southward of Buctush. Its entrance is very intricate; but ships of three hundred tons may load within the bar. Several cargoes of timber have been exported from this place, and a few ships have also been built here. It receives a fine river, but the population is yet trifling.

Chediac is a small harbour, with a scanty population, who have divided their labour between hewing timber and a little farming.

Chemogui River has a shallow entrance; but the lands are under tolerable cultivation, and agriculture and rearing cattle occupy the principal attention of the inhabitants. Between Chemogui and Cape Tormentine, there are many extensive and well-cultivated farms. The soil resembles that of Prince Edward Island, immediately opposite; and here the distance across the strait is not quite ten miles.

From Miramichi, north to Point Miscou, at the entrance of the Bay de Chaleur, the distance is about seventy miles. The sea-coast, and back lands of this

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part of the province, are very low; and the shore is nearly altogether fringed with sandy ridges, or small islands, producing bent-grass. Within these are lagoons, with shallow entrances. To Tabi-san-tac and Tracadie, the principal of these places, several thousand tons of timber are annually hauled out of the woods, and rafted to Miramichi.

To the northward of Tracadie, and near the passage of Shippigan, which divides the island of that name from the continent, are the small and shallow harbours of Little and Great Poumouche, inhabited principally by a few families of Acadian French. The inhabitants along this coast are scattered thinly near the shores, and subsist by means of fishing, cultivating potatoes and a little grain, and hewing timber. They are poor, ignorant, and unambitious. Want of industry, or rather the improper application of their labour, alone prevents their prosperity; and a few worthless characters, mingled with the Acadians, and who have probably been driven by their roguery from among the English and Scotch settlements, while they want the simplicity and honesty of their neighbours, are equally bad farmers, and less industrious as fishermen.

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CHAPTER V.

BAY DE CHALEUR.

Miscou — Shippigan — St Peter's — Rustigouche — Bonaventure — Carlisle — Gaspè, &c. — Climate of the District of Gaspè — Whale-Fishery.

THIS bay, or rather gulf, and the River Rustigouche, which falls into it, divide Canada and New Brunswick, Cape Mackerel (Maquereau) on the Canadian side, and Point Miscou on the south, distant from each other fifteen miles, from the entrance to this bay.

Point Miscou is in latitude 47° 58′, and in longitude 64° 30′. The length of this magnificent gulf, from Point Miscou west to the mouth of the River Rustigouche, is about eighty-five miles. In one place it is twenty miles broad; in others, from fifteen to thirty miles. On the Canadian or north side, the land rises into lofty mountains; on the south side, except within twenty miles of the head of the bay, the interior country is low; although along the shores the cliffs are in some places perpendicular.

In 1534, the famous and intrepid French navigator, Jacques Cartier, sailed into this bay, previous to his discovering the St Lawrence. From the inten-

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sity of the midsummer heat which he then experienced, he gave it the name of Bay de Chaleur.

Miscou Island is about ten miles round. Here the French, previous to the conquest of Canada, had an extensive fishing plantation, conducted by the "*Company of Miscou.*" The remains of their buildings, &c., still appear. In 1819, when I was ashore on this island, there was living on it but one family, consisting of a disbanded Highland soldier, of the *name* of Campbell, his wife, son-in-law, and two daughters.* He settled on this spot, from a truly Highland attachment to flocks and herds; as it affords excellent pasturage in summer, and as it produces also plenty of hay for winter fodder. There is a safe and deep harbour formed between this island and the Island of Shippigan. The entrance to it, from the gulf, must not be attempted, as it will scarcely admit boats; but the other, from the bay, has water sufficiently deep for large ships. There is little wood on this island; the trees are dwarf birches and firs. Several varieties of wild fruit abound.

Shippigan is about twenty miles long *low, and*

* Three individuals of this family were, I have learned since, drowned; the boat in which they were attempting to cross over to Caraquette, having swamped on a reef about two miles from the land. One of these was the unmarried daughter. Her appearance was certainly interesting when I saw her; and I could not help thinking at the time, that it was a matter of regret that she should wear out life on an island thirty miles from any one but her own family. A black servant, that I had with me, told me, after we left, that she was anxious to escape from *her prison*, as she named it, and would gladly do so then, if she could. Two months after, the unfortunate girl was drowned.

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sandy, and produces bent-grass, fir, and birch-trees, shrubs, and a great abundance of cranberries, blueberries, &c. I saw some foxes on it, and was told they were numerous. Wild-geese and ducks occasionally hatch their young on these islands; both are great resorts of wild fowls. The passage between it and the continent, being at the eastern entrance choked with sand, has only seven or eight feet depth of water. The channel leading from the Bay de Chaleur is deep and broad; but on each side of it, flat, rocky, and sandy shallows stretch two or three miles from the land. On this island, and on the mainland opposite, there are about eighty families of Acadian French, whose principal occupation is fishing. The soil is tolerably fertile, and produces wheat, potatoes, and oats; which, however, the inhabitants raise but in small quantities. A few cargoes of excellent timber have been exported from Shippigan, chiefly rafted from Poumouche, a few miles to the southward; and from which place, large rafts of timber have frequently been *poled* along the shore, sixty or seventy miles, and delivered at Miramichi.

Caraquette is situated a few miles west of Shippigan. There is an island at the entrance, which forms the harbour; on each side of this island there is a deep but intricate channel. A long, populous, but straggling village, extends several miles along the south side of Caraquette Bay; at the head of which stands the old Catholic chapel, in one of the most beautiful spots in the world—at least it is so during summer and autumn On one side of it is a beautiful

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transparent stream, issuing from between the crevices of a rock; on the other, before the skirts of a luxuriant forest of birch and maple, are a few acres of green sward, on which the villagers, during the interval between mass and vespers, delight, in fine weather, to repose in groups, to talk over the incidents of the week. In front of this spot a beautiful view opens of the harbour, Caraquette Island, and a broad prospect of the Bay de Chaleur.

In the middle of the village, and on pretty high ground, the new stone church stands. It is a large plain building, with a high spire, and one or two bells. The inside is lined with pictures of a showy but cheap description. The inhabitants, however, felt great reluctance in abandoning the old chapel, which, with every object surrounding it, had been for twenty or thirty years familiarized to them; and they were anxious, although the distance was very inconvenient, to build the new one on the same spot.

The soil about Caraquette is very fertile. I have seen as fine wheat growing there as in any part of America. The inhabitants of this place and Shippigan, particularly the women, show more of the features and colour of the Micmac Indians, than any of the Acadians that I have elsewhere seen. This circumstance arises from the first settlers, of whom they are descended, having intermarried with the savages. These people employ themselves principally in the cod and herring fisheries, and depend only as an auxiliary means of subsistence on the cultivation of the soil, which they leave, in a great measure,

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to the management of the women and younger sons. There are some excellent grindstone quarries in this place. Red ochre, also, of excellent quality, abounds.

Between Caraquette and Nipisighit Bay, there are three or four small Acadian settlements, the inhabitants of which live by fishing.

On the east side of Nipisighit (or St Peter's) is situated the young, flourishing settlement of New Bandon; the inhabitants of which went from Ireland a few years ago, and have, by confining their labour chiefly to agriculture, and by persevering industry and good management, succeeded in rising, from comparative poverty, to the acquisition of considerable property in land and cattle.

St Peter's, lately named Bathurst, is the harbour of Nipisighit Bay; there is a bar across the entrance, but large brigs can load inside of it. The River Nipisighit winds and branches over a great extent of the northern part of New Brunswick. I have before observed, that it appears to be in a line of contact between a region of sandstone to the eastward, and a part of the vast granitic range of the Alleghanies. The main branch is broken by a magnificent fall and several rapids; and I was informed that all the other branches rolled over falls and cataracts. The interior country is but little known; but from the information given me by the lumbering parties and Indians, its configuration presents innumerable streams, lakes, excellent lands, forests, valleys, and hills which occasionally assume the character of mountains.

For some years several ships have loaded with

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timber at Nipisighit, the quality of which is excellent. The number of settlers in this place is rather considerable; but a vast population might be located advantageously on the lands watered by this river. There are two or three merchants at St Peter's, and it is the port of entry, under St John's, for all the harbours on the south side of the Bay de Chaleur. The shore from Nipisighit to Rustigouche, is all lined with inhabitants.

The River Rustigouche, which separates Canada from New Brunswick, falls into a spacious harbour at the head of the Bay de Chaleur. This majestic river, and its numerous appendant streams, branch over more than six thousand square miles of New Brunswick and Canada. The largest stream running into it from the north, is the Matapedia, rising in a lake of that name, situated in the middle of the county of Cornwallis, in Lower Canada. From one of the southern streams of the Rustigouche, the distance to the River St John is but a few miles, and by this route the courier travels with letters to New Brunswick or Canada. A road, to open a direct communication between the settlements on the Bay de Chaleur and Canada, by the lake Matapedia, has been contemplated. It might form a continuation of the new road from Miramichi to Nipisighit, from which a tolerable road is open to Rustigouche, and then complete the great military road projected by Sir Howard Douglas, by leading along the Matapedia, and then by the Metis to the St Lawrence. Next to a good road from Fredericton to the St Lawrence, I consider a

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road that would enable the inhabitants of the Bay de Chaleur, particularly those on the north side, to have a direct and certain intercourse with Quebec, an object of the greatest importance. To this neglected, and almost forgotten, but still truly valuable, part of Canada and New Brunswick, such a line of communication with Quebec is absolutely necessary. The opening of these roads would facilitate the settlement of vast tracts of fertile country through which the Rustigouche, Matapedia, and Nipisighit Rivers flow.

A profitable salmon-fishery was, for many years, followed on the River Rustigouche, which has for some time been declining. I have been told by those longest settled on the river, that an extraordinary annual decrease in the number of salmon frequenting it has taken place, which they account for as a consequence of its waters being much more disturbed than formerly.

The inhabitants at what may be considered the harbour of Rustigouche, and at Dalhousie on the New Brunswick side, where many of the timber ships load, and those at the settlements of Nouvelle, New Richmond, Tracadigash, and Cascapedia, consist of a mixed population of English, Scotch, Irish, Americans, and Acadian French, who employ themselves in the different occupations of fishing, hewing timber, and farming on a very humble scale.

Eighteen miles up the Rustigouche, there is an Indian chapel, and here they occasionally form a small village of wigwams; which, after a few weeks, they soon displace, and, packing up these portable habita-

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tions, with all their stock, embark with them in their canoes for some other part of the country.

The land, on each side the river Rustigouche, is high and mountainous. In some places the river appears to have actually broken through ramifications of the great chain between it and the St Lawrence. In the valleys, and along the river where intervale lands abound, the soil is capable of producing luxuriant crops of grain, and all sorts of green crops. A vast population might be settled on these parts of New Brunswick and Lower Canada. The trees, particularly the fir tribes, grow to immense heights and sizes, and a great timber country may be opened along this river. The quality is in great repute among the timber dealers in England, especially in the port of Liverpool, and considered equal to that imported from Miramichi.

The greatest difficulty to surmount appeared to me to be the hauling or bringing it out to the rivers, as the best timber groves are in the valleys behind the mountainous ridges, which in most places follow the winding of the streams. The indefatigable spirit of the lumberers, however, is such, that they overcome natural obstacles that would stagger the resolution of other people. They cut the timber, and haul it, in winter, to places where there is often no water, either in summer or winter; but which, they well know, will be overflown when the spring thaws dissolve the snow on the mountains and in the woods.

There are three or four timber merchants at and near Rustigouche, who have exported several cargoes

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of timber during the last few years. Besides the quantity of salmon used by the inhabitants and lumbering parties, a great share of the salmon caught in this river is sold to the traders, who export the same to Quebec, Halifax, or direct to the West Indies.

Although the country between the Bay de Chaleur and the River St Lawrence, forming the district of Gaspè, is in Lower Canada, I include its description in this chapter, from the connexion that subsists between one part of the bay and another.

The River of Bonaventure, on the north side of the bay, is about thirty miles below Rustigouche. It rises in a fine lake about forty miles in the interior, and flows rapidly through a richly wooded country to its *débouché*, where there is a small harbour, which at high water will admit brigs of two hundred tons; and on each side of which there is a thickly-settled population of industrious Acadian French. These people have much simplicity in their manners, and strangers always meet with kindness and hospitality among them. They are principally engaged in the herring and cod fisheries; next to which, they derive considerable assistance from the cultivation of the soil. They build boats and fishing vessels for themselves; and, during winter, some of the young men have, since 1817, spent part of their time in hewing timber in the woods; this, however, is an employment which they do not seem fond of. There is a Catholic church in this village; and on the

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beach, near the mouth of the harbour, there are salt stores, fish houses, &c.

A more contented, honest, and amiable population than the Acadians of Bonaventure, I have not met with.

Carlisle is the principal place in the district of Gaspè. It is laid out for a town, and its situation, during summer, is agreeable and beautiful. There is a substantial and handsome stone building here, in which the district court is held, and in which there is also a jail.* The population is composed of people from different parts of America and Europe, and the character of the majority of them is considered not of the most honest description, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements. Carlisle has no harbour, but vessels anchor with safety in the road during summer and autumn. Vast quantities of red herrings are cured in this place; and some of the lands are under tolerable cultivation.

Two miles below Carlisle is the settlement of Pas-

* I saw, in 1819, the judge of this court and his brother, who had been a captain in the army. They were certainly as perfect pictures of penury as could well be discovered in any country; and yet both were men of liberal education. They lived in a small house without a servant; they cooked for themselves, and mended their own clothes, which were patched all over with various colours, and seldom subjected to the influence of soap and water. The judge was formerly a lawyer at Quebec, but said to be promoted to the bench of the district of Gaspè by the joint efforts of the bar of which he was a member, in order to get rid of so dirty and penurious a being. Hoarding money was the apparent object of their existence. The military man died since, I believe, of a fever; the judge soon after committed suicide. He left a considerable fortune.

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pabiac, inhabited chiefly by Acadian French, who employ themselves principally in fishing. There are also several people from Jersey, attached to the highly respectable fishing establishment of Messrs Robin and Co. The harbour or lagoon of Paspabiac admits only very small schooners and boats; but ships and large schooners ride safely at anchor in the road. The fish stores, flakes, &c., are ranged along a very fine beach, where the people connected with the fisheries are incessantly employed during the summer and autumn; in winter they retire back near to the woods. Messrs Robin's establishment was formed, I believe, nearly fifty years ago, by the elder partner and parent of the firm; and its admirable plan of systematic management, the essential characteristics of which, are ceaseless industry, frugality, and prudent caution, and particularly in having no one engaged about the business that is not usefully or productively employed, has long secured to it the most solid prosperity. During summer, their ships, ten, or often more, in number, are moored in the road, with their top-masts and yards lowered, and the whole, I believe, given in charge to one master and his crew; while the other masters, with their crews, are dispatched in shallops to various parts of the bay, either to fish, or collect the cured fish from the fishermen who receive their supplies from Messrs Robin and Co. In autumn, the ships depart with full cargoes of the best fish for ports in Portugal, Spain, and within the Mediterranean. They have also a ship-building establishment, where they have built a ship annually; and I know one of these

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ships, the "Day," now in good condition, although built more than twenty-four years ago.

A few miles below Paspabiac is situated the small harbour and pretty settlement of Little Nouvelle; below which, as far along the coast as Cape Desespoir, the land and soil assume a rugged and rather barren appearance.

Port Daniel is the best harbour within the Bay de Chaleur, and the features of its scenery are dark, wild, and prominent. There are but a few families in this place, and they appeared to me to be in great poverty. It is convenient for fishing; but the soil near the shore is rocky and barren.

Great and Little Pabos, and Grand River, are small harbours with intricate entrances, situated along the coast between Port Daniel and Cape Desespoir. The inhabitants, few in number, support themselves by the means of fishing and a little cultivation. The soil near the shore is indifferent, but at some distance back, along numerous streams flowing from several lakes, there are many fertile spots.

Percé is the oldest fishing settlement in this district. Immediately over it a mountain rises abruptly, and its romantic summit ascends to the clouds. This mountain, or cape, I consider to be the first rise or commencement of the great Alleghany chain. This immense granitic range, branching into numerous ramifications, follows a course nearly parallel to the St Lawrence; and then, to the eastward of Lake Champlain, bends to the southward, until it is finally lost by dipping into the Carolinas.

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Bonaventure Island lies about a mile east from Percé. Its south, east, and north sides present inaccessible cliffs. On the west, opposite Percé, boats may always land, where there are two or three fishing plantations established by industrious adventurers from Jersey. This island and Percé are both important fishing ports, and the inhabitants are all fishermen.

The channel between Percé and Bonaventure Island is deep, and without rocks or shoals, with the exception of Roc Percé, which stands at the northern entrance. This extraordinary and picturesque rock is nearly two hundred feet high, of a zigzag narrow shape, and about three hundred feet long; it has two arches or openings through it, sufficiently large to allow boats carrying sail to pass under. The settlement of Percé has its name from the rock: the Canadian French having called it Roc Percé, from its appearance.

About two miles to the northward of this place, the inhabitants say that two English men-of-war were wrecked, which belonged to the squadron (Commodore Phipps's) that attempted to take Quebec in 1711, and that the sailors after landing perished from cold and want of food. This may be true, as few of Phipps's ships were ever heard of. The most superstitious stories of apparitions having often been seen, and of shouting and talking after the manner of sailors having been frequently heard, are related by the *habitans*, who are of French descent. The wild, lofty, and terrific character of the scenery, parti

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cularly in the fall and winter, when the winds blow furiously against the cliffs and round the mountains, with the impression that the crews of two ships perished there after landing, and that their bodies were never buried, are sufficient to work imaginations, naturally credulous, into the most unlimited belief in the marvellous.

For three or four months in summer and autumn, the climate of this district is remarkably fine, and the country, which is all covered with wood, exhibits a luxuriant, but from the sombre hue of the fir-trees, which predominate, a wild appearance.

I never felt the fascinating power of nature more strongly than, in 1824, on approaching the land, and sailing from the southward through the passage of Percé. The landscape was the richest imaginable: the sun was setting beyond the mountainous background; the heavens had just cleared up, after lightning and thunder, and a heavy shower of an hour's duration, which had then passed over us; the clouds were magnificently adorned with the effulgent brilliancy of the most inimitable colours; the sea was quite calm, and extended up the Bay de Chaleur, on the one hand, and into the Gulf of St Lawrence, on the other, beyond the scope of vision; while its surface, smooth as that of a mirror, reflected with precision the splendour of the heavens, the sombre cast of the wooded mountains, and the enlivening counterpart of the houses, stores, and fish-flakes. Roc Percé stood in bold ruggedness, with its arches near the middle of the passage; Cape Gaspè, high, steep, and black, but

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its rocky ridge at this time gilded with the setting sun, appeared in the distance. Bonaventure Island, with its steep cliffs, and deep green firs, rose on the right; Mount Percé on the left. Several vessels were within view; two schooners were anchored near the fish stores, and the sea was spotted over with more than a hundred fishing-boats.

Gaspè Harbour is one of the best in the world; it is situated immediately below the entrance of the River St Lawrence. The inhabitants are thinly settled in three or four places, and are employed chiefly in the cod and herring fisheries. Little cultivation appears, and there does not seem to be any great extent of good land, about the harbour: farther back, in the valleys, excellent soil, covered with large trees, is met with. A few cargoes of timber have been shipped here for England; and some of the inhabitants pursue the whale-fishery, which has for some years been carried on at Gaspè.

The whales caught within the Gulf of St Lawrence are those called "*hump-backs*," which yield, on an average, about three tons of oil; some have been taken seventy feet long, which produced eight tons. The mode of taking them is somewhat different from that followed by the Greenland fishers; and the Gaspè fishermen first acquired an acquaintance with it from the people of Nantucket. An active man, accustomed to boats and schooners, may become fully acquainted with every thing connected with this fishery in one season. The vessels best adapted for the purpose, are schooners of from seventy to

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eighty tons burden, manned with a crew of eight men, including the master. Each schooner requires two boats, about twenty feet long, built narrow and sharp, and with *pink* sterns; and two hundred and twenty fathoms of line are necessary in each boat, with spare harpoons and lances. The men row towards the whale, and, when they are very near, use paddles, which make less noise than oars. Whales are sometimes taken fifteen minutes after they are struck with the harpoon. The Gaspè fishermen never go out in quest of them until some of the small ones, which enter the bay about the beginning of June, appear; these swim too fast to be easily harpooned, and are not, besides, worth the trouble. The large whales are taken off the entrance of Gaspè Bay, on each side of the Island of Anticosti, and up the River St Lawrence as far as Bique.*

The district of Gaspè affords many tracts of soil fit for the raising of wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, &c.; and the climate, although nearly as cold in winter as in Sweden, is, in summer and harvest, very warm, and of sufficient length to ripen to per-

* On the north side of the St Lawrence, some miles farther up than *Isle de Bique*, I saw in a small cove the skeletons of several whales, that had been towed ashore for the purpose of stripping off the blubber, which was afterwards melted into oil in boilers, which I observed fixed on shore for the purpose.

In 1824, a whale, more than seventy feet in length, after proceeding further than the common distance up the St Lawrence, apparently lost its usual instinct, and still continued its course until stopped by the shoals above Montreal, where it was killed, two hundred and seventy miles from salt water.

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fection all the kinds of grain and vegetables that grow in England. The ungranted fertile lands are capable of receiving and supporting a population of more than one hundred thousand; but it would not be wise to locate more than two thousand annually.

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CHAPTER VI.

Trade—Imports and Exports—Timber Trade—Lumbering Parties—Rafting—Habits and Character of a Lumberer—Manner of preparing Timber for Exportation—Saw-Mills—Agriculture—Attention of Sir Howard Douglas to the Encouragement of Husbandry—Agricultural and Emigrant Societies—Live Stock and Average Crops.

THE trade of New Brunswick consists chiefly in exporting square timber, deals, spars, staves, and a few firs, to Great Britain and Ireland, in return for British manufactures; and in shipping boards, shingles, scantling, and fish, to the West Indies, for which, rum, sugar, tobacco, and dollars, are brought back. Gypsum and grindstones are shipped on board of American vessels, from the free ports of St John and St Andrew; and, to the disgrace of the inhabitants of the province, who might be independent of others for bread stuffs, by more industrious attention to the cultivation of the soil, from 50,000 to 60,000 barrels of flour and meal, and from 3000 to 4000 quintals of bread, besides Indian corn, have been for some years annually imported from the United States, for which scarcely any thing but Spanish dollars is paid.

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The imports during the speculative year 1824, were in 1273 vessels, measuring 262,294 tons, and navigated by 12,271 men. The estimated value of their cargoes was L.614,557 sterling. The exports during the same period were in 1265 ships, measuring 260,154 tons, navigated by 12,214 men. The value of their cargoes was estimated at L.432,048 sterling; and to this amount must be added 74 new ships, which were built during the year within the province, and sent to the United Kingdom for sale as remittances for British merchandise. These vessels measured 20,621 tons, which, at the estimated value of L.10 per ton, amount to L.206,210 sterling, which, added to the value of the cargoes, L.432,048, makes the whole L.638,258; an extraordinary amount for a population then not above 80,000.

The average number of vessels entered and cleared at the different ports in the province, for the years 1827, 1828, 1829, shows an increase in the number of vessels, but a decrease in the amount of tonnage. The average of these years gives 2071 vessels, 237,189 tons, and 11,769 men. This difference arises, first, from the circumstance of the timber trade, in which the largest ships, and consequently a greater number of men, were employed, having, in the years 1824 and 1825, been carried on to an extraordinary extent, which suddenly, soon after the repeal of the navigation laws, diminished; and, secondly, from the great increase in the number of smaller vessels employed in the trade with the

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West Indies, in the coasting trade, and in the fisheries. The average imports for the last three years amount to about L.450,000 sterling; and the exports, exclusive of about 120 new ships, measuring 24,000 tons, built during the whole period, amount to about L.360,000 sterling; the balance being partly paid for in dollars to the Americans, and partly by new ships sold in England.

The non-admission of the vessels of the United States into the ports of the British West Indies, has opened a profitable trade to New Brunswick; and all that I have stated on the subject of that trade, in the First Book of this Volume, applies with equal truth to this province.

The fisheries have for some time received encouragement in the shape of bounties from the legislature, and this branch of trade is gradually increasing.

The timber trade, which has hitherto constituted the great business of the colony, will likely, for many years to come, continue to engross the principal attention of the merchants. Great gains were at first realized, both by it and by ship-building; and although the merchants, and others concerned in these pursuits, were nearly all ruined afterwards, by the extent of their engagements, when our navigation laws were repealed, and on the free-trade system being suddenly introduced, yet it must be recollected, that each of those trades have enabled New Brunswick to pay for her foreign imports; and by means

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of the timber trade have St John's, St Andrew's, and Fredericton, been built.

To the new settler on wilderness-lands, it presented also a ready resource; and it was wise, if not necessary for him, under most circumstances, to engage in it for a few winters; as, by the gains attending it, he was put in possession of the means of stocking his farm, and clothing himself and family. The province, therefore, gained great advantage by this trade; and although it is not less certain that it has been prosecuted much farther than the extent of a remunerative demand for timber, it would, notwithstanding, be extreme folly to abandon it altogether. Half of the people engaged in the timber trade and ship-building, have only to give their industry another direction, and the remainder may work to advantage. In this view, agriculture offers the most alluring, and, at the same time, the most certain source of employment. The fisheries follow next. Let the industry of the inhabitants be but divided between agriculture, the timber trade, and the fisheries, and this beautiful and fertile province will probably flourish beyond any precedent. But the farmer, unless he be a settler on woodlands, must adhere to agriculture alone; the lumberer will do better, or at least he will realize more money, by following his own business; and those engaged in the fisheries, will find it their interest to confine themselves chiefly to the same pursuit.

The effects of the projects of 1824 have scarce-

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ly yet spent their force; the reaction has indeed been terrible to the merchants of New Brunswick. What Halifax suffered after the last American war, St John's was now doomed to endure. The docks of London and Liverpool were at this time crowded with fine ships, built by the merchants in North America, and sent to England for sale. The demand and price for such vessels having previously increased to an unusual rate, the commercial men of New Brunswick were not only more extensively engaged in this trade, than the merchants in the other provinces were; but, from the facility which they had experienced before this time in making large remittances to England, in ships and timber, they incautiously plunged themselves deeply into debt, by importing large quantities of goods of all descriptions.

The consequence was, that their ships have been disposed of for less than half the prime cost; their timber was sold for less than the expense of carrying it to the United Kingdom; bills drawn by houses of long standing, and the highest respectability, were returned dishonoured. The unparalleled suddenness of so unexpected a commercial calamity, prevented the most cautious and experienced from guarding against the ruin which awaited them. They had all their funds locked up, either in ships already built and rigged, in ships on the stocks, or else in timber. It became necessary, at whatever sacrifice, to finish and send to England the vessels then in progress of building, or submit to lose all the money they had

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laid out. In most cases, it would have been well to have done so.

Many, who considered themselves wealthy, were thus ruined; and all engaged in trade have suffered, some severely, others in a less degree. In future, it is almost certain that such vessels only will be built as may be required for the fisheries, or for the carrying trade of the province; and the building of ships for the British market is now nearly altogether relinquished.

The causes of the losses sustained by the merchants engaged in the timber trade are numerous; but principally arising, first, from the repeal of the navigation laws, and the introduction, without due notice, of the free-trade system; which, from the low price of labour and naval stores in the northern kingdoms of Europe, enables the people of those countries to export timber to Great Britain at extremely low prices; and, secondly, from the lumberers not being able, or indeed willing, to pay the debts they contracted with the merchants, in consequence of the depreciated value of timber. Many adventurers, also, without any capital, from witnessing extraordinary gains having been occasionally made by the merchants and master lumberers, entered into this business, and who, having nothing to lose, ventured into daring speculations, which were exceedingly injurious to regularly established merchants.

The most absurd objections are made, either from interest or prejudice, against American timber, al-

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though for most purposes it is equal, and for many superior, to that from Norway. One of these objections is at the same time untrue and ridiculous; that is, its being more congenial to the propagation of bugs than any other wood. It has been confidently stated in some of the public prints, that not only do the trees in the forest abound with these disgusting insects, but that the timber, when landed from the ships, has swarmed with them. I need only observe, that there can be little difference between European and American timber, as far as regards the one being more genial to the increase of bugs than the other; they are exceedingly rare in the wooden buildings in America, except in the oldest houses in the towns; and it is well known that there are few of the old houses in the towns in England, that are not infested with those loathsome vermicula. The durability of American timber is also questioned; the yellow is certainly not so durable as the red pine of Norway, although for many purposes it is much better adapted. The pitch pine, red pine, and juniper, or American larch, will, I am firmly convinced, last as long as any wood of the same genus growing in any part of Europe. The hemlock, a large tree of the fir tribe, is, I consider, the most durable wood in the world; and it possesses the peculiar property of preserving iron driven into it, either under water or exposed to the air, from corroding.

The timber trade, which, in a commercial as well as a political point of view, is of more importance in

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employing our ships and seamen, and the occasioning a great addition to the demand for British manufactures, than it is generally considered to be, employs also a vast number of people in the British colonies, whose manner of living, owing to the nature of the business they follow, is entirely different from that of the other inhabitants of North America.

Several of these people form what is termed a "lumbering party," composed of persons who are all either hired by a master lumberer, who pays them wages and finds them in provisions, or of individuals, who enter into an understanding with each other, to have a joint interest in the proceeds of their labour. The necessary supplies of provisions, clothing, &c., are generally obtained from the merchants on credit, in consideration of receiving the timber, which the lumberers are to bring down the rivers the following summer. The stock deemed requisite for a "*lumbering party*," consists of axes, a cross-cut saw, cooking utensils, a cask of rum, tobacco and pipes; a sufficient quantity of biscuit, pork, beef, and fish, pease and pearl barley for soup, with a cask of molasses to sweeten a decoction usually made of shrubs, or of the tops of the hemlock-tree, and taken as tea. Two or three yokes of oxen, with sufficient hay to feed them, are also required to haul the timber out of the woods.*

When thus prepared, these people proceed up the

* The quantity of stock is, of course, greater or less according to the number who compose the party. Some of the Canada lumberers carry an enormous stock to the woods.

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rivers, with the provisions, &c., to the place fixed on for their winter establishment, which is selected as near a stream of water as possible. They commence by clearing away a few of the surrounding trees, and building a shanty, or camp of round logs, the walls of which are seldom more than four or five feet high; the roof is covered with birch bark, or boards. A pit is dug under the camp to preserve any thing liable to injury from the frost. The fire is either in the middle, or at one end; the smoke goes out through the roof; hay, straw, or fir-branches are spread across, or along the whole length of this habitation, on which they all lie down together at night to sleep, with their feet next the fire. When the fire gets low, he who first awakes or feels cold, springs up, and throws on five or six billets, and in this way they manage to have a large fire all night. One person is hired as cook, whose duty is to have breakfast ready before day-light; at which time all the party rise, when each takes his "morning," or the indispensable dram of raw spirits, immediately before breakfast. This meal consists of bread, or occasionally potatoes, with boiled beef, pork, or fish, and tea sweetened with molasses; dinner is usually the same, with pease-soup in place of *tea*; and the supper resembles breakfast. These men are enormous eaters; and they also drink great quantities of rum, which they scarcely ever dilute. Immediately after breakfast, they divide into three *gangs*; one of which cuts down the trees, another hews them, and the third is employed with the oxen in hauling the timber, either

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to one general road leading to the banks of the nearest stream, or at once to the stream itself; fallen trees, and other impediments in the way of the oxen, are cut away with an axe.

The whole winter is thus spent in unremitting labour. The snow covers the ground from two to three feet from the setting in of winter until April; and, in the middle of fir forests, often till the middle of May. When the snow begins to dissolve in April, the rivers swell, or, according to the lumberer's phrase, the "*freshets come down!*" At this time, all the timber cut during winter is thrown into the water, and floated down until the river becomes sufficiently wide to make the whole into one or more rafts.

The construction of the vast masses of timber floated down the St Lawrence, and other great rivers of America, is nearly on all occasions similar, but bound proportionably stronger together as the rafts increase in size. The raftsmen commence by floating twenty or more pieces of timber alongside each other, with the ends to form the fore-part of the raft brought in a line, and then bound close together by logs placed across these, and by binding one log to another with poles fastened down by withes plugged firmly into holes bored in the logs for the purpose. The size of the raft is increased in this manner by adding pieces of timber, one after another, with their unequal lengths crossing the *joints*, until the whole lot of timber to be rafted, is joined together, in one flat mass, on the river. The water at this period is exceedingly cold, yet, for weeks together, the lumberers are in it from

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morning till night, and it is seldom less than a month and a half, from the time that floating the timber down the streams commences, until the rafts are delivered to the merchants.

No course of life can undermine the constitution more than that of a lumberer and raftsman. The winter, snow, and frost, although severe, are nothing to endure in comparison to the extreme coldness of the snow-water of the freshets, in which the lumberer is, day after day, wet up to the middle, and often immersed from head to foot. The very vitals are thus chilled and sapped ; the intense heat of the summer sun, a transition which almost immediately follows, must further weaken and reduce the whole frame, and premature old age is the inevitable fate of a lumberer. But notwithstanding all the toils of such a pursuit, those who once adopt the life of a lumberer, prefer it to any other They are in a great measure as independent, in their own way, as the Indians. After selling and delivering up their rafts, they pass some weeks in idle indulgence, drinking, smoking, and *dashing off* in a long coat, flashy waistcoat and trowsers, Wellington or Hessian boots, a handkerchief of many colours round the neck, a watch with a long tinsel chain and numberless brass seals, and an *umbrella*. Before winter, they return again to the woods, and resume the laborious pursuits of the preceding year. The greater number of the lumberers and raftsmen, in Canada and New Brunswick, are from the United States. Many young men of steady habits in our colonies, are in the habit of joining the

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lumbering parties for two or three years, for the express purpose of making money; and, after saving their earnings, purchase or receive grants of lands, on which they live very comfortably, cultivating the soil, and occasionally cutting down the timber trees on their lands for market.

An argument has lately been used by some people in power, in order to enable them to shackle the timber imported from our colonies with an additional duty of ten shillings per load, which would, with a proposed reduction of five in the duty on foreign timber, entirely annihilate the colonial timber trade. The argument is, that all those engaged in cutting timber, are worthless, unsteady, and villainous characters. I readily grant that many of the mere lumberers and raftsmen are of this stamp; but a vast proportion of our timber is necessarily cut down by the permanent and most industrious people in the colonies; and before they can secure all that is required for their necessities, by the means of agriculture alone, they are generally compelled to fly to the only resource within their grasp, in order to obtain food, clothing, and seed.

The trees cut down for the timber of commerce, are not, indeed, of the smallest importance in respect to clearing the lands, although I have heard it urged in England, as an argument in favour of the timber trade. The lumberers choose the trees that they consider the most suitable, and not one in a thousand is esteemed so. Almost every description of forest trees would be valuable for different purposes, if once land-

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ed in the United Kingdom ; but the principal part of the cost is the freight across the Atlantic, and in order, therefore, that a ship may carry the greatest possible quantity, the largest and straightest trees are hewn square, and not brought round to market, as the trees cut down in England are. The new settler is, however, enabled to clear the lands of the smaller trees, while the larger are hewn down, to sell for food ; and when he at last raises a superabundance of agricultural productions, the operations of the timber trade create a market for them. Sir Howard Douglas, in a most ably written pamphlet (lately published) on the importance of the British American Colonies, observes with great truth, in allusion to the proposed alteration in the timber duties, " The pursuits of the emigrant are, it is true, essentially agricultural ; but let it not be overlooked that agricultural operations in a country covered with forests, must commence and be accompanied by the operations of the lumberer. The poor emigrant begins his labour with the axe, and his greatest, his chief resource in earning money, wherewith to buy what he wants, is in manufacturing shingles or staves, or in felling timber. Let this measure pass," (that part of Lord Althorpe's finance theory which relates to the timber trade ;) " let the British North American trade languish ; let the inter-colonial trade with the West Indies be unprotected ; and the miseries, and the distresses, which the emigrant may have endured as a pauper at home, would be nothing to those to

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Shediac
Cape Tormentine
Amherst
Tatamagouche
Parsborough
Basin of Minas
Annapolis River
PART OF NOVASCOTIA
Digby Gut
Longitude West 65 from Greenwich

which he will be consigned in the wilds to which he has been removed."

The squeamish absurdity of bringing forward, as an argument, the demoralizing tendency of the timber business, which is only true, and that partially, as relates to the professed lumberers and raftsmen, in order to force agriculture in the colonies, exhibits the most gross ignorance of British America, and the most slender acquaintance with all the great branches of national industry. A statesman might with equal wisdom say, I have just discovered that a vast number of the labourers employed in the various operations of the coal trade, constitute a most immoral portion of the community, and I will therefore drive them to some other more innocent occupation, by saddling the trade with restrictions, sufficiently heavy to prevent his majesty's subjects using coal for fuel. He might also say, I find that the operatives employed in the cotton factories at Manchester, are neither so virtuous, sober, provident, nor religious, as they would be if they were husbandmen. I will therefore adopt measures that will compel them to be agriculturists, by laying such burdens on their fabrics as will prevent their being used either in these kingdoms or by the people of any other nation. He might go still farther, and say, I have really discovered that the Glasgow and Paisley weavers are tolerably thrifty; but I have also discovered that those fellows actually read Blackwood's Magazine, even the Noctes; and that they read the Edinburgh Review, and, worse than all, they read books that give

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birth to sceptical ideas, not only in religion, but in politics. I am therefore determined, in order to cure these evils, to prohibit, by the imposition of heavy duties, the wearing of Glasgow or Paisley fabrics, and thereby compel the weavers to become shepherds.

The importance of our colonial timber trade is far from being justly appreciated, and apparently least so of all by men in office. Its consequences may appear from the following facts.

It employs in its intercourse with the United Kingdom alone, about one-third of all the British tonnage trading beyond the seas, or about 300,000 tons, navigated by 16,000 seamen, who are exposed to all varieties of climate and seas; most of these ships make two voyages annually.

British manufactures to the value, at the first cost, of more than L.2,000,000, are required in the colonies, to pay for the timber and deals imported from them to these kingdoms.

The quantity of timber and deals imported from the colonies, on an average for the last few years, amounts to about 400,000 loads annually; the freight of which goes first to the British ship-owner, and the benefits of which are chiefly received by various classes, such as sailors, riggers, rope-makers, ship-chandlers, carpenters, anchor-smiths, and all those employed in manufacturing the vast number of articles required in the building and fitting out of ships; and a very great share goes to benefit the landed interest, in payment of bread stuffs, and fish, and salted provisions.

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The timber ships are also enabled, in consequence of having a home freight, to carry out emigrants at less than half the fares they otherwise could. Of about 40,000 new settlers that arrived in our North American Colonies, during the year 1830, more than 30,000 were carried out by the timber ships.

When we also consider the greatly increased employment given to those engaged in our manufactories, and to the vast numbers who relieve the industry of the United Kingdom, by finding employment in our colonies, chiefly through the operations of the timber trade, its importance must be still more apparent. Nor must we forget its immense consequence in training hardy sailors, who may, when we least expect to want them, be required to defend our country from foreign invasion. All the duty expected by the government from the additional impost is only L.600,000; and this presumption holds out that there would be imported from the Baltic, in addition to what is received under the present regulations, a quantity equal to half of what is imported from the British Colonies. The result will be found very different. The competition will be destroyed; the price of timber will be enhanced, and the consumption consequently diminished; foreign ships and foreign merchants, and those connected with them, would alone enjoy the benefits of the monopoly.

The proposed alteration extends an advantage of fifteen shillings per load to foreigners, which, with the alterations in the duty on deals, amounts, according to the opinion of all men practically acquainted

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with the business, to a prohibition of our colonial timber, and consequently to the non-employment in that trade of the ships engaged in it.

That our ships would not find remunerative employment in the foreign timber trade, is obvious. The reason plainly is, that the Prussians, Russians, Norwegians, as the custom-house reports show, employ, in almost all instances, their own ships; and as they can, from various causes, build their vessels at half the cost, and victual and man them at one-third the expense of British ships, they can also, with other advantages they possess, particularly in Prussia, where the sovereign contracts with his own ships to bring back the salt of which he has the monopoly, always afford to carry timber at a rate of about eighteen shillings per load, while the British ships can barely do so at a remunerative rate, for less than twenty-eight shillings.

Let our government, therefore, establish the proposed alterations in the timber duties; and, laying aside all regard for our colonies, the effect will assuredly be, ruin to British ship-owners, an extraordinary decrease of demand for our manufactures, consequent distress by throwing vast numbers on the parishes, who cannot escape the evils of poverty by emigration; driving thousands of our sailors into the service of the United States, to find that employment in their merchant ships, which is denied them in our own; and, in the event of a war, to become, in desperation, on board of the American navy, our most deadly enemies. The experience of the past affords us mate-

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rials too solid to destroy these conclusions. God forefend us from theories that may realize them.

The forms in which the forest woods of British America are exported to Europe or to our settlements in the West Indies, are various, and adapted to answer the purposes of future application as well as the economy of transportation. The great bulk of wood exported is in the shape of huge trees reduced by hewers, until the sides form right angles with each other, and tapering from the but-end to the top, both of which are also cut across at right angles with the sides. In this form, whether the pieces be pine, spruce, oak, birch, or maple, it obtains the general name of square timber.

Pine logs from forty to seventy feet long, and from two to three feet thick, are frequent in a cargo.

Deals and boards are sawn generally at the mills along the streams, out of round logs, and are usually one, two, and three inches thick, and of indefinite length and breadth. Standard deals, however, in order to contain as many superficial feet as possible, on payment of the same duty in England, have fixed dimensions, and the best is nineteen feet eleven inches in length, eleven inches in breadth, and full three inches thick.

Scantling consists of spruce or pine-trees, reduced by hewing or sawing to a size fit for beams, rafters, and other parts of the framework of buildings.

Trees of oak, ash, or fir, intended for staves, are cut with a saw into proper lengths for pipes, puncheons, hogsheads, and barrels, and then split with the tool used by coopers, called a frower.

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Lath-wood, for which hemlock and pine-trees are preferred, consists of roughly split junks, three, four, and six feet long, and form, with deals and staves, what is termed the *broken stowage*, or what fills up the vacancies in the cargoes of square timber exported from America to the United Kingdom.

Shingles, which are used in America, and in the West Indies, for the same purpose as slates and tiles in Britain, are thin boards, from eighteen to thirty inches long, four to six inches broad, and at one end three-eighths of an inch thick, while at the other they are reduced to less than an eighth of an inch. They are, in the first instance, cut and split in the same manner as staves, and reduced and smoothed with a drawing-knife, in the same way as coopers in England dress staves. The roofs of buildings are shingled much in the same form as roofs are slated in Britain; and, when painted to correspond in colour, have very much the same appearance.

Clap-boards, which are rather more than half an inch thick, and from six to eight inches broad, are used for lining the outside of the walls of houses, and the edges, to shed off the wet, overlap each other.

Houses, with the walls clap-boarded and painted white, and the roofs shingled, and painted a slate-colour, have a pretty, lively, and remarkably clean appearance.

Masts and spars are exported of all dimensions, from those required for the smallest sloops to those for the largest ships. Spars are usually exported round, with the bark left on; unless they be very

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large, and they are then reduced from the middle to the but-end. Masts are always partially reduced. Pieces for oars are also roughly dressed before shipping.

Square timber, masts, spars, deals, staves, and lath-wood, constitute the cargoes of the ships in the timber trade of America with the United Kingdom; and the general term, lumber, which comprises scantling, deals, inch-thick boards, clap-boards, shingles, staves, and hoops, designates the forms into which the timber trees of America are shaped for exportation to the West Indies.

Wherever a settlement is formed in America, a saw-mill is very soon after, if not at the same time, erected. The number of saw-mills in the British colonies are inconceivable to those who are not familiarized to the rising settlements of new countries. A saw-mill is, in fact, a most important establishment. It not only forms a *nucleus* or centre to a settlement, but a first-rate saw-mill, with two frames, will give employment to four first-rate, four second-rate, and two third-rate, sawyers; besides a measurer, a blacksmith, and from thirty to forty men to prepare the timber required, and for other requisite work connected with the establishment; twenty oxen and two horses are also necessary for hauling the timber required to the streams and to other places. The boards, deals, or scantling, sawed at these mills, excepting such as are required for the use of the neighbouring settlers, are rafted down the rivers for shipping. As fresh waters change the colour of the

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deals from their fresh whiteness to a dark grey, and, in the eye of prejudice, depreciates their value, it becomes an object, but one that can only be attended to occasionally, to carry them down in *bateaux*, scows, or on timber rafts.

The agriculture of New Brunswick, which must one day be the essential pursuit of the majority of its population, was long considered as unworthy of attention, as if the lands of the province were incapable of yielding any valuable production excepting pine-trees, and as if these, and the furs of wild animals, with the salmon that frequented its rivers, and the cod, herring, mackerel, gaspereaux, and shad, that swarmed round its shores, were the only means from which the inhabitants should ever derive their subsistence, or upon which they could depend for the sources of their wealth.*

The cultivation of the soil was a pursuit that continued for a long time without attractions. The fertile diked marshes of Westmoreland, and the rich intervale lands on the St John and other rivers, were, it is true, under tillage, or appropriated to grazing; but, further than raising a sufficient quantity of grain

* I heard an observation made in 1824, by a gentleman of talent in the colonies, when comparing the condition of Nova Scotia with that of New Brunswick. "Every country," he said, "has its age. The present age of New Brunswick is the 'age of wood.' It must be so, until it become more populously settled, and then the lands will be well cultivated. It will have its 'age of agriculture' in due time. In new countries, you must allow people to gain their living as they best can; you cannot force them into any path of industry; but you may gradually lead them by your example, when they observe that you are thriving."

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and potatoes for a bare subsistence, and raising a horse or two, and a few horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, agriculture in reality languished; and the majority of the most valuable farms, according to the best information given me, were, both in 1815 and in 1825, mortgaged to their full value. Many of the fine extensively cleared farms in this, and in all the other North American colonies, may, I believe, be found, at the present day, under similar embarrassments, wherever the possessors have followed other pursuits, in preference to the cultivation and improvement of their lands.

The establishment of agricultural societies in Nova Scotia had some influence on the farmers of New Brunswick; but it does not appear that the spirit of agriculture began to diffuse itself with any degree of animation, until after the appointment of Sir Howard Douglas to the administration of the government.*

The penetration of Sir Howard immediately discovered that the fertile lands of the province afforded the most substantial source of subsistence and plenty to its inhabitants. He accordingly requested a meeting of the members of the legislature, and other respectable gentlemen, from all parts of the province, at Fredericton, in February 1825. He addressed them in a speech, which explicitly stated his views in calling them together. His address, on occasion of this meeting, proved how well he knew the condition of the province. He adverted, with great truth, to the vast sums the colony paid to other countries for food, and to the necessity of cultivating its exten-

* Note D.

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sive fertile lands. He then directed their attention to whatever might render the condition of emigrants comfortable, or their labours useful; and recommended the establishment of a savings' bank, and the formation of agricultural and emigrant societies.

These were established immediately after; and, in order to improve the breed of live stock, horses, bulls of the short-horned Durham breed, rams of the Dishly or Leicestershire breed, pigs, &c., with various improved implements of husbandry, as models by which to make others, were imported by the agricultural society. District agricultural societies were also formed soon after; and the spirit of agriculture has since that period been gradually diffusing itself among the farmers all over the province; while emulation has been excited by ploughing-matches, the exhibition of cattle and agricultural productions, and by the distribution of premiums.

The colony still requires, however, a vast addition of industrious settlers, of rural habits, to its present population, before it can attain that prosperity, independence, and wealth, for which its valuable lands afford a solid and permanent foundation.

Horses, black cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, thrive as well in New Brunswick as in England.*

* A young ox, reared in the province by Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, weighed, when killed—

The carcass, exclusive of the offal,	1147 lbs.
Tallow, - - -	140
Hide, - - -	136
	1423 lbs.

A lumberer, at the south-west branch of the River Miramichi, killed a hog that weighed 1232 lbs; its head alone weighed 93 lbs.

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Near the sea-coast of the Bay of Fundy, wheat crops, owing to the fogs, are uncertain; but, in the interior, all kinds of grain and vegetables, besides some others, ripen in full perfection, and on alluvial lands yield great returns. The average return of Indian corn may be rated at eighty bushels an acre.

The general returns of wheat crops are about eighteen bushels per acre. On intervales, or newly cultivated lands, the returns are often thirty bushels or more. Much depends upon the seed being good. Accident bequeathed to the province a great benefit in this respect. Some years ago, a person, on opening a chest of tea, found in one corner a small quantity of wheat; how it got there no one can tell. Whether in London, on the chest being opened by the East India Company, or in China, is equally uncertain; but the seed was sown in New Brunswick; it grew and flourished better than any previously sown. The produce was preserved, sown again, and multiplied so rapidly, that it is, at the present time, the kind of seed-wheat generally sown, and known by the distinction of "tea-wheat."

What I have remarked, in treating of the agricultural productions, seed-time, and harvest, of Nova Scotia, applies equally to this province.

Vast quantities of hemp and flax, for which the intervale lands are well adapted, might be raised in all parts of New Brunswick.

In several parts of the woods, usually on small brooks, there are several wild prairies or meadows interspersed. They owe their formation to the in-

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dustry of the beaver, and produce a rich grass called *blue-joint.*

A plant called *cow-corn* abounds on the hardwood uplands, on which cattle, that are turned out very lean in the spring to range the woods for food, fatten rapidly.

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CHAPTER VII.

Population—Religion—Education—College of New Brunswick—Madras Schools.

THE population of New Brunswick, according to the census taken in 1824, was 74,176. This was considered much below the actual number, from the well-known suspicion which prevails among the labouring classes all over America, that the object of numbering the inhabitants has in view a poll-tax, or some species of taxation to be borne by them, in consequence of which, it is pretty well understood that the names of all the individuals of a family are not given.

The present population, according to the best information, and the opinion of intelligent men residing in the province, may be considered somewhat over 100,000. The augmentation has arisen from natural increase, and the arrival of emigrant settlers.

This population, like that of all the other colonies, consists of a mixed people from various parts; but differing, in their relative proportion to each other, from those of the adjacent colony of Nova Scotia, in which Scotchmen and their descendants predominate.

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The oldest families are those, or the descendants of those, who settled in the colony previous to the American Revolution. They are scattered over most parts of the province; but chiefly on the banks of the River St John and its tributaries. A still more numerous body than these, consists of the loyalists, or their families, who removed to the colony from solid attachment to the government and laws of England, for which they submitted to the sacrifice of much valuable property, which they possessed in the United States, and exposed themselves to all the sufferings that I have already adverted to in the first chapter of this Book. These are also to be found principally in the parishes fronting on the River St John, and partially among the other settlements.

The French Acadians who are settled in the province, I have also alluded to in a former chapter.

Emigrants from Europe, consisting principally of English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, among whom those from Ireland greatly predominate, are found either intermixed among the early inhabitants, or, in some parts, forming distinct settlements.

In a few places, we find a number of negro families huddled together as cottagers; but I have discovered them to be, like those of Nova Scotia, all in a state of miserable poverty. Whenever I asked a thrifty old farmer, what was the cause that prevented the negroes from thriving, the reply invariably amounted to their being restless and dissipated in their habits, improvident, and destitute of the steady energy of mind so essential in the labours of hus-

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bandry. The grown-up male and female negroes are, however, chiefly employed as domestic servants.

The Indians are fast declining in number, and all the attempts to civilize them, or to improve their condition, have hitherto failed. A school was established for them some time ago, in which some of their children were taught to read; but a gentleman, settled many years at Fredericton, told me that they turned out idle, and worse than the rest of the tribe. He considered them now so long neglected, so degenerated, and dwindled into such insignificant numbers, as to be incapable of civilisation. They have a small village ten miles above Fredericton, one at Meductic Point, on the River St John, another at the River Tobique, and one at Richibuctu. They are all Catholics.

The manners and customs of the inhabitants of New Brunswick resemble generally those of the other colonies already treated of—differing only, in there being much less of the Scottish traits of character, amusements, and customs, according to the much lesser proportion of Scotch among the inhabitants of New Brunswick, than among those of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In their pursuits also, the greater proportion of the people of New Brunswick are engaged in the timber business; those of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton chiefly in cultivating the soil, and in the fisheries; those of Prince Edward Island chiefly in agriculture.

As to the natives of New Brunswick, the women are handsome; the men generally tall, well-made,

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muscular, rather lank than otherwise, and scarcely ever corpulent. They are remarkably loyal, adventurous, spirited, and, if properly disciplined, would undoubtedly form excellent soldiers.

From the circumstance of its being a frontier colony, a great many adventurers, of doubtful and worthless characters, have found their way into the province; few of whom become farmers; but belong to that order who continue to live by "head-work," or scheming. Many of the transient lumberers are of this description. They must not by any means be confounded with the established settlers, whose characters are generally correct.

There are four or five military settlements in the province; and if such settlements were placed under the superintendence of proper officers, the number might be advantageously increased. Government should lend every possible encouragement to retired officers, who may be disposed to settle in this colony. Such men would diffuse and maintain a spirit of loyalty, and high ideas of honourable character among the inhabitants, which, particularly in a frontier colony, is a consideration of very great importance.

The religious denominations are the same as in Nova Scotia.

There are about twenty clergymen of the Church of England in the province, which is comprehended as within the diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. They are supported by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts. The Catholics

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are principally Irish, French, and Indians, who have seven or eight clergymen, whom they support, in different parts of the province.

There are but two or three ministers in immediate connexion with the Kirk of Scotland in the colony. One of these, Dr Burns of St John's, is a preacher of superior talents and respectability. With the exception only of a solitary allowance of about L.50, these ministers are supported by their hearers.

There are several ministers of the Secession Church in the province, who have respectable congregations, and commodious places of worship. They are connected with the Synod of Pictou, and supported also by their own congregations.

The Methodists are numerous; many of them respectable, and many of them visionary fanatics. They have several missionaries and preachers, who attend the annual conference, held either in the province, or in Nova Scotia. They are chiefly supported by their hearers.

The Baptists are numerous, and most of them are respectable. About thirty years ago, their leaders departed from the "New Light" path of Whitfield, by baptizing only adults, and establishing a standard of faith, embodied in seventeen articles. They have several chapels, and support their own ministers. There are still some New Lights, and Quakers, a few Jews, and a number who attach themselves to no particular creed, to be met with in the province.

There is no want of religious instruction; but New Brunswick has by no means escaped the conta-

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gious frenzy of fanaticism. Low uneducated preachers, who are either hypocritical canters, designing villains, or visionary enthusiasts, and who unfortunately have been too readily and too often admitted or acknowledged by sectarians, have frequently disturbed the settlements of the province.

Some years ago, a most indecent rogue, of the name of Lunt, prowled and raved among the inhabitants, with such address and success, that at length many hundreds of them believed him little less than a special messenger and prophet sent to them by the Most High. For a long time nothing was too good for him; but at length his excesses, and his violation of virgin chastity, roused public indignation against him, and obliged him to fly from the province. I was informed that he immediately afterwards became an attorney in the United States, and ridiculed all religions.

For a long time after the first settlement of the colony, the benefits of education were slenderly provided for. At present a liberal education may be obtained in the province at a moderate expense.

Soon after the arrival of Sir Howard Douglas as governor, a new charter was obtained for the College of New Brunswick, which allows the matriculation of students, without subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, except on taking degrees in divinity, which is confined to the Church of England. I believe Sir Howard has applied, or intends to apply to the Scotch University, for some arrangement to obviate this inconvenience, in respect to students at the Col-

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lege of New Brunswick, who wish to become ministers of the Church of Scotland.

A plat of six thousand acres of excellent land is immediately attached to the college for its benefit. The college was built under the auspices of Sir Howard Douglas. I have already described its situation. It has been opened for some time; and great and happy results may be expected from so well-founded an institution.

The grammar schools are supported partly by legislative aid. The one at St John's receives annually L.250; that at St Andrew's L.200; those in the other counties, L.175 each.

Schools on the Madras system are established in all the settlements, under the control of the governor and some of the most respectable gentlemen in the province, who are incorporated under the designation of the "Governors and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick." The legislature grants about L.20 in aid of each school on this system.

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NOTES TO BOOK II.

Note A, page 228.

In consequence of the great extent of the county of Northumberland, and the inconvenience to the inhabitants of attending the courts of law, at a long distance, and also to increase the representation of the province, Sir Howard Douglas very judiciously divided it into three counties, by the names of Northumberland, Kent, and Gloucester.

Note B, page 258.

Since I travelled in New Brunswick, I am informed the roads have been wonderfully improved. The most abominable of them, that from Westmoreland to Miramichi, and that by the Nerepis to Fredericton, are made fit for carriages.

Note C, page 261.

Shoals extend for a great distance from the islands at the entrance of Miramichi. I have some cause to remember them. After crossing the province from Fredericton to Chatham, I went on board a coasting schooner bound for Pictou, the master of which engaged to land me on Prince Edward Island. The night was dark. It blew a gale; yet the master incautiously ventured to pass through an intricate channel among the shoals. The vessel struck, and beat for some distance over, and at last bedded in the sands, at a great distance from the shore, and there we lay for three days and nights, until a man, who contrived to gain the shore, travelled by a circuit-

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ous route forty miles, to Chatham, from whence a vessel was dispatched to take us off.

There were several passengers, among whom were two ladies, a clergyman's wife, and a young lady, daughter of Dr MacCulloch of Pictou. The people of the vessel were awkward, and not cleanly. We were not prepared for such a disaster; and a friend of mine, Mr Noble of Halifax, who was on board, and I, had to officiate as cooks for the ladies and ourselves. We contrived to stew mutton and potatoes so as to be very palatable, considering our situation.

Note D, page 313.

The following extracts from the reports of the New Brunswick Agricultural Society, may be interesting in respect to the cultivation of the soil in that province:—

"It is most gratifying to the society, at this early stage of its progress, to announce that the operations of this, and of the several county agricultural associations, have tended powerfully, though silently, to the advancement of agriculture, not only with regard to the cultivation of the soil, but also with respect to the improvement of the breed of our domestic animals. To give additional facilities to the former, the central society have imported implements to a large amount; and, to promote the latter, they imported from England, in the course of last summer, a strong and beautiful horse, and sixteen of the Dishley or Leicestershire sheep. Measures were taken to introduce the sheep and implements of husbandry into various parts of the province; and the horse will probably soon be offered for sale at public auction, in order that the inhabitants of all parts of the province may have a fair and equal chance of competing for so valuable an animal.

"Mr Nicholas Cunliffe, of Woodstock, commenced clearing his farm in May 1824. The work was done by contract, at the rate of from L.3, 10s. to L.4 per acre. He has now one hundred and seven acres of land cleared, excepting of the stumps of the trees, (seventy-four acres were cleared since May last;) and the crop raised from this land, last season, was nine hundred bushels of good clean wheat, weighing sixty-three pounds to the bushel, four hun-

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dred bushels of Indian corn, nearly one thousand bushels of potatoes, besides a quantity of beans and garden stuff, of which no particular account was kept. This crop alone will leave a profit of about L.100 over and above the expense of clearing the whole of the land.

"Mr Joseph Bedell commenced clearing his farm at Richmond, in the parish of Woodstock, about four miles from the River St John, in May 1821. Without any other assistance than that of his three sons, (the oldest of whom is now about sixteen, the next twelve years of age, and the other still younger,) he has cleared fifty acres of land, from which he raised, last season, two hundred and forty bushels of wheat, two hundred and fifty bushels of oats, fifty bushels of buck wheat, six hundred bushels of potatoes, one hundred and fifty bushels of turnips, and a small quantity of Indian corn. He has paid L.110 since he went on the farm, is now clear of debt, and owns four cows, one pair of horses, eight head of young cattle, twelve sheep, and eight hundred acres of good land."

Extract from the report of the Agricultural Society of the county of Sunbury.

"It is also mentioned that, from one acre, Mr Upton raised eighty-four and a half bushels of Indian corn; and that, from the same quantity of land, Mr Miles raised thirty-four bushels of wheat; and the report concludes by stating that the Southdown sheep could not now be purchased for three times the price for which they were sold in 1826, so superior are they and their lambs to the native breed.

"It is no wonder that, in a new country, whose first inhabitants (many of whom are yet living) had to struggle for existence in what was, a few years ago, a gloomy wilderness, and where the fisheries, and the manufacture of timber, have always employed so considerable a portion of its population, the more improved modes of farming have but in a few instances been practised. Enough, however, has been done to dispel those clouds of uncertainty that, until of late, had dimmed the prospects of the agriculturists. The goodness of Providence has cast our lot in a highly-favoured land; and all that is requisite on our parts to secure increasing and durable prosperity, is the general adoption of that industry, of which, in

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various parts of the province, there are many honourable examples, and that industry differently and more judiciously applied.

" In this country the farmer pays no rent, and the taxes are so light as to be scarcely worth mentioning: the English farmer pays high rent and taxes, and (as has often been observed) he is well enabled to do so, by adopting machinery of an improved construction; by judiciously attending to the accumulation of manures, and to the prevention of their waste; by applying them properly; by raising extensive root crops for his cattle; by forcing the soil to its full capability of bearing; in short, by embracing, in every department of husbandry, an admirable system of order, neatness, and economy.

" Not only the farmers in this province, but, in general, those of the northern parts of America, enjoy advantages at present, which neither they nor their predecessors formerly possessed."

Extract from the proceedings of a meeting of the Central Committee of the New Brunswick Agricultural and Emigrant Society, holden at the Province Hall, on Tuesday the 17th April, 1827.

" Captain Douglas informed the meeting that his excellency the lieutenant-governor had received the sanction of his majesty's government to present to this society the sum of two hundred pounds, from the casual revenue, which sum his excellency desires may be appropriated to the importation of stock for improving the breed of domestic animals in this province, which are to be sold as soon as may be proper after their arrival, and the proceeds of the sale (made up, out of the funds of the society, to the full cost, including freight and all charges) to be reinvested in the purchase of other stock, which are likewise to be disposed of for the same purpose, in such place or places as may be most likely to diffuse the benefits of those importations as widely as possible throughout the province. The several importations of stock, made with this and the other donations presented by his excellency, are thus to be sold annually,—the loss on the transaction, if any, to be made up by the society, and the operation to be continued until the province shall be sufficiently supplied with stock of the most improved and valuable breed."

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BOOK III.

CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery and History—Jacques Cartier—Champlain founds Quebec—War with the Indians—Company of New France—Recollet Friars—Quebec taken by the English—Restored to France—Mission of Sillery—Jesuits' College at Quebec founded—Hôtel-Dieu—Convent of St Ursula—Death of Champlain—Order of St Sulpicius found an Establishment at Montreal—Hostilities of the Iroquois—Introduction of Brandy among the Savages—A Bishop arrives at Quebec, and a Seminary founded—Sisters of the Congregation—Tremendous Earthquake.

CANADA is said to have been first discovered by the Spaniards; who, not finding any of the precious metals which formed the grand object of all their discoveries and conquests, abandoned any claim to a country which only appeared to afford the means of living by the cultivation of its soil.*

* It appears, however, that the Kings of Spain and Portugal both complained of the French King "treading in their footsteps by sending Cartier to Canada;" and Francis I. is said to have exclaimed, "What! shall they quietly divide America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them."

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THE NEW YORK
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ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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MAP OF THE

RIVER ST LAURENCE

AND TRIBUTARIES

EXHIBITING THE SEIGNORIES &c

From QUEBEC to the

BOUNDARY of UPPER CANADA

— for —

W^m GREGOR'S BRITISH AMERICA.

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When the French afterwards visited this part of America, the Indians repeated so frequently the words "Aca nada," *here is nothing*, (which they are said to have heard the Spaniards exclaim,) that Cartier imagined them to mean the name of the country; and to this circumstance is usually attributed the origin of the appellation Canada, by which it has been designated since that period, although it bore also for some time, in common with the adjacent territories, the general name of New France.

Jacques Cartier was a master mariner of St Maloes. He was intrusted, at the recommendation of Chabot, Admiral of France, with a commission of discovery, for the purpose of establishing a colony in America, and he sailed from St Maloes on the 20th of April, 1534, with two vessels; neither of which were more than twenty tons burden. He arrived at Newfoundland, near Cape Bonavista, on the 10th of May, and then traversed the coast to the south, landing at a harbour which he named St Catherine. Proceeding west and northward, he entered the Gulf of St Lawrence, and passed in sight of Birds' Islands, which he named "Isles aux Oiseaux." After sailing for some days along the western coast of Newfoundland, he crossed the gulf, and entered a large deep inlet, which he named Bay de Chaleur, on account of the intense summer heat which he experienced while exploring its shores. This bay was previously, it appears, known to the Spaniards, and in very old charts it is termed Bay des Espagnols. After exploring the greater part of the gulf, he returned towards France

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on the 15th of August, and arrived at St Maloes in twenty-one days.

On the following year, in consequence of the favourable report he gave of his voyage, he was invested with the command of three ships of superior size, and well equipped with all sorts of necessaries. On board the largest of these, " La Grande Hermoine," he embarked on the 19th of May, and on the 26th of July he was joined by the other vessels, which had been separated from him during a storm, at an appointed place of rendezvous within the Gulf of St Lawrence. They then proceeded together on their course up the great River St Lawrence, so named, according to some, from Cartier having either returned to the gulf on the 10th of August, the festival of St Laurente, or his having called a cape on the coast of Cape Breton, at the entrance of the gulf, by the name of the Cape St Laurente, which was afterwards given to the Gulf and River of Canada. There appears, however, some uncertainty in the account transmitted us on this subject. He named the Island of Anticosti, Assumption, an appellation which it did not long retain. On the 1st of August he was driven into a harbour on the north coast, which still retains the name of St Nicholas, which he gave it. He then proceeded up the River St Lawrence until he entered the Saghunny, from which he continued his course, passing the islands which he named Isle aux Coudres, and Isle de Bacchus, now Orleans. He then proceeded in the Hermoine until his ship grounded on the shoals of Lake St Peter, from whence,

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in two boats, he explored the river to the island on which Montreal now stands, and which was at that time inhabited by a tribe of the Huron nation, who lived in a village called Hochelaga. The river was then designated the Great Hochelaga, and afterwards, before it acquired that of St Lawrence, the River of Canada. Cartier was received by the natives with great kindness and hospitality.

He returned from the village of Hochelaga on the 5th of October, and on the 11th he arrived at a river that still bears his name, but which he named the St Croix. Here he wintered, and during the inclemency of that season, he and his crew were subjected to a violent attack of scurvy, which the natives taught them to cure by means of a decoction prepared of the bark of the species of fir, (*Pinus balsamifera,*) which yields the Cañada balsam of our pharmacopœia. He returned next summer to France; but notwithstanding the favourable and unexaggerated account he gave of the countries he explored, four years elapsed before any further attempt was made to prosecute his discoveries.

In January 1540, Francois de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, received a patent from Francis I., declaring him Seigneur of Norembegue, (the name by which nearly all North America was then designated,) Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, (Isle of Montreal,) Saguenay, (the harbour of Tadousac and country on the River Saghunny,) Terre Neuf, (Newfoundland,) Belle Isle, (an island in the strait that separates Newfoundland from Labrador,)

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Carpon, (near Cape St John, still named Quirpon,) Labrador, Le Grande Bay, (Bay de Chaleur,) and Baccalieu, (the coast about, and south of Bonavista, in Newfoundland,)* with all the power and authority possessed by the king over those places.

Early in the summer of 1540, Roberval, with a squadron of five vessels, sailed for America, Jacques Cartier having the supreme naval command. This voyage was successful, and a fort was erected on some part of those coasts, but whether in Cape Breton or in Canada, appears quite uncertain. It was, however, injudiciously selected; the spot was much exposed both to the cold and to the incursions of the natives. Cartier was left at this station as commandant; but he was so harassed by the Indians, who were offended at strangers taking unceremonious possession of a hold in their country, and having despaired of the return of M. Roberval, that he embarked with all his people in order to return to France.

On the banks of Newfoundland he met M. de Roberval with some vessels, carrying men, arms, and provisions; and returning with him, reassumed the command of the garrison. M. de Roberval then sailed up the St Lawrence, and landed at Tadousac, at the *débouché* of the Saghunny. He made also some attempts, of which we have no very authentic accounts, to explore Labrador; but for some time after this period Newfoundland was not known to be an

* Newfoundland was often called Baccalieu, or the place of cod-fish. An isle, at the north point of Conception Bay, still retains the name of "Baccalieu."

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island. We have no information on which we can rely, as to what occurred for some years afterwards, when we find Cartier* embarking again for America under the Viceroy Roberval, and with the brother of the latter, a personage whose martial reputation was so brilliant, that the chivalrous Francis always designated him the Gen d'arme d'Annibal. Fate decreed that this voyage should be sealed by calamity. After leaving France, the slightest information respecting this spirited expedition has never been traced; and for more than sixty years, American colonization and the glory of discovery seem to have been forgotten or disregarded by the Gallic government. The disastrous attempt of the Marquis de la Roche, in 1598, I have noticed in a former chapter, and also, in the history of Nova Scotia, the departure of M. Pontgrave, the associate of M. de Monts, from Acadia, to trade at Tadousac. M. de Chauvin had previously made two voyages, in 1600 and 1601, to Tadousac, and returned to France with valuable cargoes of furs. He died soon after.

M. Pontgrave, who was at first an intelligent merchant in a house at St Maloes, and afterwards an expert navigator, who made several voyages to Acadia and Canada, succeeded, along with M. Chatte, Governor of Dieppe, who had procured a charter with all the privileges of that formerly granted to M. la Roche, in forming a company of merchants at Rouen, for

* Some accounts state that Cartier did not accompany this voyage, having died previously, heart-broken from disappointment.

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prosecuting, under the king's commission, discoveries, and establishing settlements on the River of Canada. The celebrated navigator, Champlain, being associated with them, accompanied Pontgrave, in 1603, to Tadousac, from whence he sailed up the river as far as Hochelaga, which he found nearly deserted, and to the Falls of St Louis, now called the Rapids of Lachine. He then returned to Acadia, and afterwards, on an exploring expedition within the Gulf of St Lawrence, was nearly lost on Cape Breton, at Cape Mabou, a name corrupted from what he termed it, "Mal-bau." He wintered at Justau-Corps, now named Port Hood.

The spirit that actuated the company of which Champlain was an associate, was exclusively governed by the gains attendant on the peltry trade, to which all other considerations were immolated. Champlain, however, inherited from nature a mind, the calibre of which extended far beyond the mere collection of peltry; and to his enterprising spirit and superior judgment does Canada owe the founding of Quebec, on a spot, the choice of which, for the capital of a great Transatlantic empire, does him immortal honour.

On the 13th of July, 1608, he fixed on a most commanding promontory on the north side of the River St Lawrence for the site of his settlement, the name of which is said to have originated from its very peculiar and striking appearance, when it first burst into view on sailing up the St Lawrence, occasioning a mariner, who was stationed on the fore-top of the Hermoine, to shout loudly to those on

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deck, the words Quel-bec.* Here he left a few settlers; and on returning next year with Pontgrave to Canada, he found his embryo colony in quiet possession of their establishment, and clearing and cultivating the soil with tolerable success.

At this period, the Algonquins, who inhabited the adjacent country, and the Montagnez, (Mountaineers,) who occupied the hilly grounds and the banks of the Saghunny, together with the Hurons of the upper country, were in alliance as the common enemy of the powerful Iroquois nation.

Champlain, by joining those tribes in their wars against the Iroquois, committed a fatal error, which exposed the French settlements in Canada to all the calamities of savage warfare for nearly a hundred years; and the introduction of fire-arms, first among the Algonquins, and afterwards among the other Indian nations, was turned to the most terrible account for more than a century against the European settlements.

Champlain explored the Ottawa, and many other parts of the country, before he returned to France, where he succeeded in forming, under the patronage of the Prince of Condé, who assumed the title of Viceroy of New France, a new association at Rouen.

He returned to Canada in 1612, taking with him four Recollets, for the purpose of converting the savages. The war with the Iroquois seems principally to occupy the next eight years; and in 1620 Cham-

* More likely from the Algonquin word Quilibek, which answers to its appearance and position.

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plain brought his family to Canada. The Prince of Condé surrendered his viceroyalty this year to the Marshal de Montmorency, who continued Champlain as his lieutenant.

Two years after, the Duke de Ventadour, having entered into holy orders, took charge, as viceroy, of the affairs of New France, solely with the view of converting the savages; and for this purpose he sent some Jesuits to Canada, to the great mortification of the Recollets.

A number of Calvinists, associated with their leader the Sieur de Caen, were at this period actively engaged in the fur trade; and the jealousies and bickerings maintained between them and the Catholics, arising in reality from the spirit of trade, but attributed, as usual, to religious scruples, greatly retarded the prosperity of the French settlements.

The Cardinal de Richelieu endeavoured to put an end to these causes of dissension, by establishing the Company of New France. This company, consisting of one hundred associates, engaged to send three hundred tradesmen to New France, and to supply all those whom they settled in the country with lodging, food, clothing, and implements, for three years, after which period they would allow each workman sufficient land to support him, with the grain necessary for seed. The company also engaged to have 6000 French inhabitants settled in the countries included in their charter before the year 1643, and to establish three priests in each settlement, whom they were bound to provide with every article neces-

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sary for their personal comfort, as well as the expenses attending their ministerial labours, for fifteen years; after which cleared lands were to be granted by the company to the clergy for maintaining the Catholic church in New France.

The prerogatives which the king reserved to himself, were the supremacy in matters of faith; homage, as sovereign of New France, with the acknowledgment of a crown of gold, weighing eight marks, on each succession to the throne of France; the nomination of all commanders and officers of forts; and the appointment of the officers of justice, whenever it became necessary to establish courts of law.

The royal charter then granted to the company of New France and their successors for ever, in consideration of their engagements to the crown, the fort and settlement of Quebec, all the territory of New France, including Florida, with all the countries along the course of the great River of Canada, and all the other rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, or which throughout those vast regions empty themselves into the sea, both on the eastern and western coasts of the continent, with all the harbours, islands, mines, and rights of fishery.

The company were further empowered to confer titles of distinction, which however required, in the creation of marquisates, earldoms, baronies, and counties, the confirmation of the sovereign, on the recommendation of the Cardinal de Richelieu, superintendent-in-chief of the navigation and commerce of New France. The exclusive right of traffic in peltries

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and all other commerce for fifteen years, with the exception of the right to fish for cod and whales, was also granted to the company.

Two ships of war were presented to the company by the king, the value of which was to be refunded, if the company failed in sending at least fifteen hundred French inhabitants of both sexes to New France during the first ten years.

The descendants of Frenchmen inhabiting Canada, and savages who should be converted to the Catholic faith, were also to be reputed as natural born Frenchmen, and to enjoy the same privileges in France; and all artificers who were sent by the company to New France, and spent six years there, were permitted, if so inclined, to return to their native country, and to establish themselves in any trading town in France.

Such were the principal immunities and provisions of this celebrated charter; it was signed in April 1627, and created the greatest and most flattering expectations. The administration under a viceroy being omitted, the company continued M. Champlain as Governor of Canada; but untoward circumstances, particularly the capture of the first ships, sent from France with stores, by Sir David Kirke, reduced the colony to great distress. He even appeared with his squadron before Quebec; and might easily, had he known the famished condition of the garrison, have compelled it to surrender. The prosperity of New France was not only retarded, but even the powerful mind of Champlain, so fertile in expedients on occasions of difficulty, was subjected to the most vexa-

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tious mortifications by various unfortunate circumstances.

The hostilities of the savages were not the least of the evils that perplexed him; and the Iroquois soon perceived the advantages which the continued jealousies and quarrels between the Catholics and Huguenots enabled them to obtain over men whom they considered unwarrantable occupiers of their country.

In 1629, at a period when Champlain was reduced to the utmost extremity, by the want of every article of food, clothing, implements, or ammunition, and exposed to the incessant attacks of the Iroquois, Sir David Kirke, commanding an English squadron, appeared again before Quebec. The deplorable situation of the colony, and the very honourable terms of capitulation proposed by him, induced Champlain to surrender the fortress of Quebec, with all Canada, to the crown of England. Kirke's generosity to the colonists, induced most of them to remain; but in 1632, three years afterwards, Canada, with Acadia, was restored, by the treaty of St Germain's, to France.

On the following year, Champlain, who was most justly re-appointed governor, sailed with a squadron, carrying all necessary supplies, to Canada, where he found, on his arrival, most of his former colonists.

The affairs of New France now assumed a more prosperous aspect; and means were adopted for maintaining all practicable harmony among the inhabitants, and preventing, as far as possible, those religious disturbances which had previously convulsed the colony. The company was taught, by former

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experience, that their indiscriminate acceptation of all who presented themselves as adventurers ready to embark for New France, constituted the leading cause of disorderly conduct and unsteady habits among the colonists; and it was therefore determined, that in future none but men and women of unexceptionable character should be sent to New France.

In 1635, the Marquis de Gamache, who had, some years before, joined the society of the Jesuits, commanded the establishment of a college of their order at Quebec; and we must acknowledge that this institution was, for the time, very useful in maintaining order, and preserving or inculcating morality, among the colonists.

The death of Champlain, which happened this year, was a grievous misfortune to Canada. In establishing and maintaining the colony, he surmounted difficulties that few men would have had courage to encounter, and under which thousands of men, with minds even above the common standard, would have succumbed. The splendour of his views, which enabled him to perceive, and the soundness of his judgment, which led him to conclude, that a region possessing such advantages as Canada, must, in the common course of events, become a great empire, stimulated and supported him in prosecuting, with undaunted perseverance, the vast undertaking in which he engaged. During the greater part of his active life, the sole object of his heart was to become the founder of a colony which, he felt confident, would eventually attain to a summit of extraordinary power and gran-

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deur. His anticipations have, since that period, been realized beyond those of most men who have spent their lives, like him, in great undertakings.

After his death, however, although the governor, M. de Montmagny, entered into the views of his predecessor, yet, wanting the experience, the scientific and professional abilities, and probably the same regard from the inhabitants, the improvements of the colony sickened, and the fur trade alone seems to have been followed with any spirit.

The ardent spirit of enthusiasm, which went forth during that age, to accomplish the conversion of the aborigines of America, led to the establishment of religious institutions in Canada; and although these establishments did little for the immediate improvement of the colony, yet, as points of possession occupied by persons whose avocations were professedly holy and useful, they formed the foundation on which arose the superstructure of those morals and habits that still, and will long, characterise the Gallo-Canadians. The conduct of the nuns was, however, highly reprobated in the following century.

In 1636, a little after the College of the Jesuits was commenced, an institution for instructing the Indians was established at Sillery, a few miles above Quebec; and two years after, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, under whose patronage the Hôtel-Dieu was founded, sent three nuns from Dieppe to superintend its services. About the same time, Madame de la Peltrie, a young widow of rank, engaged several sisters of the Ursulines at Tours, with whom, in a vessel hired at her

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own expense, she sailed from Dieppe for Quebec, where she arrived after a tedious passage, and founded the convent of St Ursula.

The order of St Sulpicius, instituted by the Abbé Olivier, sent a mission this year to Canada; and a situation was chosen at Montreal for a seminary, which was consecrated with great ceremony and solemnity by the superior of the Jesuits, and for the maintenance of which, the whole Island of Montreal was granted by the king.

The company of New France, who fulfilled none of the stipulations of their charter, and who also found means to prevent the complaints of the inhabitants being heard or listened to by the ministers of the crown, did nothing towards settling or cultivating the country; and the forts which they erected at Richelieu, and other places, were merely posts of defence, or storehouses for carrying on the fur trade. The habits of those employed in the service of the company, were also described as generally licentious, with characters stamped with infamy. From among those men arose the race of vagabonds, known since that period by the name of *Coureurs du Bois*. Under such management, Canada languished for several years, while the Iroquois, with more experience in war, continued to harass the colony with unabated ferocity.

The settlement at Montreal, which was very much exposed to the ravages of the Iroquois, suffered severely, and its extinction was only prevented by the arrival of M. d'Aillebout, in 1647, from France, with a

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reinforcement of 100 men. Marguerite Bourgeois, who accompanied him, founded, at the same time, the institution of the Daughters of the Congregation.

In 1658, the Marquis d'Argenson arrived in Canada with the commission of governor-general; and, in the following summer, Laval, Abbé de Montigny, and titular Bishop of Petrie, landed at Quebec, with a brief from the pope constituting him apostolic vicar. Curacies were at the same time established in Canada. The condition of the colony, at this period, appears, however, to have been truly wretched. Its defence and support was completely neglected by the Company of New France, the associates of which, reduced to forty in number, at last gave up even the fur trade, for the seignorial acknowledgment of 1000 beaver skins.

The Iroquois, who had spread terrible destruction among their old enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, seemed also determined at this time to exterminate the French, and several hundreds of their warriors kept Quebec in a state little short of actual blockade, while another band massacred a great number of the settlers at Montreal.

The governor, who complained of ill health, requested his recall, and, in 1661, he was relieved by the Baron d'Avangour, an officer of great integrity and resolution, but considered too inflexible for the situation he held. His decisive measures appear, however, to have saved Canada, the defenceless state of which, and the natural beauty and importance of the

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country, he stated in such forcible language to the king, who was previously ignorant of its value or condition, that he immediately ordered 400 troops, with all necessary supplies, to Canada, accompanied by a special commission. Their arrival gave life and confidence to the colonists, who were then for the first time enabled to cultivate the soil with any security.

A tremendous earthquake, which appears to have agitated the whole of Canada, and a vast extent of the adjacent countries, in the year 1663, is described by the French writers* of that time, as accompanied by the most violent phenomena, rendered more than usually terrific by the continuation of the shocks at intervals, for nearly six months.

About the same time, on the evening of the 5th of February, a loud rumbling noise, seemingly occasioned by the detonation of the atmosphere, was heard throughout the whole of those regions. The terrified inhabitants, having never heard of an earthquake in the country, at first conceived their houses on fire, and immediately flew out of doors, when their astonishment was increased by the violent agitation of the earth, and every thing on its surface. The walls shook, the bells of the churches rang, and the doors flew open and closed again of themselves. The forest trees were seen all in violent motion, some thrown up from the roots, then with their tops bending nearly to the ground, first to one side, then to the other, or

* More particularly in the Journals of the Jesuits.

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laid prostrate on the surface, from which again they were thrown up into the air. The ice, which covered the lakes and rivers, in many places some feet thick, was broken open, and frequently thrown, with rocks and mud from the bottom, up into the air. Clouds of dust obscured the sky. The waters were impregnated with sulphur, exhibiting yellow or reddish colours. From Tadousac to Quebec, about 130 miles, the St Lawrence appeared white and thickly impregnated with sulphureous matter.

The convulsion of elements produced the most awful and incessant sounds, roaring at one time like the sea, then reverberating like the rolling of thunder, and again, as if mountains were bursting, and the rocks which composed them cracking and rolling over each other.

The darkness was rendered still more awful by the frequent flashes of lightning, or by the lamentations of the women, the cries of children, and the howling of dogs and other animals.

Walrusses and porpoises were said to have been seen as far up the St Lawrence as Three Rivers, where they never appeared before, as if equally terrified with the inhabitants of the land; the former howling in the piteous manner so peculiar to them.

The first shock continued, without intermission, for about half an hour, which was followed about eight o'clock by a second equally violent. Thirty shocks were numbered during the night, and the whole country continued to be violently agitated at intervals until the end of July.

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From all the accounts transmitted to us, it appears wonderful that no human lives were lost during this extraordinary convulsion; nor does it appear that any change was caused in the configuration of the countries said to be so long and violently disturbed by the power of its action. The River St Lawrence and its tributaries, the Islands Saghunny and Quebec, Lakes St Peter and Champlain, Montreal, and the Rapids of St Louis, or La Chine, are apparently at this day exactly in the same position as when discovered by Cartier and Champlain.

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CHAPTER II.

Company of New France surrender their Charter—Canada placed under the Government of the Company of the West Indies—Wars with the Iroquois—Discovery of the Mississippi—Church of Quebec—Attempts to convert the Savages—Clergy—Administration of the Laws—Calamities of the Indians from the ravages of the Smallpox—Hostilities between the English and French Colonists.

THE Company of New France, who had all along mismanaged the affairs of Canada, and who even lost the vast profits of its trade by neglecting, from ill-timed avarice, to provide for the exigencies of the colony, at length surrendered their charter to the king, the powers and immunities of which were transferred, in 1664, to the Company of the West Indies.

The administration of the colony, without a constitution or courts of justice, was wretchedly managed after the death of Champlain. The governor, the Jesuits, and the bishop, appear to have been equally anxious to supplant each other in power. The Baron d'Avangour, just in his views, but at the same time inflexible in his decisions, was recalled at his own request, and M. de Mesey, who was recommended by the bishop, succeeded him as the first governor under the Company of the West Indies. This officer quar-

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relled soon afterwards with the bishop, who, with many good qualities, appears to have been a very arbitrary ecclesiastic. A council, composed of the governor-general, intendant-general, the bishop, and some others, removable at the will of the governor, was established about this time; before which, affairs were sometimes settled by a kind of court, at which presided the superior of the Jesuits, as Grand Seneschal of New France.

The complaints of the bishop and others against M. de Mesey the governor, induced M. Colbert to recall him; and the Marquis de Tracy, who had been for some time before Viceroy of America, arrived in Canada from the West Indies, in June 1665, with some companies of the regiment of Carignan; the remainder of which, with their colonel, M. de Salierres, arrived soon after from France. Three forts were then erected on the River Richelieu, by which the Iroquois descended on their expeditions against the French. The first fort was built where the old one stood, (now William Henry,) and M. de Sorel, who was left there as commandant, superintended its structure, and transmitted his name not only to the fort, but to the river. The second was erected by M. de Chambly, at a place still bearing his name; and a third, further up, by M. de Salierres, which he named St Therese. These garrisons kept the Iroquois for some time in awe; but they soon recommenced their depredations with greater fury than ever, by other routes; and it required all the vigilance of M. de Tracy to preserve the settlements from destruction.

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Before this officer returned to France, he placed the country in a state of defence, which enabled it for some time to enjoy profound peace; and having established the Company of the West Indies in all the rights possessed by the Company of New France, he left M. de Courcelles governor-general, with several officers of great abilities under his command.

From this period (1668) we find the affairs of Canada so far prosperous, that little apprehension was entertained as to the colony being established on a permanent foundation, although the ferocity of the savages left no grounds for expecting a cessation of hostilities for any definite period. Several of the officers who received grants of lands about this time, with the rights of seigneurs, settled with their families in Canada, and many of the private soldiers whom they commanded were also settled among the other colonists, who were all equally ready to take up arms whenever the incursions of the savages rendered it necessary to defend the country. The French government, at the same time, sent 300 women of loose character to Canada, who, in less than fifteen days after their arrival, were all disposed of in marriage among the inhabitants, on which occasion considerable presents were made them. To all parents, who had ten children lawfully begotten, pensions were also given.

In 1670, the Church of Quebec was constituted a bishopric. The mission of Lorrette, near Quebec, was also established about the same time; and some important measures were adopted for the better

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government of the country, and for maintaining peace with the savages; and, while the trade and agriculture of the colony were prospering during this interval of peace, the clerical orders became more enthusiastic than ever in their efforts to make proselytes of the Indians.

The fur trade, however, was in a great measure intercepted by a fatal calamity, previously unknown to the inhabitants of the western world. The smallpox, more terrible to the savages than all the firearms of Europe, made its appearance this year among the tribes north of the St Lawrence; and its ravages carried off more than half their number. This contagion, and the use of ardent spirits, probably have since that time destroyed a greater portion of the aborigines of North America than war and all the diseases to which they were previously subjected.

Fort Frontenac was built in 1672, where Kingston now stands, for the purpose of aweing the Indians, by Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac, for whom, however, the right of ground was obtained with great adroitness by his predecessor, M. de Courcelles, a man of great personal worth, and practical abilities, but neither gifted with the splendid talents, nor blemished with the prejudices or defects, of M. de Frontenac.

M. de Frontenac was by birth of distinguished family, and a lieutenant-general of high reputation in the royal army. His brilliant talents were sometimes obscured by prejudices; but his plans for the aggrandizement of Canada were splendid and just;

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and, if his great views had not been thwarted by the jealousy of his enemies, his measures would certainly have soon placed Canada in a condition that would have secured its safety from the depredations of the Indians, as well as insured its rapid settlement and cultivation. He possessed, however, a spirit which could not bear contradiction in the prosecution of his plans, either from the ecclesiastical orders, or from officers of whatever distinction in the colony. He was opposed in his measures, first by the ecclesiastics, and soon after by the intendant-general. Violent dissensions arose between them; and M. de Frontenac was not a man inclined to execute his plans with indecision, or by withdrawing the orders he had previously given. The intendant-general, M. de Chezneau, having neglected some order, was imprisoned; the procureur-general was exiled; the Governor of Montreal was put under arrest; and the Abbé de Salignac, Fénélon, at that time in Canada superintending the seminary of St Sulpicius at Montreal, was imprisoned under pretence of having preached against M. de Frontenac, and having defended the Governor of Montreal.

The principal point of disagreement between M. de Frontenac and the bishop, arose from a circumstance of very great importance, respecting which the former bishop had quarrelled with the Baron d'Avangour. This was the traffic in brandy, in exchange for furs, with the savages. This spirit was the most fatal article that Europeans ever introduced among the aborigines of America. It pro-

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duced evils and misery among the Indians, of the most deplorable description; the consequence of which I will have occasion to relate more particularly in another part of this work. The bishop at last succeeded in obtaining an ordinance of the king, enjoining M. de Frontenac to prohibit the sale of spirits to the Indians, under the most severe penalties.

This was considered as a victory obtained by the ecclesiastics over M. de Frontenac, who, however, notwithstanding the opposition to his government, had powerful friends at court, and retained his office as governor-general until 1682, when he and M. de Chezneau were recalled together.

During the administration of M. de Frontenac and his predecessor M. de Courcelles, the French explored the greater part of Canada; and the savages were taught to regard the colonists with some degree of awe. M. Perrot, an indefatigable traveller, visited all the nations in the vicinity of the great lakes; who shortly afterwards sent deputies to meet the sub-delegate of the Intendant of New France, at the Falls of St Mary; where they finally agreed that he should possess and occupy the place in the name of his sovereign; and a cross was there erected, on which were placed the arms of France.

A tribe of the Hurons, who were converted and guided by Father Marquette, were soon after established at Mackilemakinak; and the Iroquois who were converted, and who separated from the rest of their nation, were settled about the same time on the

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south side of the St Lawrence, at the Falls of St Louis, near Montreal.

In 1672, M. Talon, who, during the period he held the office of intendant-general, in which he was succeeded by M. de Chezneau, had extended the authority of France into the most distant parts of Canada, concluded, from the reports of the Indians, that there flowed west of the great lakes a vast river, which some of the savages called Mississippi, and others *Meshashepi;* and the course of which flowed towards the south. He therefore determined not to leave America until he should ascertain the truth of this important information. For this purpose he employed Father Marquette, who had previously travelled over the greater part of Canada, and who was, besides, peculiarly qualified to gain the confidence and esteem of the savages. M. Tonti, a merchant of Quebec, and a man of well-known abilities and experience, was associated with Father Marquette, in order to examine more fully the commercial resources of the countries they should discover. They proceeded to Lake Michigan, ascended the river, which falls into an arm of that lake called Grand Bay, up to near its source; from whence they crossed the country to the River Escousin, which they descended, until it unites with the Mississippi, in latitude 42° 30′. The magnitude and depth of the Mississippi, even at this point, so many thousand miles from its mouth, exceeded the most exaggerated accounts they had received from the Indians. They floated down its stream, which was

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deep, smooth, and seldom rapid, in a bark canoe, until they arrived at some villages of the Illinois, a few miles below the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri. The Illinois, who had heard of, but never before seen the French, seemed anxious to form an alliance with them; and they treated Marquette and Joliet with great hospitality.

Leaving the Illinois, they descended the river to Askansas, or about 33° N., when the exhausted state of their stock, and being also convinced that the river disembogued in the Gulf of Mexico, induced them to return. They ascended the Mississippi, to where it receives the Illinois; up which they proceeded, and then crossed the country to Michigan, where they separated; Marquette remaining among the Miamis, while Joliet proceeded to Quebec.

Although the Mississippi was thus discovered by way of Canada, yet the advantages which it held out were neglected for some time, in consequence of the death of Father Marquette, and the return of M. Talon to France.

In 1678, the Sieur de la Sale, accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, arrived from France. He had previously spent some years in Canada, where he maintained a favourable understanding with M. de Frontenac. The king having granted him the Seigniory of Cataracony, he proceeded there, and rebuilt the fort with stone. He then constructed a vessel, and sailed to Niagara, accompanied by Tonti and Father Hennepin, a Flemish Recollet. Here they remained during the winter, attending to the fur-trade; and,

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on the following summer, they built a vessel for navigating Lake Erie. They sailed up that lake, and proceeded afterwards by different routes to Mackilemakinak. Hennepin then proceeded to the Illinois, and La Sale returned to Cataraqui. Hennepin was afterwards dispatched to the Mississippi, which he ascended to the Falls of St Anthony. Three years were spent by La Sale, Tonti, and Father Hennepin, in exploring those extensive regions, and endeavouring to secure the alliance of the savages, and the gains also of the fur-trade. Their sufferings on many occasions were exceedingly severe; and the difficult situations in which they frequently found themselves among the Indian tribes, required extraordinary address and resolution.

On the 2d of February 1682, La Sale, having reached the Mississippi, determined on sailing down to the ocean. On the 4th of March, he reached Askansas, of which he took formal possession; and, on the 9th of April, he arrived at the sea, by one of the mouths by which the Mississippi passes through its delta to the ocean. He returned by the same route to Canada; but, suffering severely from fatigue and sickness, he first sent De Tonti before him, with the news of his discovery.

The vast regions explored by those bold adventurous men, watered by such immense rivers as the Mississippi and its magnificent tributaries, although for some years closely connected with the affairs of New France, do not claim further notice in this work. Their great importance, as a part of the vast

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empire which now forms the American Republic, I have already noticed, when treating of the United States.

The peace of Canada still continued to be disturbed by various causes, which readily excited the ferocious spirit of the Iroquois; and which involved the Hurons, Algonquins, and Abenaquis, in the wars occasioned by their suspicions, or by the jealousies of the French and English colonists.

The French had long supplied the Indians, in exchange for furs, with various articles of European manufacture, particularly coarse red cloth, which the English colonists were enabled to sell at a much cheaper rate; and there were besides no restrictions on the trade, nor any duty on the furs at New York. The English, also, in order chiefly to engross as great a share as possible of the peltry trade, formed an alliance with the Iroquois; and, as the scruples of honour were not regarded with much delicacy, by those employed either by the French or English, at their trading posts, whenever their profits were at hazard, fresh difficulties were created among the Indian nations, which were always followed by renewed hostilities on the part of the Iroquois against the French.

Soon after the appointment of M. de la Barre, as successor to M. de Frontenac, the Iroquois assumed such a tone of defiance, and made such formidable preparations, as to cause the greatest apprehension of a general war among the Indians; and the condition of Canada, at this time, (1683,) was far from that

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state of prosperity which it ought to have attained, and which was prevented solely by the mismanagement of an exclusive company, who cared little for the country, so long as they monopolized the fur-trade.

The whole population consisted only of nine thousand inhabitants; and M. de la Barre, to prevent the extermination of the colonists, anticipated the preparations of the Iroquois, by making an expedition to their country, with about 1000 troops, which ended, after his experiencing great hardship, in an unsatisfactory negotiation; but which, in the mean time, gave assurance of peace.

The Marquis Denonville arrived in Canada soon after, with a strong reinforcement, as governor-general. He immediately proceeded to Cataracony, with about 2000 troops, when he soon discovered that the Iroquois had assumed a spirit of defiance; and that all attempts to reconcile or assimilate them to the French were altogether fruitless, and that this tribe alone prevented the conversion of the others. The latter reason, paramount, or at least in that age pretended to be so, to all others, was considered more than sufficient to justify any measure against the Iroquois, whose extinction as a nation seemed determined upon by the governor; and directions were also received, some time before, to send to France all the able-bodied men of that tribe who were made prisoners, as slaves for the galleys.

This order, indefensible under the most aggravated circumstances, was executed with the utmost

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baseness and treachery by Denonville, who even employed two missionaries to effect his purpose. These men, particularly the Jesuit De Lamberville, had gained such influence over several of the principal Iroquois chiefs, as to induce them, under various pretences, to meet Denonville at Fort Frontenac, where he immediately seized them, loaded them with irons, and sent them to France, where they were condemned to the galleys.

This act of infamous perfidy stamped eternal dishonour on the French name among the Iroquois; yet did this people, whom we call barbarians, allow Lamberville to depart in peace; and it was this same Jesuit who afterwards induced them to attend to pacific overtures.

The other missionary fell into the hands of the Agniers, who condemned him to the flames, from which he is said to have been saved by a woman who adopted him.

Although M. Denonville received instructions from France, that a treaty was signed at London, by the governments of France and England, stipulating that, whatever difference should arise between them in Europe, their subjects in America should remain in a state of perfect neutrality; and although the governor of New York remonstrated against his building a fort at Niagara, and urged that the Iroquois were the subjects of England, yet he persisted in his imprudent purpose of building a fort there, at a time when the seizure of the Iroquois chiefs, which had renewed the passion of revenge with unexampled

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fury among their warriors, formed the greatest obstacle to peace that had occurred since the French first settled in Canada.

The war had only partially commenced, when Fort Frontenac was attacked by the Iroquois, who also burnt all the corn-stacks in the neighbourhood; and 500 of their canoes, which were on Lake Ontario, captured a French bark laden with provisions and stores. The Abenaquis, allies of the French, attacked at the same time the Iroquois of Sorrel, and committed depredations on the English settlements, plundering the property, and scalping several of the inhabitants.

In the meantime the Iroquois acted with great policy; and while they made overtures for negotiation, they were accompanied by preparations not to be disregarded. Deputies, attended by 500 warriors, were sent to treat with M. Denonville; and the lofty tone assumed by their orator, in stating the condition of his nations, and it being known that there were 1200 warriors within a short distance of Montreal, who would immediately fall upon the settlements, set fire to the buildings and corn-fields, and murder the inhabitants, induced the governor to accept the conditions of peace which they proposed, and to send, without any delay, for the Iroquois chiefs who were sent prisoners to France.

The ratification of this treaty was, however, prevented by the political management of a young Huron chief, worthy of the most refined disciple of Machiavel, and conducted with sufficient address

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and skill, to rank this savage, in the annals of political intrigue, with the Richelieus or Metterniches of Europe; while his callous disregard to scruples, in seizing the means necessary to accomplish his ends, affords an example of dark resolute perseverance, not surpassed even in the register of the Jesuits.

Kondiaronk, or Le Rat, although not forty years of age, rose, by the power of his eloquence, bravery, skill in hunting, and success in the enterprises he planned and conducted, to be the chief in war, and the first in council among the Hurons. He inherited the most inveterate hatred towards the Iroquois; and their total extermination was, from his youth, the ruling passion of his soul. He hated the French in his heart; but his nation considered their friendship necessary in protecting them against the Iroquois; and he hated the English also, as the allies of the latter, with all the animosity which an Indian heart can cherish; but policy made him conceal his feelings while his people found it more convenient, or more profitable, to sell their furs to the English than to the French traders.

Denonville solicited and pressed his alliance, which Le Rat consented to, upon the sole condition that the war should only terminate by the extinction of the Iroquois nations; and, on this assurance, he soon after left Mackilemakinak, with a chosen band of a hundred warriors, in order to surprise the Iroquois, and to acquire additional fame by some brilliant exploit. He stopped on his way at Fort Frontenac, where he was informed by the commandant, that M.

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Denonville had entered into a treaty of peace with the Iroquois nations, whose deputies he daily expected, with hostages to be left at Montreal for its final ratification. Le Rat, who was also told that it was consequently necessary for him and his warriors to return to Mackilemakinak, suppressed the feelings that were maddening in his bosom, and very coolly observed that the request was reasonable. He then left the commandant under the impression that he would return peaceably with his warriors to his own country. Far different, however, was the resolution seized by Le Rat. He considered his whole nation, in not being conferred with in treating with their enemies the Iroquois, insulted by a species of contempt, the most galling to the proud heart of an American Indian; while the brilliant achievements he anticipated on leaving his tribe with the flower of their warriors, were at the same time completely blasted. Conceiving, therefore, that his own fame and the honour of his nation were sacrificed to the interests of the French, he determined upon the most terrible revenge that could be effected by the most deep and fiendish policy. What was said by the courtly Clarendon of Hampden, but without truth in respect to that patriot in the last word of the sentence, may be justly said of Le Rat. "He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any evil." Instead of returning to Mackilemakinak, he proceeded with his warriors to the cascades, which are about thirty miles above Montreal, and where he knew the Iroquois deputies with

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their hostages would pass. Here he remained in ambush for five or six days, when the deputies arrived, accompanied by forty young men, several of whom he killed, and the remainder he made prisoners, as they landed from their canoes. He then told the captives that he was directed by the governor to occupy that position, in order to intercept a party of Iroquois warriors who would attempt to pass by that route to plunder the French settlements, and that he must immediately conduct them as prisoners to Montreal, where there was not the least hope of mercy for them. The deputies, shocked at this intelligence, and their passions already aggravated to fury by recollecting that their chiefs were not yet sent back from France, considered the conduct of M. Denonville, and particularly this last apparent act of infamous perfidy, more horrible than all their imagination attributed to demons. They then related the object of their mission to Le Rat, who feigned astonishment; and, after remaining a short time silent, and seemingly affected with sorrow, assumed a ferocious air and tone, and declaimed with all the ingenuity and force of his eloquence against M. Denonville, whom he charged with having made him the instrument of the most diabolical treachery.

He then released the prisoners, and told them to return and tell their tribes that the governor of the French had made him engage in a deed so horrible and bad, that he should never rest until he had satiated his revenge by the destruction of the French settlements. The Iroquois believed Le Rat, and his

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apparent clemency in setting them at liberty so fully persuaded them of his sincerity, that they assured him that the five nations would immediately ratify such terms of peace as they might agree upon. He then gave them fusils, powder, and ball, to defend them on their way back; and, under the pretence of replacing one man whom he had lost in attacking the Iroquois, he retained an Indian of the Chouanan tribe, with whom he returned to Mackilemakinak.

This unfortunate prisoner, who believed himself safe, from Le Rat telling the Iroquois that he would retain him as an adopted son, was delivered to the French commandant, who was still ignorant of the proceedings of M. Denonville; and who, through the statements made by Le Rat, condemned the unhappy wretch to be shot.

Le Rat had an old Iroquois slave for a long time in his possession, to whom he afforded the opportunity of witnessing the execution of his adopted countryman by the French, all the circumstances of which, however, he carefully concealed from him. He then told the Iroquois, "I now give you your liberty; return to your country, and there spend the remainder of your days in peace! Relate to your people the barbarous and unjust conduct of the French, who, while they are amusing your nation with offers of peace, seize every opportunity of betraying and murdering you; and that all my persuasions could not save the life even of one man whom I took from your tribe, and adopted to replace the warrior I lost at the cascades."

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The Iroquois returned to his country, and related what he had witnessed, together with all that Le Rat had told him. The Iroquois warriors, as might be anticipated, were even before this sufficiently exasperated; but this last master-stroke of Le Rat's policy made their very blood boil furiously for revenge; yet they dissembled their feelings of resentment so completely, that M. Denonville, who declared that he would hang Le Rat whenever he could be captured, still expected deputies from the Iroquois to ratify a peace.

Le Rat's policy, however, operated more effectually than all the attempts of Denonville; and when the Iroquois arrived at Montreal, where the governor waited for their deputies, their appearance and purpose was indeed far different from what he expected. 1200 warriors, who landed at the upper end of the island, plundered and burnt all the houses and cornfields, destroyed and carried off the cattle, massacred men, women, and children, defeated and cut in pieces nearly the whole of a hundred regular troops, and fifty Hurons who were sent to defend the approach to the town, and carried off about 200 prisoners.

After spreading devastation over the whole island, with the loss only of three warriors, they embarked in their canoes, with their plunder and their prisoners. One of the three warriors lost by the Iroquois was brought before the governor, and declared, that the effect of Le Rat's policy was irreparable; that the Iroquois, far from condemning him, were ready to enter into a treaty with his nation; and that all

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the Iroquois tribes were so deeply impressed with a belief in the infamous atrocity of the French, that their thoughts were solely bent on the most deadly revenge.

Their subsequent hostilities fully justified this information; and the devastation of the Island of Montreal was attended by other losses and calamities. The fort, which was erected at much expense and labour at Niagara, was garrisoned by a hundred troops, among whom a malady was introduced, which proved fatal nearly to the whole; and the survivors, finding it impossible to maintain the post, abandoned and demolished it.

It was even found impracticable to maintain the important fort at Frontenac, which was also abandoned and blown up; and two ships that were built for the purpose of navigating Lake Ontario, were burnt, to prevent their falling into the possession of the Iroquois. The same malady which was so fatal to the garrison at Niagara, prevailed at the same time all over Canada; and the affairs of the colony appeared altogether desperate. War, famine, and disease, seemed as if combined for the utter destruction of the French inhabitants.

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CHAPTER III.

Perilous condition of Canada—Reappointment of M. Frontenac—War with the Indians—Sir William Phipps attacks Quebec—Hostilities between the English and French Colonists—Conferences with the Indians—Death of Count Frontenac—M. de Vaudreeil—Indian Perfidy—War with the Autagamis—Death of M. de Vaudreeil—M. de Beauharnois—War between France and England, &c.

THE critical condition of Canada, and the war between England and France, imperatively required that the affairs of the colony should be intrusted to a person whose experience and abilities would give energy to the execution of his measures, and whose activity, resolution, and firmness, would command the respect of the Indians, and exact implicit obedience from those under his command.

These qualities in a person to manage, to govern, and preserve a colony with its affairs in a posture like that of Canada, were found to be only combined in the Count de Frontenac. He was accordingly appointed to the chief command, and arrived at Quebec in October 1689, accompanied by the Chevalier de Callieres as intendant, and the Iroquois chiefs who had been sent to France by Denonville.

He found the colony on the utmost verge of ruin; but he expected that the great personal esteem which the Iroquois and other Indian nations entertained for

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him, during his former administration, and the confidence which was reposed in him by Ourèharè, one of the Iroquois chiefs whom he brought back, would enable him to bring the five nations to pacific overtures.

He was, however, disappointed. The Iroquois, while they pretended to wish for peace, avoided, with great address, coming to serious negotiations; and they soon renewed their hostilities, by rushing suddenly on the settlements, killing or making prisoners of the inhabitants, and carrying off all the movable property.

M. de Frontenac, finding his attempts at negotiation useless, resolved to act with such determined vigour as eventually to humble the Iroquois confederacy, which alone prevented the French settlements enjoying any certain repose. He therefore collected his allies, divided them among his regular troops; and surprised with great success several of the English settlements, on account of their alliance with the Iroquois.

Detachments which he sent to convey to Montreal the furs stored for a long time at Mackilemakinak, met also with a numerous band of Iroquois warriors, whom they defeated, after a sharp skirmish, in which a great number were killed on both sides.

Although peace could not be secured with the five tribes, yet they were convinced that M. de Frontenac was more to be dreaded than his predecessor; and the other tribes, who were about joining them, declined the alliance.

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An expedition, fitted out under the command of Sir W. Phipps, for the conquest of Quebec, appeared in October this year (1690), as far up the river as Tadousac, before its destination for Quebec was known. The defence of the town required all the vigilance of M. de Frontenac, and he certainly lost no time in placing it in a fit condition to stand a siege. The squadron, consisting of thirty-four vessels of different descriptions, and said to have 7000 men on board, advanced as far as Beauport, when Phipps sent a flag of truce to summon the town to surrender, which was gallantly rejected by M. de Frontenac. On the 18th, the English troops disembarked near the River St Charles, but not without great loss by the sharp fire from the French musketry. Four of the largest ships, which anchored opposite the town, commenced a bombardment; but the fire from the batteries was directed with such effect as to compel these vessels to remove up the river, beyond the range of the fortifications. A sharp skirmish between the troops took place next day, in which neither appears to have obtained much advantage; and on the 20th, an action was fought, in which the English at first had the advantage, and pursued the French to the palisades of a large house, at which the latter made a gallant stand, and compelled the English to retreat towards Beauport, from which place they re-embarked two days after, when Sir W. Phipps raised the siege, and sailed with his squadron down the river on the 23d. Seven or eight of his vessels were lost in the Gulf of St Lawrence.

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Before he left Boston, it was arranged that a strong body of troops should march against Montreal, in order to create a division in the French forces. This was prevented by the defection of the Iroquois; and M. de Frontenac was consequently enabled to concentrate all his strength to defend Quebec. This circumstance, the failure of ammunition, and the approaching winter, rendered it expedient for Phipps to abandon the enterprise.

On the following year the Iroquois renewed their depredations.

About 1000 warriors appeared at the mouth of the Ottawa, landed on the island of Montreal at Point au Tremble, pillaged and burnt thirty houses and barns, and carried off several prisoners, whom they put to the most cruel tortures. Depredations and cruelties were also extended to many of the other French settlements; and various skirmishes took place between the French troops and the Iroquois, in which great numbers on both sides, and several French officers of rank and distinction, were sacrificed. The French at last treated their prisoners with nearly as much cruelty as was practised by the savages; and M. de Frontenac at length, by the unremitting vigour of his measures, secured the defence of the colony so far, that in 1692 the inhabitants were enabled to cultivate their lands. The commerce in furs, although frequently interrupted, was also renewed, and carried on with considerable advantage.

In 1695, the fort at Frontenac was rebuilt, and

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additional security extended to the outposts at Mackilemakinak and St Joseph. In the following year, M. de Frontenac made an expedition to the country of the Iroquois, and without proceeding to such extremities as his force empowered him, he burnt some of their villages, and liberated a number of French prisoners.

He might, it is thought, have completely humbled the Iroquois at this time, but could not be prevailed upon to destroy the canton of Goyoquins, of which Ourèharè was the chief.

A fishery was also begun about this time at Mount Louis, on the south coast of the St Lawrence.

The French suffered little further molestation from the Indians; but animosities still continued between the Algonquins and Iroquois, and frequent hostilities among the other tribes. Ourèharè, in whom M. de Frontenac placed great and deserved confidence, and through whose influence he expected to bring the Iroquois to terms of friendship and permanent peace, died this year at Quebec.

Peace was concluded by England and France in 1698; and the English and French governors entered mutually into arrangements for maintaining harmony with the Indians. Although either English or French would now have crushed for ever the power of the Iroquois, yet the anxieties manifested by each government to conciliate the regard of those savages, were carried to an extent which must have greatly flattered those people, and which gave them an opinion of themselves that nothing but the jealousies of

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the English and French could warrant, and of which the savages well knew how to avail themselves.

Soon after the conclusion of an understanding of friendship with the Iroquois, Louis Count de Frontenac died in the seventy-eighth year of his life, twenty of which he had spent in Canada, where his vigorous administration, and his great personal abilities, preserved the colony with little assistance from France, and always secured to him the confidence of the king, the respect of his officers, even of those opposed to many of his measures, and the esteem of the Indians.

He was succeeded by the Chevalier de Callieres, who had been for some years Governor of Montreal, which office was supplied in the person of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil. Some difficulties arose soon after in maintaining a good understanding with the savages, which were principally occasioned by the English governor; but the address of the French missionaries gave M. de Callieres an ascendant, which he held with great tact and able management until his death in 1703. His loss was great to Canada; and although his powers of mind wanted the splendid points that cast such brilliant lustre on the government of M. de Frontenac, yet from his great excellence of character, he was beloved and respected by all; and having never violated his word to the Indians, he always retained their implicit confidence.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was then appointed to the chief command, on account of his great services in Canada; and agreeably also to the unanimous

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petition of the inhabitants to the king. The Indian tribes, among whom jealousies were fomented by the English, and by numerous murders among themselves, occasioned much embarrassment in the affairs of Canada during the administration of M. de Vaudreuil. He, however, managed to prevent the colonists from being molested, and the trade and cultivation of the country continued to improve and prosper.

England and France being now, (1709,) however, at war, an expedition was sent from New York, which was joined by a great body of Iroquois and Mahingans. M. de Ramsay, with 1000 regular troops, together with a body of militia and savages, were sent to intercept them; but the want of confidence in this commander, or some jealous feeling entertained by the other officers, rendered the expedition fruitless, and it returned to Montreal with a few prisoners only.

M. de Vaudreuil, however, lost no time in putting Quebec in a proper state of defence, and took every precaution, by strengthening the outposts, to prevent the English entering Canada.

The English were at this time fully confident of success, but the policy of an Iroquois chief not only blasted the hopes they had reasonably entertained, but subjected the army to the most severe distress. While the Iroquois warriors were exulting in the prospect of entirely destroying the French, this crafty leader, to whom they had always listened with respect and deference, said to his people, "Ah! but

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I have been considering what will become of us, if we destroy the French, who keep the English in check. The latter will then assuredly crush us, in order to possess our country. Let us not, therefore, foolishly bring certain ruin upon ourselves, merely to indulge our passions, or to please the English. Let us rather leave the French and English in a position which will make either of them set a high value on our friendship." This was their former and favourite system, but as they considered it shameful to desert the English openly, they concluded on effecting their purpose by enveloping their treachery under the most profound secrecy and diabolical cruelty. "The lawless savages," says Raynal, "the religious Hebrews, the wise and warlike Greeks and Romans; in a word, all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the rights of nations to consist in craft or violence."

The English army halted on the banks of a small river, where they encamped and waited for the artillery and ammunition, which were following at a slower rate than the march of the main body of the troops.

The Iroquois, who, in the meantime, spent their leisure hours in hunting, flayed all the animals they killed, and sunk their skins in the river, a little above the English camp. The English, who had no suspicion of the fatal treachery, continued to drink of the poisoned water; and such numbers were carried off in consequence, that it soon became necessary to

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suspend all military operations. They were therefore compelled to return to New York, where they learned that the destination of the fleet which was to proceed with troops to besiege Quebec, was changed, and sent to Lisbon to protect Portugal from the Spaniards.

The English colonists soon after renewed their preparations against the French ; and an army, accompanied by some Iroquois, marched towards Canada ; but, meeting with great difficulty, they returned, on receiving information that a second fleet, with the troops intended to besiege Quebec, was dispersed, and eight of the largest vessels lost near Seven Islands Bay.

M. de Vaudreuil had, however, by this time, managed to engage such numerous bodies of Indians, and to fortify Quebec so strongly, while he, at the same time, guarded the advanced posts with such vigilance, that had the fleet and the troops from New York even arrived safely before Quebec, there would have been little risk of France losing Canada, although there would have been, in all probability, great loss of life on both sides. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1712, gave peace to Canada, and M. de Vaudreuil had now leisure to direct his attention to the local affairs of the province.

A little before this time, a powerful tribe of Indians, called the Autagamis, or the Foxes, were instigated by the Iroquois to besiege Detroit, where they built a fort near that of the French. The

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allies of the latter, however, arrived in great numbers, and a furious attack was made upon the fort of the Autagamis. The latter defended themselves with the most extraordinary obstinacy; but, finding that nothing but death awaited their surrender, they contrived to escape from the fort at night, during a snow-storm. They were, however, soon afterwards overtaken, many of them cruelly massacred, and the remainder, amounting to 150 men, women, and children, were distributed among the allies, and nearly all put to death. The loss of the Autagamis amounted to about 1000, and that of the allies to no more than sixty.

The result of this expedition prevented the English from building a fort at Detroit, as they intended, which would have been ruinous to the fur-trade of Canada.

Soon after the Peace of Utrecht, the English built a fort on the banks of Lake Ontario, which secured them a great share of the fur-trade. The French also rebuilt the fort at Niagara, and strengthened their garrison at Detroit, which commanded the great line of intercourse in their dealings with the Indians of the west, as well as the track of communication with Louisiana, the Illinois, and the Mississippi, which was frequently interrupted by the warlike Autagamis, and their allies the Sioux and Chicasaws. M. de Vaudreuil at length brought those savages to pacific overtures; and, as a means of increasing the population of the French settlements, and strengthen-

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ing the garrisons, he proposed that 150 of the convicts, which were condemned in France to the galleys, should be annually sent to Canada.

At this period, (1714,) there were no more than 4500 men, from fourteen to sixty years of age, able to bear arms, in all Canada, while the English colonies could raise about 60,000. During the remainder of M. de Vaudreuil's administration, which was terminated by his death, in 1725, the French colonists enjoyed the blessings of peace; and the cultivation and trade of the province prospered under his vigilant, firm, and just government, which for twenty-one years was attended with the approbation of his sovereign, and the esteem and admiration of those under his command.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, who succeeded to the government, planned an enterprise to cross America to the South Sea, which did not succeed; and he erected also the important fort at Crown Point, with several other forts, in order to keep the English within the Alleghany mountains. During his long administration, the interests of Canada were generally attended to; the colony enjoyed the blessings of peace; some important changes were made in the laws; several church decretals, which clogged industry, and pressed heavily on the people, were repealed; and the conduct of the nuns, which was for some time complained of as irregular, and very different from the vows by which they pretended to regulate their character and habits, was controlled.

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In 1745, a royal edict directed that no country-houses should be built but on farms of one acre and a half in front, and by forty back. This law confined the population along the banks of the rivers.

In 1746, the Count de la Galissoniere, a nobleman of great acquirements, succeeded M. de Beauharnois; but, being unable to obtain that assistance in carrying his plans into execution which he expected from France, he was superseded, in 1747, by M. de la Jonquiere; who was also succeeded temporarily by the Baron de Longuiel, until the arrival of the Marquis du Quesne, in 1752, as governor-general. Preparations were made by him immediately after for active warfare against the English colonists, and hostilities were commenced against their traders on the Ohio. The Sieur de Vaudreuil Cavagnal succeeded him in 1755.

The English army, commanded by General Braddock, was repulsed this year; and, on the following year, the Marquis de Montcalm, who had arrived from France, with a strong reinforcement of regular troops, destroyed Fort Oswego, the outworks of Fort George, and the sloops and *bateaux* that were intended to attack Crown Point. Next year, he reduced Fort George; but the victory was disgraced by the massacre of 2000 of its inhabitants by the savages under his command, which completely roused the indignation of the British, and led to those mighty preparations which I have already noticed in the Historical Sketch of Nova Scotia, and which finally destroyed the power of France in America.

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The financial affairs of Canada, and the interests of private individuals, were also about this time placed in a most dangerous position, by the profligacy and villainy of M. Bigot, the intendant-general.

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CHAPTER IV.

Preparations made by the English for conquering Canada—Forces under General Wolfe land, and ascend the Heights—Battle of the Plains of Abraham—Death of Wolfe—Surrender of Quebec—Death of Montcalm—Surrender of Niagara—Ticonderago—Crown Point and Montreal—The Intendant-General M. Bigot's Fraudulency—Governor Murray's Report—Governor Sir Guy Carleton—Quebec Act—General Montgomery invades Canada—Reduces the Outposts, takes Montreal, besieges Quebec—His Death—The Provincialists repulsed—Lord Dorchester arrives as Governor-General—Quebec Act of 1791—Partition of the Province—Governor Prescott—Governor Milnes—Sir James Craig—Sir George Prevost—Last American War—Bravery of the Canadians—Sir George Gordon Drummond—Sir John Coape Sherbrook—Duke of Richmond—Earl of Dalhousie—Difficulties under his Administration—Sir James Kempt—Lord Aylmer.

SUCH was the condition of Canada when the English, exasperated by the massacre at Fort George, and animated by the surrender of Louisburg, unanimously resolved on subduing all the northern French possessions in America.

It was therefore determined to conquer Canada, by attacking Quebec, Fort Niagara, and the forts at Ticonderago and Crown Point. To the army under General Wolfe, and the fleet under Admiral Saunders, were assigned the conquest of Quebec; to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, the reduction of the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderago; and that of Niagara to General Prideaux, but which

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afterwards devolved on Sir William Johnston. The latter expeditions were afterwards to concentrate their forces with those under General Wolfe.

In the month of June 1759, the English fleet reached the Island of Orleans, where Wolfe landed with an army of 8000. The French disposable forces, exclusive of the garrison of Quebec, consisted of about 10,000 men, with a reserve of 2000. Wolfe first attempted the entrenchments at Montmorenci, landing his troops under cover of the fire from the ships of war; but he was gallantly repulsed by the French. After some delay, it was determined to effect a landing so as to carry the Heights of Abraham above Quebec. This daring resolution was effected on the 12th September, with surprising secrecy and intrepidity.

The ships of war sailed nine miles up the river above Quebec to Cape Rouge. This feint deceived M. Bougainville, who, with his division of the French army, proceeded still farther up along the banks of the river, to prevent the British debarking. During the night, the English ships dropped down silently with the current to Wolfe's Cove, and at four o'clock in the morning the troops began to land. At eight, the British army ascended the precipitous heights, with two fieldpieces in front; the 48th regiment and the light infantry forming a reserve, and the royal Americans covering the landing.

The Marquis de Montcalm, who was then at Beauport, marched across the St Charles on the 13th, and imprudently formed in front of the British army,

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with only one fieldpiece, and before he could concentrate all his disposable forces. He then advanced most gallantly; but the scattered, quick firing of his troops, which commenced when within about 250 yards of the English line, was far from being so effective as that of the British. The latter moved forward regularly, firing steadily, until within twenty or thirty yards of the enemy, when they gave a general volley, and the French were soon after routed. Bougainville had just then appeared in sight, but the fate of Canada was decreed, the critical moment was gone, and he retired to Point au Tremble, where he encamped; and from thence he retreated to Three Rivers and Montreal. There was also a body of French troops near Beauport, which were not engaged. Had all the forces been concentrated under Montcalm, it is doubtful if the heroism of the British troops could have secured victory. The most extraordinary bravery was displayed both by the English and French. Both armies lost their commanders. Wolfe expired with victory accompanying the close of his splendid career. At the age of thirty-five, when but few men begin even to appear on the theatre of great deeds, inheriting no family pretensions, and unassisted by faction or intrigue, he held a command of the highest responsibility, and with a truly unblemished character fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of his country.

The Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of equal bravery, died of his wounds a few days after. Quebec capitulated on the 18th to General Murray, who

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succeeded to the command. He, however, committed a most egregious blunder some time afterwards, by leaving Quebec to attack M. Levi, who was encamped with the French army at Sillery; and who completely defeated General Murray, and compelled him to retire within the walls of Quebec, with the loss of his artillery, and nearly one-third of his army.

The fort at Niagara was in the meantime reduced by Sir William Johnston, and the forts at Ticonderago and Crown Point, by General Amherst. They were consequently enabled to concentrate *their* forces and form a junction with General Murray. Previously to this, on learning that the English fleet was in the St Lawrence, and that the armament sent from France to relieve Quebec, was captured in the Bay de Chaleur by a squadron from Louisburg, under Captain Byron, the French forces retreated to Montreal, where the governor-general, M. de Vaudreuil, determined to make a desperate stand. Being, however, invested by the united forces of the three British generals, he found further resistance useless, and capitulated on the 8th of September, 1760, when Montreal and all the French fortresses in Canada were surrendered to Great Britain. The articles of capitulation under which Montreal surrendered, were highly honourable to M. de Vaudreuil, who exacted, to the utmost that he could possibly expect to obtain, every advantage for the people he had previously commanded.

Whatever the officers of government lost by Canada changing sovereigns, the peasantry, and other

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industrious classes, gained great advantages. The evils of a debt due the inhabitants by the government of France were, it is true, severely felt. This arose from the fraudulent conduct of M. Bigot, the intendant-general. His peculations, it was found, amounted to at least L.400,000, the greater part of which he lavished on a mistress. His bills on the French Treasury, and orders to the amount of L.3,333,333, 6s. 8d. sterling, were protested. When the Canadians became British subjects, an indemnity was obtained for them of only L.125,400 in bonds, and L.250,000 in specie for this immense debt. The bonds afterwards went for nothing.

The annual expenditure of the government of Canada, in 1729, was L.16,666, 13s. 4d., but it increased, in 1759, to the enormous sum of L.1,083,333, 6s. 8d. sterling.

For some time after the capitulation of Canada, no regard was paid to the French laws or courts. Military tribunals were instituted in the districts, from which appeals might be made to the commanding officer. General Murray carefully guarded against the abuse of power in such absolute courts.

Soon after the peace of 1763, which left to France no part of all her vast territories and power in North America, Governor Murray established new courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, in which the laws of England were introduced, and continued in force until the year 1775.

The following extracts from a letter written in 1765, by Governor Murray, to the Lords of Trade and

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Plantations, afford, it is believed, a just account of the state of the province at that period. "It consists," he states, "of 110 parishes, exclusive of the towns of Quebec and Montreal. These parishes contain 9722 houses, and 54,575 Christian souls; they occupy, of arable land, 955,755 arpents. They sowed, in the year 1765, 180,300½ minots of grain, and that year they possessed 12,546 oxen, 22,724 cows, 15,039 young horned cattle, 27,064 sheep, 28,976 swine, and 13,757 horses, as appears by the annexed recapitulation, taken by his order in the year 1765.

"The towns of Quebec and Montreal contain about 14,700 inhabitants. The savages, who are called Roman Catholics, being within the limits of the province, consist of 7400 souls, so that the whole, exclusive of the king's troops, amount to 76,275 souls; of which, in the parishes are nineteen Protestant families; the rest of that persuasion (a few half-pay officers excepted) are traders, mechanics, and publicans, who reside in the lower towns of Quebec and Montreal. Most of them were followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops. All have their fortunes to make, and I fear few are solicitous about the means, when the end can be attained. I report them to be, in general, the most immoral collection of men I ever knew: of course, little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion, and customs; and far less adapted to enforce these laws, which are to govern.

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"On the other hand, the Canadians, accustomed to arbitrary, and a sort of military government, are a frugal, industrious, and moral race of men, who, from the just and mild treatment they met with from his Majesty's military officers, who ruled the country for four years, until the establishment of civil government, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors.

"They consist of a noblesse, who are numerous, and who pique themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These noblesse are seigneurs of the whole country, and though not rich, are in a situation, in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce, and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenants, who pay only an annual quitrent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease, and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their noblesse; their tenures being military in the feudal manner, they have shared with them the dangers of the field, and natural affection has been increased, in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both from the conquest of this country.

"As they have been taught to respect their superiors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their noblesse and the king's officers have received from the English traders and lawyers, since the civil government took place. It is natural to suppose they are zealous of their religion. They are very ignorant: it was the

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policy of the French government to keep them so: few or none can read. Printing was never permitted in Canada till we got possession of it. Their veneration for the priesthood is in proportion to their ignorance: it will probably decrease as they become enlightened, for the clergy there are of mean birth and very illiterate; and as they are now debarred from supplies of ecclesiastics from France, that order of men will become more and more *contemptible*, provided they are not exposed to persecution.

"Disorders and divisions, from the nature of things, could not be avoided in attempting to establish the civil government in Canada, agreeable to my instructions, while the same troops, who conquered and governed the country for four years, remained in it. They were commanded by an officer, who, by the civil establishment, had been deprived of the government of half the province, and who remained, in every respect, independent of that establishment. Magistrates were to be made, and juries to be composed, out of 450 contemptible settlers and traders. It is easy to conceive how the narrow ideas and ignorance of such men must offend any troops, more especially those who had so long governed them, and knew the means from which they were elevated. It would be very unreasonable to suppose that such men would not be intoxicated with the unexpected power put into their hands; and that they would not be eager to show how amply they possessed it. As there were no barracks in the country, the quartering of the troops furnished perpetual opportuni-

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ties of displaying their importance and rancour. The Canadian noblesse were hated, because their birth and behaviour entitled them to respect; and the peasants were abhorred, because they were saved from the oppression they were threatened with. The presentment of the Grand Jury at Quebec, puts the truth of these remarks beyond doubt.* The silence of the king's servants to the governor's remonstrances, in consequence of their presentment, though his secretary was sent to them on purpose to expedite an explanation, contributed to encourage the disturbers of the peace.

"The improper choice and numbers of the civil officers sent out from England, increased the inquietude of the colony. Instead of men of genius and untainted morals, the very reverse were appointed to the most important offices; and it was impossible to communicate, through them, those impressions of the dignity of government, by which alone mankind can be held together in society. The judge fixed upon to conciliate the minds of 75,600 foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain, was taken from a jail, entirely ignorant of civil law, and of the language of the people. The attorney-general, with regard to the language of the people, was not better qualified.

"The offices of secretary of the province, registrar, clerk of the council, commissary of stores and provisions, provost-martial, &c., were given by patent

* The Protestant Grand Jury represented the Roman Catholics as a nuisance, on account of their religion, &c.

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to men of interest in England, who let them out to the best bidders, and so little did they consider the capacity of their representatives, that not one of them understood the language of the natives. As no salary was annexed to these patent places, the value of them depended upon the fees, which, by my instructions, I was ordered to establish, equal to those of the richest ancient colony. This heavy tax, and the rapacity of the English lawyers, were severely felt by the poor Canadians; but they patiently submitted, and, though stimulated to dispute it by some of the licentious traders from New York, they cheerfully obeyed the Stamp Act, in hopes that their good behaviour would recommend them to the favour and protection of their sovereign.

"As the council-book of the province, and likewise my answer to the complaints made against my administration, have been laid before your lordships, it is needless to presume to say any thing further on that subject, than that I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in protecting the king's Canadian subjects, and of doing the utmost in my power to gain to my royal master the affections of that brave, hardy people, whose emigration, if ever it should happen, will be an irreparable loss to this empire; to prevent which, I declare to your lordships, I would cheerfully submit to greater calumnies and indignities, (if greater can be devised,) than hitherto I have undergone."

Lieutenant-Governor Guy Carleton succeeded Governor Murray, in 1776, but the inhabitants, parti-

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cularly the English, appear to have been discontented with the new form of administering the laws. Meetings were frequently held, and petitions were forwarded, in order to obtain a constitutional legislative government, which ended, not as the English inhabitants wished, but by restoring Canada nearly to its former condition under the French government. This celebrated act, 14 Geo. III., commonly called the Quebec Act, placed Canada in a situation entirely different from any other British colony. It declared all former provisions made for the province null and void. In place of a Legislative Assembly, the administration was to be confined to the governor and a council appointed by the king. It established the French laws according to the *Coutume de Paris*, by which all civil matters were to be adjudicated. In criminal matters, the laws of England were still to be in force. The French language was also to be used in the courts. The Catholic Church was secured in all the immunities it enjoyed under the French king, with all its former revenues. The seignorial tenures were also to remain undisturbed. In short, the principle of the government thus granted to Canada was French, not English.

This act passed through the Imperial Parliament most hurriedly, and it gave satisfaction neither to the French nor English inhabitants.

In the meantime the Stamp Act was submitted to in Canada, which, with the Quebec Act, being considered by the people of New England as having been passed merely to favour the Catholics, and the refusal

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also of the Canadians to send delegates to Congress, formed the grounds on which the provincials invaded Canada.

Longeuil, St John's, and Chambly, were soon after reduced by General Montgomery, an officer of high reputation. Montreal also, in which were deposited a great quantity of military stores and provisions, surrendered to him, in November 1755. General Arnold having, by another route, reached the St Lawrence, on the 15th December, they effected a junction of their forces, and on the 31st, they attempted to storm Quebec during the night; but General Montgomery was killed, and the Americans completely repulsed. On the following year, a reinforcement of troops enabled the Canadians to drive the Americans from the province. In 1776, Lord Dorchester arrived at Quebec as governor-general, but the form of government remained unaltered until 1791, when the Act 31 George III., commonly called the Constitutional Act, divided the province of Quebec into the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, and gave to each a separate legislative government, consisting of a governor, council, and House of Assembly. The French laws and language were still to be in full force, as established by the Quebec Act, 15 Geo. III. Numerous inconveniencies have been the consequence of this heterogeneous incorporation of French laws and usage with a British constitution; and the partition of the province was a most impolitic measure, pregnant with difficulties.

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In 1796, General Prescott was appointed governor. During his administration, several legislative acts were passed for the improvement of the province; but much of the time of the House appears to have been occupied in political disputes of little consequence. Much abuse in the granting of crown lands occurred also about the same time; and the members of the land-granting department having managed to grant each other large tracts of the most valuable lands, to the injury of vast numbers of settlers and emigrants, Governor Prescott and the Chief Justice Osgood disagreed most openly and violently on this subject.

In 1800, the affairs of the province were intrusted to the administration of Sir Robert S. Milnes, as lieutenant-governor; and, in 1807, Sir James H. Craig was appointed governor-general. The province, during this period, enjoyed peace; and its trade, in consequence of the disturbed state of Europe, flourished and increased rapidly. Difficulties, however, arose at this time between the governor and House of Assembly; and, in 1810, the resolutions of the House expelling the judges, the pledge of the House to pay the civil list, and the expulsion of Judge Sewell by vote, led to the dissolution of the Assembly; which, with the suppression of "Le Canadian" newspaper, the seizure of its press, the imprisonment of its printer, and of six others who were never tried, and some other arbitrary measures on the part of the executive, imparted to this period the designation of "the Reign of Terror."

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Sir George Prevost succeeded to the administration of Canada, in 1811, as governor-general; and in the following year the United States declared war against Great Britain. The details of this war, even as far as respects Canada, would be too lengthy for this work. It will be sufficient, therefore, to observe briefly, that the provincial government immediately adopted the most decisive measures for the defence of the Canadas. The regular forces only amounted to 4000 men; but the militia was immediately enrolled, armed, and trained for active service; the garrisons were also strengthened, and in a few weeks Lower Canada was completely prepared for defensive war.

In July, General Hall, commanding the American forces, entered Upper Canada; and on the 16th of August he was opposed by General Brock, the lieutenant-governor, who vanquished his whole force, and sent them as prisoners of war to Montreal. The Americans, however, collected a strong body of troops on the Niagara frontier; and in the end of November they passed over into Canada, where, on the heights of Queenston, the battle was fought, in which the enemy were completely defeated, but which was rendered still more memorable by being the field on which the heroic Brock fell.

Soon after, the Americans again invaded the Niagara frontier, with little success; and the British naval force, with no better fortune, attacked Sackett's Harbour. In January following, (1813,) General Procter opposed General Winchester near Detroit, and made him and 500 Americans prisoners, but the

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British were soon after defeated at Ogdensburg; and in the end of April the Americans burnt York, and in less than a month they held possession of all the Niagara frontier.

General Procter again compelled 500 Americans to surrender near the River Miami; and on the 6th of June, the defeat of the Americans near Burlington, by Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, restored the Niagara frontier to the British. Two American vessels were also captured at Isle aux Noix, by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor; and in July the barracks at Plattsburg and Black Rock were completely destroyed by the British. But an attack on Sackett's Harbour, by Sir George Prevost, on which great hopes were formed, completely failed; and on the 10th of September the American Commodore Perry captured all the British vessels on Lake Erie; and General Procter was defeated near Detroit in October following. The British were consequently obliged to retreat to Burlington; and an American army in three divisions advanced towards Montreal. Colonel De Salabury, with the Canadian militia, however, defeated General Hampton and 7000 American troops, and compelled them to retreat to Plattsburg; and Colonel Morrison repulsed General Boyd at Chrystler's Farm. The whole American army then retreated to Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburg. After burning Newark, the Americans retired before winter from the Niagara frontier. Meantime the British General Riall destroyed Black Rock and Buffalo.

In March following, (1814,) an American force,

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under General Wilkinson, entered Canada, and, at Lacolle, was opposed by Major Handcoke, who repulsed and drove them back to the States; but in July the American General Brown captured Fort Erie. During this summer a desultory warfare was carried on between the Americans and British, in which the former had generally the most success. In August, the British received reinforcements: yet Sir George Prevost, who attacked Plattsburg with an army of 11,000 men, on the 11th May, was repulsed with much loss, although the place was only defended by 1500 regular troops, and a few companies of militia. About the same time, the squadron, hastily fitted out on Lake Champlain, and commanded by Commodore Downie, was completely defeated by the American Commodore MacDonough; Downie and several officers were killed in the action.

It now became absolutely necessary for the British to act with extraordinary vigour and decision; and in the month of November the Americans abandoned all the posts they held in Canada. The command of the Lakes was at the same time secured, and several American posts captured. The Treaty of Ghent, signed in December 1814, terminated the war.

Never were preparations carried on with greater expense, and never did those in power exhibit greater ignorance than during the whole of this inglorious war. Some remarks will be found in a following chapter on the egregious blunders of men who had the direction of such affairs as related to the expense of defending the Canadas at that time against the

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Americans; the enormous amount of which is usually placed by the economists to the sole account of what those provinces cost Great Britain, while it is well known that their chief and most effective security depended on the bravery of their own militia.

Sir George Gordon Drummond succeeded Sir George Prevost in the administration of the government, in April 1815, and John Wilson, Esq., held the office of administrator after him until the arrival of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who was appointed governor-general in July 1816. Few political matters of consequence occured during this period, unless it were a repetition of discontents on the part of the House of Assembly, which impeached the Chief Justices of Quebec and Montreal. The vigorous and judicious administration of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke was highly satisfactory.

In July 1818, the Duke of Richmond arrived as governor-general. His administration, if not so active as that of his predecessor, was at least satisfactory, and its duration was suddenly terminated by his death at Ottawa, in consequence of hydrophobia, in September 1819. Under him, the legislature agreed to pay the civil list of the province, and out of this measure arose those financial questions which created such discontent and difficulties during the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie. From the death of the Duke of Richmond, until the arrival of Lord Dalhousie as governor-general, in 1820, the government of the province was administered by the Honour-

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able James Monk as president, and afterwards by Sir Peregrine Maitland.

It is difficult to reconcile the amiable private character of the Earl of Dalhousie, and the harmony which characterised his administration in Nova Scotia, with his unhappy administration of the affairs of Canada.

The remote causes of the difficulties that disturbed the tranquillity of Canada during Lord Dalhousie's government, may be easily discovered in the Quebec Acts of 1774 and 1791;* but the immediate causes of discontent may be considered as originating in the legislature agreeing to pay the civil list, and the crown accepting of the same without any specific constitutional stipulation at the time. The financial affairs of the province continued to go on smoothly, until the death of his Majesty George the Third, when a new provincial Parliament was assembled, of whom it was expected, by the executive government, that they should pass a bill providing for the civil establishment of the province. The Legislative Assembly then came to a resolution to appropriate, in separate items, the whole revenue of the province, amounting to about L.140,000, including about L.34,000 of annual permanent revenue, secured to the crown by the Quebec Act of 1774, and a small hereditary revenue of about L.3400. The crown, however, claimed the exclusive right of distributing the latter sums, amounting together to nearly L.3800, "as the

* See Chapter V., on the Constitution of Canada.

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Quebec acts of 1774 and 1791 imposed on the lords-commissioners of the treasury the duty of appropriating the revenue granted to his Majesty by the first of those statutes; and that, whilst the law should continue unaltered by the same authority by which it was framed, his Majesty's government was not authorized to replace the revenue under the control of the legislature of the province." This formed the grand ground of dispute between the representative assembly and the executive. "Both parties," as Mr Huskisson observed in the House of Commons, "might be fairly considered as standing on their extreme rights." Neither, however, would yield; Lord Dalhousie came to England, but returned again, in 1825, to Canada, and the arrangement of the finance question became every day more difficult. He dissolved the House, and a new House was assembled, but he refused to approve of the appointment of Mr Papineau as speaker: the House of Assembly would elect no other: it was prorogued accordingly; and the imperatively necessary legislative business of the province was consequently stopped, and all operations depending on the appropriation of the revenue by the House of Assembly lost to the provinces. It was impossible for matters to continue long in this state. 87,000 of the inhabitants petitioned the king. They charged his lordship with arbitrary conduct; of applying public money without legal appropriations; of violent prorogation and dissolution of the Assembly; of preventing the passing of many useful acts; of continuing the receiver-general in office

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after he was known to be insolvent, and a defaulter to the amount of L.96,000, and of allowing similar abuses with regard to sheriffs; "of dismissing the principal militia officers for the constitutional exercise of their rights; of the sudden and extensive remodelling of the commission of the peace, to serve," they alleged, "political purposes; and of a vexatious system of prosecution for libel at the instance of the attorney-general." His Majesty's ministers submitted the affairs of Canada to a committee of the House of Commons, who certainly devoted their most serious attention to the subject. Their report recommended, "That it will be advantageous that the declaratory enactment in the Tenure Act, respecting lands held in free or common soccage, should be retained. That mortgages should be special; and that in proceedings for the conveyance of land, the simplest and least expensive forms should be adopted, upon the principle of the law of England. That a registration of deeds relating to soccage lands should be established; that means should be found of bringing into effective operation the clauses in the Tenure Act; and they entertain no doubt of the inexpediency of retaining the seignorial rights of the crown, in the hope of deriving a profit from them; that some competent jurisdiction should be established to try and decide causes arising out of this description of property; and that circuit courts should be instituted within the townships for the same purposes. That the Canadians of French extraction should in no degree be disturbed in the peaceful enjoyment of their religion, laws, and

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privileges, as secured to them by the British acts of Parliament; and so far from requiring them to hold lands on the British tenure, they think, that when the lands in the seigniories are fully occupied, if the descendants of the original settlers shall still retain their attachment to the tenure of *fief et seigneurie*, they see no objections to the other portions of unoccupied lands in that province being granted to them on the same tenure, provided that such lands are set apart from, and not intermixed with the townships."

"That although, from the opinion given by the law officers of the crown, the committee must conclude that the legal right of appropriating the revenues arising from the act of 1744, is vested in the crown, they are prepared to say, that the real interests of the provinces would be best promoted by placing the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue under the superintendence and control of the House of Assembly. On the other hand, the governor, the members of the executive council, and the judges, should be independent of the annual votes of the House of Assembly for their respective salaries. That the committee were fully aware of the objections in principle, which may be fairly raised against the practice of voting permanent salaries to judges who are removable at the pleasure of the crown; but being convinced that it would be inexpedient that the crown should be deprived of that power of removal, and having well considered the public inconvenience which might result from their being left in

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dependence upon annual votes of the Assembly, they have decided to make the recommendation, in their instance, of a permanent vote of salary; that although the grant of permanent salaries has been recommended to a much greater number of persons connected with the executive government than they have included in their recommendation, they have no hesitation in expressing their opinion that it was unnecessary to include so large a number; and if the officers above enumerated are placed on the footing *recommended*, they are of opinion that all the revenues of the province (except territorial and hereditary revenues) should be placed under the control and direction of the Legislative Assembly; that the committee could not close their observations on this branch of their enquiry without calling the attention of the House to the important circumstance, that in the progress of these disputes, the local government has thought it necessary, through a long series of years, to have recourse to a measure (which nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify) of annually appropriating, by its own authority, large sums of the money of the province, amounting to no less than L.140,000 without the consent of the representatives of the people, under whose control the appropriation of these monies are placed by the constitution.

"The committee cannot but express their deep regret that such a state of things should have been allowed to exist for so many years in a British colony,

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without any communication or reference having been made to Parliament on the subject."

The Earl of Dalhousie soon after returned from Canada; and his Majesty's government at the time declared in Parliament their approbation of his lordship's conduct in Canada; and his appointment to a high command in India forms the most presumptive, if not conclusive proof, that his lordship only acted in Canada according to the directions he received from England. Being in the British colonies at the time the finanical difficulties commenced, I knew well that in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the general impression was, that his lordship was only acting agreeably to instructions from the Colonial Office. That the Earl of Dalhousie's "heart was in the right place," I have no doubt; that he felt the utmost anxiety for the prosperity of the great country of which he was governor, I am fully convinced. Its agriculture, its trade, and particularly the education of its youth, he was ardently bent on encouraging and fostering; but he failed, and that most unfortunately and most egregiously, either in making the experiment of bringing the representatives of the inhabitants to act agreeably to his own wishes or ideas, or probably, as is more generally believed, in forcing the instructions of the Colonial Office into impracticable operation. That he should have persisted in such measures, is to be regretted; for he did most assuredly err only in judgment—few men could be more honest in heart. Such men as

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Sir Howard Douglas, and Sir James Kempt, would have acted otherwise; the former I know, and the latter I believe, would have immediately resigned, sooner than remain administering the government of a British colony under similar circumstances to those of Canada previous to the departure of the Earl of Dalhousie.

Sir James Kempt entered upon the duties of the administration of Canada under peculiarly delicate circumstances; yet, on calling a meeting of the legislature, and formally accepting the election of Mr Papineau as speaker, his speech, at the opening of the session, was conciliatory, mild, and wise. "Placed," said his Excellency, "in a situation of so much importance at a period of peculiar difficulty, I cannot but feel that very arduous duties are imposed upon me; duties, indeed, which I should despair of being able to discharge to the satisfaction of his Majesty, and his faithful and loyal subjects the inhabitants of this province, if I did not look forward, with a sanguine hope, to the enjoyment of your confidence, and your cordial co-operation in my administration of the government.

"Without a good understanding between the different branches of the legislature, the public affairs of the colony cannot prosper; the evils which are now experienced cannot be effectually cured; the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's Canadian subjects cannot be promoted; and you may therefore believe that no exertions will be spared on my part to promote conciliation, by measures in which the

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undoubted prerogatives of the crown, and your constitutional privileges, are equally respected.

" His Majesty's government has, however, relieved me from the responsibility attendant upon any measures to be adopted for the adjustment of the financial difficulties that have unfortunately occurred, and I shall take an early opportunity of conveying to you, by message, a communication from his Majesty, which I have been especially commanded to make to you upon the subject of the appropriation of the provincial revenue."

After stating that he would direct the public accounts to be laid before the House, he continued, " possessing, as yet, but an imperfect knowledge of the great interests of the province, and the wants of its inhabitants, I refrain, at the present time, from recommending to you measures of public improvement, which it will be my duty to bring under your consideration at a future day. In all countries, however, good roads, and other internal communications, —a general system of education, established upon sound principles,—and a well-organized militia force, are found to be so conducive to the prosperity, the happiness, and the security of their inhabitants, that I may be permitted to mention them at present, as objects of prominent utility.

" But an oblivion of all past jealousies and dissensions is the first great step towards improvement of any kind; and, when that is happily accomplished, and the undivided attention of the executive government and the legislature shall be given to the advance-

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ment of the general interests of the province, in a spirit of cordial co-operation, there is no reason to doubt that Lower Canada will rapidly advance in prosperity ; and emulate, ere long, the most opulent and flourishing portions of the North American continent."

The message which his Excellency, conveyed by the command of his Majesty's government, intimated, however, a perseverance in the finance measures which had caused such difficulties during Lord Dalhousie's government. It stated, that " his Excellency was commanded to say, that the statutes passed in the fourteenth and thirty-first years of the reign of his late Majesty, have imposed upon the lords-commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the duty of appropriating the produce of the revenue granted to his Majesty by these statutes ; and that, whilst the law shall continue unaltered by the same authority by which it was framed, his Majesty is not authorized to place the revenue under the control of the legislature of this province."

Every other part of the message contained nothing but what was calculated to maintain harmony in the province. The old " bone of contention" was, however, persisted in ; and the representative assembly passed sixteen resolutions. The first five, and the sixteenth, are worthy of quoting, and are as follows :—

" 1. That this House has derived the greatest satisfaction from the gracious expression of his Majesty's beneficent views towards this province, and from the earnest desire of his Excellency, the administrator of

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the government, to promote the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, as evinced in his Excellency's message of Friday last.

"2. That this House has nevertheless observed, with great concern, that it may be inferred from the expression of that part of the said message which relates to the appropriation of the revenue, that the pretension put forth at the commencement of the late administration, to the disposal of a large portion of the revenue of this province, may be persisted in.

"3. That under no circumstances, and upon no considerations whatsoever, ought this House to abandon, or in any way compromise, its inherent and constitutional right, as a branch of the provincial parliament representing his Majesty's subjects in this colony, to superintend and control the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue arising within this province.

"4. That any legislative enactment in this matter, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which his Majesty's subjects in this province are not, and cannot be represented, unless it were for the repeal of such British statutes, or any part of British statutes, as may be held by his Majesty's government to militate against the constitutional rights of the subject in this colony, could in no way tend to a settlement of the affairs of the province.

"5. That no interference of the British legislature with the established constitution and laws of this province, (excepting on such points as form the relation

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between the country and the Canadas, and can only be disposed of by the paramount authority of the British Parliament,) can in any way tend to the final adjustment of any difficulties or misunderstandings which may exist in this province, but rather to aggravate and perpetuate them.

"16. That amongst these questions not particularly mentioned on the present occasion, this House holds as most desirable to be adjusted, and most essential to the future peace, welfare, and good government of the province, viz.—

"The independence of the judges, and their removal from the political business of the province.

"The responsibility and accountability of the public officers.

"A greater independence of support from the public revenue, and more intimate connexion with the interest of the colony, in the composition of the legislative council.

"The application of the late property of the Jesuits to the purpose of general education.

"The removal of all obstructions to the settlement of the country, particularly by the crown and clergy reserves remaining unoccupied in the neighbourhood of roads and settlements, and exempt from the common burdens."

The good sense and vigorous mind of Sir James Kempt disregarded, for the time, formal obstacles which had for some years deprived the province of the indispensable advantage of legislative appropria-

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tion. He therefore assented to a supply bill, formed upon the constitutional principles contended for by the House of Assembly, "that all the revenue accruing in the province shall be under the control and appropriation of the provincial legislature." The following extract from his excellency's dispatch to Sir George Murray on the subject, will best illustrate the wisdom of his decision. "I could entertain no hope," says Sir James Kempt, "after the resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly, (previously transmitted to Sir George Murray,) that it would be disposed to pass any act in which the king's right to appropriate the revenue raised by the 14th Geo. III. c. 88, would be specifically acknowledged; and, although the present bill is substantially the same as the supply bill passed in 1825, to which objections were stated by Earl Bathurst, in a dispatch addressed to Sir Francis Burton, dated the 4th June, 1825, yet as you admit in the dispatch of the 29th September, 1828, which I had the honour of receiving from you, that, 'as long as the House of Assembly is called upon to provide for, and to regulate any portion of the public expenditure, it virtually acquires a control over the whole;' and as a scheme for the permanent settlement of the financial concerns of the province is in contemplation, I assented to the present arrangement, viewing it as a temporary measure to meet the difficulties of the present year, until such a scheme is matured, and a permanent settlement effected of the question in controversy by his Majesty's government at home.

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"I was further induced to give my assent to the present measure, by the consideration, that without a supply of some kind by the provincial legislature, the public service could not be carried on under the instructions which I have had the honour of receiving from you, the funds which the law has placed at his Majesty's disposal being insufficient to defray the expenses of the civil government; under all circumstances, therefore, I entertain a hope, that the arrangement which I have sanctioned will be approved of by his Majesty's government."

It would have been impossible for Sir James Kempt, with all the power of his well-known great abilities, to have established harmony in the province, had he not taken upon himself to assent to the finance bill passed by the provincial parliament. His administration throughout was conciliatory and constitutional; and he may be said to have effected a completely satisfactory understanding between the legislative and the executive government. An act of the provincial parliament was passed in 1828, which received his Majesty's sanction in August 1829, to increase the representation of Lower Canada from fifty to eighty-four members. In 1830, a general election took place, agreeably to this act; and on the return of Sir James Kempt to England, Lord Aylmer, the present governor, was appointed his successor. The present state of Canada requires the most serious attention of the imperial government. By wise policy, this vast province may be long secured to the British empire. The mighty consequence of maintaining the

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affection and loyalty of his Majesty's subjects in Canada, and the great value of that country, have not, however, of late years been justly appreciated, and least of all by those obtuse politicians who have adopted the impracticable doctrines of modern theorists.

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CHAPTER V.

Government and Laws of Canada—Quebec Act—Partition of the Province, and evil Consequences—Counties and Representation—Coutume de Paris—New Division of the Province—Constitution of the Government—Administration of the Laws—Districts—Courts, Judges, Lawyers, Notaries—Canadian Laws, Estates, and Tenures—Revenue—Civil List—Military Force—Public Departments—Public Burdens, and Expenditure, &c.

THE Quebec Act, which passed in the year 1774, fixed the boundaries of Canada. It then comprehended the lower and upper provinces, according to their present limits, and also a vast tract of country lying between Lake Erie, and the Ohio and Mississippi. The British were afterwards wheedled, certainly not forced, out of the latter valuable territory. By this act all former provisions made for the province were declared null and void; and it enacted also, "That his Majesty's subjects professing the religion of the Church of Rome, in the said province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the king's supremacy," (as by Act 1 Elizabeth,) "and that the clergy of the said church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion." "That it shall be lawful for his

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Majesty, his heirs, or successors, to make such provision out of the list of the said accustomed dues and rights for the support of the Protestant clergy, within the said province, as he or they shall from time to time think necessary and expedient." By this act, the Canadians, religious orders excepted, were secured in all their property and possessions, with recourse to the French laws of Canada in all matters of controversy, but not to extend to lands granted by his Majesty in common soccage. The criminal laws of England only were to be continued. It also appointed a council with the power to make ordinances, with the consent of the governor; but not to impose taxes, except for making roads. These ordinances were to be laid before his Majesty for allowance, and those touching religion not to be in force until approved of by the king. It left also to the king the power of constituting courts of criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This act appears to have been founded on a petition and memorial to the king from the Canadians. The English residents, who held several meetings some time before, in order to obtain a legislative assembly, stated afterwards in their proceedings, "That this act was by no means agreeable to the great body of the Canadians—that the number of names to it were only 65, some of these were signed by lads of fifteen or sixteen years; while to the petition of the English residents, there were 148 names; and that there was no wish to re-establish the French laws, except on the part of the priests," and "that

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the said act of Parliament is a *wicked* and abominable act, that authorizes a bloody religion, which spreads around it, wherever it is propagated, impiety, murders, and rebellion." The latter assertion was also made ample use of by the American provincialists as their standard argument for invading Canada during the revolutionary war. The Canadians were, however, highly satisfied with the order of government established by this act—they had every possible reason for being so; and it must be admitted that, considering the condition of Canada at that period, there was but one solid objection to the act on the part of the English—that was, re-establishing the French laws of Canada according to the "Coutume de Paris." Evils and difficulties have arisen in consequence, which, if not satisfactorily adjusted, may yet unfold themselves in subverting the peace of Canada.

Under this act the government of Canada was administered until 1791, when Mr Pitt introduced the act commonly called the Constitutional Act. It divided Canada into two provinces; and each province into districts and counties, with legislative assemblies. To Upper Canada it granted a constitution nearly resembling that of Nova Scotia. To Lower Canada it gave a constitutional government, consisting of a governor, executive and legislative councils, and a representative assembly* of fifty members, thirty-nine

* The English inhabitants did not, when they were petitioning for a House of Assembly, foresee that the Canadians, as has ever since been the case, would enjoy the ascendency in the provincial parliament.

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of whom being knights representing twenty-one counties—eight citizens, four each for the cities of Quebec and Montreal—and three burgesses, two for Three Rivers, and one for William Henry.

The lower province was accordingly divided into the following counties, viz.:—Bedford, Buckinghamshire, Cornwallis, Devon, Dorchester, Effingham, Gaspè, Hampshire, Hertford, Huntingdon, Kent, Leinster, Montreal, Northumberland, Orleans, Quebec, Richelieu, St Maurice, Surrey, Warwick, and York; all of which elected each two representatives, excepting Bedford, Gaspè, Orleans, and York, which only elected one member for each county.

The Coutume de Paris and the French language were still, however, retained in the courts, and the latter permitted in the Legislative Assembly. In a British province both these admissions were inconvenient, if not unwise and impolitic; they have preserved that line of separation, so much to be regretted, between the English and French Canadians; and form an exception to the laws and usages of all our other colonies. In no other part of North America, including the United States, is the French language that of the senate or the forum.* Mr Pitt also intended to create an order of nobility; but his plan was never acted upon.

* Until 1362, when a statute enacted "That all pleas in courts of justice shall be pleaded in English," French was the language of our courts. On granting a representative government to Canada, provision might have been made for the gradual introduction, and the final establishment, of the English language in the court and senate. It would be dangerous to attempt, and impracticable to do so now.

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The representation of the colony, notwithstanding the rapid increase of its population, remained unaltered, until the provincial act of the 9th Geo. IV. subdivided the counties, for the more equal representation of the inhabitants, as follows:

GASPE—Commencing at Point Maquereaux, at the entrance of Chaleur Bay, running N.W. 47 miles, thence south until it intersects a line from Cape Chat on the St Lawrence, along the said last-mentioned line, and the River and Gulf of St Lawrence, including the Island of Bonaventure and all the islands in front and nearest the same, and the Magdalene Islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence, which county comprises the fiefs of St Anne, Magdalene, Grand Vallée des Monts, and Anse de l'Etang, the Bay of Gaspè, and settlements therein, Point St Peter, Malbay, Percé, Anse à Beaufils, Cape Despair, Grand River, Little River, Papas, and Newport.

BONAVENTURE—Bounded by the county of Gaspè, and consists of such part of the inferior district of Gaspè, as is included between the county of Gaspè and the district of Quebec, including all the islands in front nearest to the county, which county comprises the seigniory of Schoolbred, the Indian village of Mission, and the settlements above and below the same on the north of the River Restigouche, the settlements of Carlton, Maria, Richmond, Hamilton, including Bonaventure, Cox, including the town of New Carlisle, Hope, including Paspabiac, Les Nouvelle, and Port Daniel.

RIMOUSKI—Bounded by the inferior district of

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Gaspè, by the S.W. line of the seigniory of Rivière du Loup, prolonged to the southern bounds of the province, and on the N.W. by the River St Lawrence, including all the islands in the river, in front of the county, nearest the same, which county comprises the seigniories of Rivière du Loup, Isle Verte, D'Artigny, Trois Pistoles, Rioux des Trois Pistoles, Bic, Rimouski, Barnabè, Lepage, Tivierge, Mitis, and Matane, and all other lands comprised within the said lands.

KAMOURASKA—Bounded by Rimouski, by the N.E. line of the seigniory of St Roch des Aulnets, prolonged to the southern boundary of the province, and on the N.W. by the River St Lawrence, together with the islands in the River St Lawrence, nearest to the county fronting the same, and on the S.E. by the southern boundary of the province; which county comprises the seigniory of Terrebois, Granville and Laccenaye, L'Islet du Portage, Granville, Kamouraska, St Dennis, Rivière Ouelle, and its augmentation, and St Anne, and the townships of Bungay, Woodbridge, and Ixworth.

L'ISLET—Comprises the seigniories of St Roch des Aulnets, Reaume, St Jean Port Ioli, Islet, Lessard, Bonsecours, Vincelot and its augmentation, Cape St Ignace, Gagnier, St Claire, Rivière du Sud and Lepinay.

BELLECHASSE—Comprises the seigniories of Berthier, St Vallier, St Michel, Beaumont and augmentation, La Durantaye and augmentation, La Marti-

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niere, Montapeine, Vincennes, St Gervais, and Lavaudiere, and townships of Buckland and Standon.

DORCHESTER—Consists of the seigniory of Lauzon.

BEAUCE—Comprises the seigniories of Jolliet, St Etienne, St Marie, St Joseph, Vaudreuil, Aubert Gallion, Aubin de l'Isle, townships of Frampton, Cranbourne, Watford, Jersey, Manlow, Rixborough, Spalding, Ditchfield and Woburn, and part of Clinton east of Arnold River.

MEGANTICK—Comprehends the townships of Somerset, Nelson, Halifax, Inverness, Ireland, Wolfston, Leeds, Thetford, Broughton, Coleraine, Tring, Shenley, Oulney, Winslow, Dorset, and Gayhurst.

LOTBINIERE—Comprises the seigniories of Tilly, or St Antoine, Gaspè, St Giles des Pleines, Bonsecours, St Croix, Lotbinière, and St Jean d'Eschaillons, and their augmentations.

NICOLET—Bounded on the east by Lobinière, and on the west by the line between Nicolet and La Baie du Febvre and Courval, towards the north by the St Lawrence, and on the south by the Becancour, the rear line of the seigniory of Becancour, on the west of that river by the lines between the townships Aston and Godefroy, Roquetaillade and the augmentation of Nicolet, and by the near line of the augmentation of Nicolet.

YAMASKA—Comprehends the seigniories of La Baie du Febvre, Courval, Lussaudiere, Pierreville, St François and its augmentation, Lavalliere, or St Michel, D'Yamaska, and Deguire.

DRUMMOND—Contains the townships of Aston,

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Bulstrode, Stanfold, Arthabaska, Chester, Ham, Wotton, Tingwick, Warwick, Horton, Wendover, Simpson, Kingsey, Durham, Wickham, Grantham, Upton, and Acton, with all augmentations of said townships.

SHERBROOKE—Contains the townships of Garthby, Hatford, Whitton, Marston, Clinton, Wobrom, Stanhope, Croydon, Chesham, Adstock, Lingwick, Weedon, Dudswell, Bury, Hampden, Ditton, Emberton, Drayton, Auckland, Newport, Westbury, Stoke, Ascot, Eaton, Hereford, Compton, Clifton, Windsor, Brompton, Shipton, Melbourne, and Oxford, with all augmentations of said townships.

STANSTEAD—Contains the townships of Hatley, Barnston, Barford, Stanstead, Bolton, and Potton, with all augmentations of said townships.

MISSISKOUI—Contains the seigniory of St Armand, and the townships of Sutton, Dunham, and Stanbridge, with all augmentations of said townships.

SHEFFORD—Contains the townships of Ely, Stukely, Brome, Shefford, Roxton, Milton, Granby, and Farnham, with augmentations of said townships.

RICHELIEU—Comprehends the seigniories of St Ours and augmentation, St Dennis, St Charles, Sorel, Bourchemin, west of the Yamaska, Bourg Marie, and St Charles on the Yamaska, with the isles Cochon, Madame, Ronde, De Grace, Aux Ours, Battures à la Carpe, Isles du Sable, du Moine, and du Basque in the St Lawrence, and the isles in the Richelieu, nearest the county.

ST HYACINTHE—Comprehends the seigniories of

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De Ramsay, Bourchemin, east of Yamaska, and St Hyacinthe.

ROUVILLE—Comprising the seigniories of Rouville, Chambly, East Monnoir and augmentation, Bleury, Sabrevois, Noyan, and Foucault.

VERCHERES—Comprehends the seigniories of Contrecœur, Bellevue, Vercheres, Blain, Guillodière, Cape Michel, Varennes, Belœil and augmentation, Cournoyer, and all the islands in the St Lawrence opposite the same, isle Bouchard excepted.

CHAMBLY—Comprehending the seigniories of Boucherville, Montarville, Longueuil, Fief Tremblay, Chambly west, and the barony of Longueuil.

LAPRAIRIE—Comprehends the seigniories of Laprairie, Sault St Louis, La Salle, and Chanteauguay, and the isles nearest to the county.

L'ACADIE—Comprehends the seigniories of Lacolle and De Lery, and the township of Sherrington, also the lands nearest to the county.

BEAUHARNOIS—Comprises the seigniory of Beauharnois, and the townships of Hemmingford, Hinchinbrook, and Godmanchester, and the Indian lands thereof, to St Regis, on the boundary of the province.

VAUDREUIL—Comprises the seigniories of Vaudreuil, Rigaud, Soulanges, and New Longueuil, and the township of Newton.

OTTAWA—Comprises the seigniory of La Petite Nation, and the townships of Lochaber and augmentation, Buckingham, Templeton, Hull, Eardly, Onslow, and all the townships on the north of the Ottawa.

TWO MOUNTAINS—Comprises the seigniories of

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Revière du Chêne, Lake of the Two Mountains and augmentation, Argenteuil, the townships of Chatham, Grenville, and Wentworth, Hamington, Arundel, and Howard, the parishes of St Eustache, St Benòit, St Scholastique, Lake of the Two Mountains, and isle Bizarre.

TERREBONNE—Comprehends the seigniories of isle Jesus, Terrebonne and augmentation, Des Plaines, Blainville, part of Mille Isles and augmentation, and the township of Abercrombie.

LACHENAIE—Comprehends the parishes of Lachenaie, Mascouche, and St Roche, and townships of Kilkenny and Wexford.

L'ASSOMPTION.—Comprehends the parishes of St Sulpice, comprising isle Bouchard, Repentigny, L'Assomption, and St Jacques, and townships of Rawdon and Chertsey.

MONTREAL—Comprehending the seigniory of Montreal.

BERTHIER—Comprises the seigniories of Berthier and augmentation, Du Sable or York, part of Masquinongé, Fief Chicot, Lanoraye, Dautray and augmentations, Lavaltrie and augmentation, Daillebout, and De Ramsay, part of Lanaudiére, and the townships of Brandon, Kildare, and the islands of St Ignace, and Du Pads.

ST MAURICE—Comprises the seigniories of St Marguerite, St Maurice, Point du Lac, Gatineau, Yamachiche, Rivière du Loup, Grand Pré, Fief St Jean and its augmentation, Masquinongè, Carufel, and part of Lanaudiére.

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CHAMPLAIN—Comprises the seigniories of St Anne and augmentation, St Marie, Batiscan, Champlain, Cap de la Magdelene, and all the islands nearest the said county.

PORTNEUF—Comprises the seigniories of Guadaville, Fossambault, Augustin, Guillaume Bonhomme, Point aux Trembles, Bourg-Louis, Belair and augmentation, Dauteuil, Jacques Cartier, Portneuf, Perthuis, Deschambault, Lachevrotiere, La Tesserie, Francheville, Grondines and augmentation.

QUEBEC—Comprises the seigniories of Beauport, Notre Dame des Anges, Dorsainville, Lepinay, Fief St Ignace, Fief Hubert, Sillery, and St Gabriel, the townships of Stoneham and Tewkesbury, and the parishes of Beauport, Charlesbourg, St Ambrose, Jeune Lorette, part of Ancienne Lorette, St Foi, and of Quebec.

MONTMORENCY—Comprehending the parishes of St Fèrèol, St Joachim, St Anne, Chateau Richer, and L'Ange Gardien.

SAGUENAY—Comprises part of the seigniory of Beaupré, Gouffré, Eboulemens, Murray Bay, and Mount Murray, and the township of Settington.

ORLEANS—Comprehending the whole of the island of that name.

The first Provincial Parliament, elected agreeably to the new scale of representation, assembled in December last (1830). Under the former plan, the representation was far from equal, as it was nearly altogether vested in the seigniories. Great and good expectations are anticipated from the remodelled

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House of Representatives; but until the laws of Canada correspond also, as those of the other colonies do, with a free representative government, sufficient causes will exist for creating fresh difficulties in the administration of the government and laws.

The office of the Governor of Canada is both civil and military, and he is Captain-General of all British America. There is also a lieutenant-governor, who, in the absence of the governor-general, succeeds to the administration, and, in the absence of both, the President of the Executive Council, which represents the Privy Council in England, administers the government.

The Legislative Council, representing the Lords, and the House of Assembly, representing the Commons, form the Provincial Parliament of Canada. Bills passed by both Houses become laws when assented to by the governor or his representative. Some bills require to be sent to his Majesty for the royal allowance. Acts of the Provincial Parliament, which repeal or annul such laws and customs as were formerly established respecting tythes, or laws respecting the appropriation of land for the support of Protestant clergymen; the right of the clergy to recover dues to ecclesiastics; the constituting and endowing of parsonages and rectories; the right of presentation to the same; the establishment and discipline of the Church of England; and the king's prerogative concerning the granting of waste lands in the province, are to be laid before the Imperial Parliament, before receiving the royal allowance.

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The Provincial Parliament has the exclusive right of raising a revenue for the expenses and exigencies of the colony.

The members of the Legislative Council must be natural born subjects; or they must be naturalized according to act of Parliament. Their appointment is for life, unless they be at one time five years absent from the province. The members of the House of Assembly for the counties, are elected by those who possess landed property of the clear yearly value of forty shillings; and for the towns, by five-pound freeholders, or L.10 annualrent payers—clergymen are not eligible—men of all religions, by the constitution, are tolerated to sit. Some years ago, Mr Hart, a Jew, and according to the information given me, a very respectable intelligent man, was elected to represent Three Rivers; but the House of Assembly took upon themselves to expel him on account of his religion. He was re-elected, and again expelled.

In the Supreme Court of King's Bench, all civil matters over L.10 sterling, except those of admiralty jurisdiction, and all criminal offences, are adjudicated.

The province is divided into the superior districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and the inferior districts of Gaspè, and St Francis. In the Court of King's Bench at Quebec, and also at Montreal, a chief justice and three puisne judges preside.

In the court at Three Rivers, the several judges of the Court of King's Bench for the districts of Quebec and Montreal preside, and take precedence according

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to the date of their respective commissions. The provincial judge of the district also sits in this court; but on hearing criminal matters, the chief justice of the province, or the chief justice of Montreal, must preside. Inferior courts, in which a provincial judge presides, are also held in each of the districts, for deciding causes not exceeding L.10.

The provincial court for Gaspè has, however, cognizance of all matters not exceeding L.100; appeals from its decision may be made to the court at Quebec.

The provincial court for the district of St Francis, is only empowered to decide matters of dispute not exceeding L.20.

There is also a Provincial Court of Appeals, which decides according to the usage of the House of Lords. The governor, the chief justice of the province, the chief justice of Montreal, and the executive council, form this court.

In the Court of Chancery the governor is chancellor. There is also a Court of Vice-Admiralty; a Court of Escheats and Forfeitures of Land; and in each of the districts, quarter-sessions of the peace are held. The duties of the high and under-sheriffs, and coroners, are nearly the same as in England. The Court of King's Bench has also a clerk of the crown, prothonotaries, commissioners for receiving evidence, French translator and interpreter, with the usual offices, such as criers, constables, jailers, &c.

In the seigniories and townships there are commissioners appointed for the summary trial of small

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causes, and justices of the peace take cognizance of offences, as in England. There are nearly 200 lawyers on the rolls of the Court of King's Bench, all of whom are solicitors, proctors, and attorneys, as well as advocates. Many of them are men of learning and talent; and to become an able lawyer in the courts of Lower Canada, assuredly requires not only superior abilities, but great application, both in English and French, to the study of the complex laws of the province. The barristers acted formerly as notaries, but the latter now form a distinct profession, which may be said to monopolize the engrossing of all records that may, by any possibility, ever become subject of dispute. Each notary's office is in fact a sort of register-office. There are nearly 300 notaries in the province, and mostly Canadians.

The laws of Lower Canada may be classed under the following general heads:—

1. The criminal law, which consists of the code of England in full, with some provincial statutes not repugnant thereto.

2. The admiralty laws, which are wholly English.

3. The commercial laws, which affect matters of trade, chiefly those that may have originated in places or countries not within the limits of Canada. These laws are regulated nearly according to English practice, except that there are juries only for the trial of criminal offences.

4. The *Coutume de Paris*, as it existed in 1666, in which year this code was reformed.

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5. The civil or Roman law where the Coutume de Paris is silent.

6. The *ordonnances*, edicts, and declarations of the French governors of Canada.

7. The provincial legislative laws.

The French laws affect all property, whether real or personal, in the seigniories; and by the constitutional act of 1791, even lands in the townships, granted in free and common soccage, are subject to all the incidents of the Coutume de Paris. The Canada Tenure Act of 1826, declares, "that the law of England was the rule by which real property within the townships was to be hereafter regulated and administered."

According to the Canada laws and tenures, we find, in the present day, estates held according to the old French feudatory system. The seigneurs and *habitans* are fondly and pertinaciously attached to it. The English as strongly object to all its operations.*

Under this system estates are held nobly as *fiefs*, or *franc aleu noble*; and in *villainage*, subject to *cens* or *censive*, and *franc aleu villain*.

All the lands on both shores of the River St Lawrence, from Rimouski to Longueuil, thirty miles above Montreal, were granted by the French king to certain personages, who became *seigneurs*. The tenure was *feudal*, holding immediately of the king *en fief*, or *en roture*, with *foi et homage* to him.

The seigneurs conceded their lands in lots of

* Note A.

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about seventy arpents (about seventy acres) to tenants, who paid nothing at first, but, on cultivating the soil, gave the seigneur a small sum of five shillings or more, a bushel of wheat, and a couple of fowls, or something else, which they raised on the farm, in the lieu of rent, together with certain services; and they were also to grind their corn at his mill, of which he retained *banalité*, or *mouture*, a fourteenth part, as the miller's fee.

The seigneur is also entitled to one tenth part of the fish caught on his property; and he may cut down timber growing on the *cencives*, for the purpose of building mills, opening roads, and making bridges, as being works of general benefit to his tenants. The *seigneurs* have certain powers which enable them to oppress the *censitaires*, but they rarely or never exercise their authority; and the *habitans*, having always experienced kind usage, are perfectly happy.

The King of France was feudal lord of the Canadian seigniories, and the King of Great Britain succeeded to this prerogative.

On all transfers of landed property in the seigniories, mutation fines are due, either to the feudal lord, or seigneur. These fines, as well as some other rights, claims, and descents, have acquired names from the *Coutume de Paris*, which are now heard daily, in the language of common parlance, in Canada, and therefore require some explanation.

Quints is a fifth part of the purchase-money of an estate held *en fief*, which must be paid by the pur-

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chaser to the feudal lord, that is, to the king. If the feudal lord believes the *fief* to be sold under value, he can take the estate to himself by paying the purchaser the price he gave for it, with all reasonable expenses.*

Reliefe is the rent or revenue of one year for mutation fine, when an estate is inherited only by collateral descent.

Lods et ventes are fines of alienation of one-twelfth part of the purchase-money paid to the seigneur by the purchaser, on the transfer of property, in the same manner as *quints* are paid to the king on the mutation of *fiefs*; and are held *en roture*, which is an estate to which heirs succeed equally.

Franc aleu noble is a fief, or freehold estate, held subject to no seigniorial rights or duties, and acknowledging no lord but the king.

The succession to fiefs is different from that of property held *en roture*, or by *villainage*. The eldest son, by right, takes the chateau, and the yard adjoining it; also an *arpent* of the garden joining the manor-house, and the mills, ovens, or presses within the seigniory, belong to him; but the profit arising from these is to be divided among the other heirs. Females have no precedence of right; and when there are only daughters, the *fief* is equally divided among them. When there are only two sons, the eldest takes two-thirds of the lands, besides the chateau, mill, &c., and the younger one-third. When

* The Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report on the affairs of Canada in 1828, recommended the crown to relinquish the quints.

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there are several sons, the elder claims half the lands, and the rest have the other half divided among them.

Censive is an estate held in the feudal manner, subject to the seigneurial fines or dues. All the Canadian *habitans*, or small farmers, are *censitaires*.

Property, according to the laws of Canada, is either *propre*, that is, held by descent, or *acquits*, which means being acquired by industry or other means.

Communitè de bien is partnership in property by marriage; for the wife, by this law, becomes an equal partner in whatever the husband possessed before and acquires after marriage, and the husband is placed in the same position in respect to the wife's dowery property. This law might operate as well as most general laws, if both *husband* and *femme* closed the *finale* of life on the same day; but very unhappy consequences have arisen when the one died before the other. For instance, when the wife dies before the husband, the children may claim half of all the father's property, as heirs to the mother; and the mother's relations have often persuaded, and sometimes compelled them, so to do.

It would be almost impossible to have formed a law pregnant with more prolific causes of family discord, or more destructive of that affection which always ought to subsist between parents and children. So fully, in fact, do the most simple *habitans* apprehend the unhappy operations of this law, that scarcely any of them marry without an antinuptial contract, which bars the *communitè de bien*.

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The *dot*, or dowery, is the property which the wife puts into the *communitè de bien:* movable or immovable property, falling to her by descent, is a *propre*, and does not me e in the *communitè*.

Dower, in Canada, is either customary or stipulated. The first consists of half the property which the husband was possessed of at the time of marriage, and half of all the property which he may inherit or acquire—of this the wife has the use for life, and the children may claim it on her death. If they be not of age, the wife's relations can take it out of the father's hands for them, and may compel him to sell his property to make a division. Stipulated dower is a portion which the husband gives instead of the customary dower.

The laws of Canada are in many respects good; they bear a resemblance to those of Scotland; and if they were not mixed up with the laws of England, they might operate in Canada much in the same way as the Scotch laws do in Scotland.

The revenue of Lower Canada amounts to about L.140,000, exclusive of an allowance for duties to Upper Canada. It arises principally from impost duties on articles of luxury, and partly from his Majesty's rents, which consist of the *droit de quint*, depending in amount on the frequency and value of the mutation of fiefs; of the rents of the king's ports at Sagunnay, Port Neuf, &c., and let to the Hudson's Bay Company as stations for the fur-trade; of the rents of the royal forges at St Maurice; of the monies arising from the Jesuits' estates, &c.

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The public accounts for the year 1829, produced the following statement:—

The gross receipts of duties, &c., without any deduction, ...		L.172,091	2 2¾
Outstanding on bonds,	L.19,021 1 6		
Salaries, Commissions, &c.	8,774 17 10½		
Drawbacks, . .	403 15 0		
		L.28,199	14 4½
Net income paid into the Province Treasury,		L.143,891	7 10¼
Further expenses of collection and repayment of duties, . .	L.3,387 6 3		
Portion payable to Upper Canada, under Canada Trade Act,	31,209 19 9		
		L.34,597	6 0
Net available income of the province for the year, 1829, . . .		L.109,294	1 10¼

The increase over last year, is L.15,194, 5s. 3¾d.

The revenues claimed by the crown as at its disposal, (termed appropriated,) amount to L.41,483, 3s. 9d.

In 1807, the gross revenue only amounted to L.31,000. In 1829, the House of Assembly voted L.35,000 for the improvement of roads alone. The revenue is appropriated by the legislature to the payment of the civil list, the execution of public works, to the encouragement of education, agriculture, trade, &c.

The principal officers on the civil list are the governor-general, lieutenant-governor, Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspè, Chief-Justice of Quebec and the Province, Chief-Justice of Montreal, six puisne judges, Provincial Judge of Three Rivers, Provincial

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Judge of Gaspè, Provincial Judge of St Francis, attorney-general, advocate-general, solicitor-general, Judge of the Court of Vice-admiralty, receiver-general, provincial secretary and registrar, civil secretary to the governor, auditor-general of accounts, inspector-general of accounts, surveyor-general, the officers of the Executive and Legislative Councils and House of Assembly; French translator to the governor, printers to the government, masters and clerks in Chancery, inspector-general of the king's domain, and clerk of the land roll, auditor of land patents, grand voyers of the province, or chief inspectors of roads, &c., one for each district; post-master-general, surveyor-general of woods and forests, superintendent-general of the Indian department, storekeeper-general of the Indian department, commissioner for the sale and management of crown lands, superintendent of emigrants and settlers in the Canadas; commissioners of roads throughout the province, commissioners for the improvement of internal navigation, commissioner for the erection and repairing of public buildings, commissioners for exploring the country, and commissioners for the management of the Jesuits' estates. There are also various municipal officers in the towns.*

The roads in Canada along the St Lawrence were first opened through the seigniories by the *censitaires* or *habitans*, each of whom still repairs the road crossing his own farm. The expense of erecting bridges, and opening new roads, is principally defrayed by the money voted by the legislature, and

* Note B.

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placed under the management of special commissioners. There are scarcely any public burdens; no taxes, nor poor laws. Whenever cases of distress occur, relief is afforded by benevolent contribution.

The militia laws are much the same as in Nova Scotia, and the Canadians are ever ready to observe them. Their officers are chiefly Canadians; and the *habitans*, who are drilled in their own language, attend to their orders without dispute or hesitation. Command them *au nom du roi*, and they may be led to any part of the province.

In 1828, the total strength of the militia of Lower Canada consisted of 81,649 men liable to march in case of invasion, divided into sixty-two battalions, and commanded by 2434 officers. There are also four companies of cavalry troops, and two battalions of volunteers, which, added to the militia, makes the effective force of the province about 85,000. The staff of the militia consists of the governor-general as commander-in-chief, three aides-de-camp, eight lieutenant-colonels, four majors, adjutant-general, deputy adjutant-general, assistant adjutant-general, paymaster-general, quarter-master-general, judge advocate-general, superintendent-general of hospitals, and surgeon-general.

The Indian department of Lower Canada consists of a chief-superintendent, under-superintendent, resident agent and secretaries, four residents, one clerk, four interpreters, one schoolmaster, and four missionaries.

The naval department of Lower Canada is almost

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too trifling to notice, and consists of a small establishment at Isle aux Noix, on the Richelieu, near Lake Champlain, where there are a captain and lieutenant superintending.

There are also stationed in Lower Canada the greater part of three regiments of foot, two companies of artillery, and two companies of royal engineers.

The several departments connected with the army are the military secretary's office, in which there are also an assistant military secretary, and four clerks; quartermaster-general's department, the officers of which are, the deputy quartermaster-general, and two clerks; the governor and lieutenant-governor of the garrison at Quebec; the town-majors of Quebec and Montreal; a foot-adjutant and commandant at Isle aux Noix; a foot-adjutant at Coteau du Lac; a commandant at Quebec, at Montreal, and St Helen's.

The royal engineer department, the officers of which, stationed in Lower Canada, are a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two captains, two lieutenants, with an assistant-engineer, twelve clerks of the works, three overseers, two master smiths, a master carpenter, a master mason, and a foreman of labourers.

The ordnance department has two ordnance storekeepers, two deputies, and eight clerks; and the barrack department has a barrack-master at each of the garrisons at Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Coteau du Lac, William Henry, Chambly, Laprairie, and Isle aux Noix.

The commissariat department is superintended by

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a commissary-general, under whom there are a deputy commissary-general, assistant commissary-general, eighteen deputy assistant commissary-generals, and four treasury clerks; and in the department of commissary of accounts, there are one deputy commissary-general, one assistant commissary-general, three deputy assistant commissary-generals, and one clerk.

The medical department consists of a *deputy-inspector* of hospitals, an apothecary to the forces, two staff-surgeons, two hospital-assistants, a medical attendant, and purveyor's clerk.

The post-office department is under the same regulations as in England. The general post-office of Quebec is superintended by the deputy postmaster-general of British North America; and there are sixty-two post-offices established for the convenience of the inhabitants in various parts of Lower Canada, and sixty-four in Upper Canada.

His Majesty's customs for the port of Quebec, controls the entries at all the ports of the province. The officers at Quebec are, the collector, controller, surveyor, naval officer, three clerks, four searchers and waiters, tide-surveyor, two tidesmen, admeasurer of ships, warehouse-keeper, locker, and messenger. At Montreal there are but three officers—the surveyor, waiter and searcher, and tide-surveyors. At St John's, Lake Champlain, there are a collector, controller, gauger, and two land-waiters. At Coteau du Lac there are a collector and a controller; at Sherbrooke, and at Nouvelle Beauce, there is at

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each a collector; and at Gaspè, New Carlisle, and Magdalene Islands, there is at each place a sub-collector. There are land-waiters at Lacole, Compton, and Stanstead; and inspectors of merchandise, scows, and rafts, at Chateaugny and Coteau du Lac. Before all the fees were abolished, and salaries established, the incomes of the officers of the customs, that of the collector in particular, were enormous; and the merchants of Quebec addressed the Treasury afterwards, complaining of the illegal exaction of fees by the collector, for which he was prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench; and the Legislature passed several resolutions, charging him with illegally retaining L.6424 of the monies collected at the customs. The fees of the Court of Vice-admiralty are also considered just causes of complaint.

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CHAPTER VI.

Configuration and General Aspect of Canada—Geological Structure—Organic Remains—*Steps*—Mineralogy—Western Region—Rocky Mountains, Climate, &c.

CANADA may be said to present the most extraordinary and grand configuration of any country in the world. From the eastern extremity of this vast region, rising abruptly out of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to the Rocky Mountains, the natural features of its lands and waters exhibit romantic sublimities and picturesque beauties, amidst the variety and grandeur of which the imagination wanders and loses itself, luxuriating among boundless forests, magnificent rivers, vast chains of mountains, immense lakes, extensive prairies, and roaring cataracts.

The mind, on sailing up the St Lawrence, is occupied under impressions, and with ideas, as varied as they are great and interesting. The ocean-like width of this mighty river where it joins the gulf,—the great distance (about 3000 miles) between its vast *débouché* and the source of the most westerly of its streams,—the numerous lakes, cataracts, and rivers, which form its appendages,—the wide and important regions, exhibiting mountains, valleys, forests, plains, and savannahs, which border on these innumerable lakes and rivers,—their natural resour-

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ces,—their discovery and settlement, and the vast field thrown open in consequence for the enterprise, industry, and capital of mankind, are subjects so great, and so fertile in materials for speculative theories, as well as practical undertakings and gainful pursuits, that the imagination strives in vain to create an empire so grand and powerful as that to which the energy of succeeding generations will likely raise a country possessed of such vast and splendid capabilities as those of the Canadas.*

The natural aspect, configuration, and geological structure of Canada, exhibit the greatest diversity of appearance.

On the south side of the St Lawrence, from Gaspè to some miles above Point Levi, opposite Quebec, the whole country presents high mountains, valleys, and forests. These mountains appear equally as lofty as any of the Alleghany chain, of which range they form a part.

Their height has not, however, been ascertained, but they have been considered as lofty as the Pyrenees. I have seen various parts of their outline and summits rising in the interior, when I was on the sea, at least a hundred miles distant. The prevailing rocks are granite, in vast strata, but sometimes in boulders between the mountains and the shore; greywacke and clay-slate also occur, with limestone occasionally; and various other rocks, usually detached, present them-

* Note C.

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selves. The mountains and valleys are thickly wooded:—the soil is productive along the banks of the St Lawrence; and, according to the usual indications of fertility in the valleys of the interior, equally fit for cultivation. The lower islands of the St Lawrence are mere inequalities of the vast granite strata which occasionally protrude over the level of the river. The Kamouraska Islands, and the Penguins in particular, exhibit this appearance; and in the parish of Kamouraska huge masses of granite rise into sharp conical hills, one of which is 500 feet *high*, with smooth sides, and scarcely a fissure.

At St Roch the post-road leads for more than a mile under a perpendicular ridge of granite, 300 feet high.

The north coast of the St Lawrence, below Quebec, exhibits trap rocks, clay-slate, various detached rocks, and granite occasionally; the latter is considered to prevail in the interior country, and particularly as forming the base of the mountains of Labrador, and of the country north of Quebec. Cape Tourment, thirty miles from Quebec, is a round massive granite mountain, about 1000 feet high, and a ramification of the rugged interior chain. The lands situated on the north shores of the St Lawrence, below the River Saguenay, are not near so high as those on the south coast; but their features are remarkably rugged and forbidding, and apparently nowhere fit for cultivation. Numerous small rapid rivers, frequented plentifully by salmon, roll from the moun-

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tains over rugged channels, or foam over precipices into the St Lawrence.

Except in the bogs or marshes, rocks obtrude on the surface in all parts; although the country is generally covered with wood, yet the trees are far from attaining the size of those on the south coast. In various parts I observed extraordinary deep fissures, from six inches to two feet wide, and apparently many feet deep, dividing the rocks as if they had been cracked by the action of fire, or some volcanic shock: intense frost may have been the agent. In many places these fissures, hidden from view by various creeping shrubs, formed the most dangerous traps. The Indians have told me that they have seen some of these rents several miles in length, about a foot broad, and from forty to fifty feet deep.

As we approach Quebec, a reddish, or dark clay-slate appears as the prevailing rock, and it forms the bed of the St Lawrence to Kingston and Niagara. Boulders of granite, limestone, sandstone, sienite, trap, and marble, occur as detached rocks in the same extensive region.

Above the Rapids of Richelieu, where the mountains commence retreating to the south and north, a flat country prevails, until we reach Queenston Heights. The greater part of the soil of the low lands is apparently of alluvial formation; and twenty to fifty-five feet rise of the waters would nearly cover the whole country between the Alleghanies and the high lands of the north. The exceptions to this general rule are, the Beleoil mountain, the highest summit

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of which is about 1200 feet high. This mountain is an abrupt termination of a branch of the Green Mountains, and divides the waters of Lake Champlain from the sources of the Rivers St Francis and Yamasca. The mountain to which Montreal owes its name, the rocks of which appear to be principally of the trap family, accompanied by limestone, is another exception. Whenever rapids occur, we find the elevation of the country increasing, and limestone generally accompanying the prevailing rocks. The step of country formed by the calcareous ridge, which commences at Queenston Height, and which rests on a bluish clay-slate, is elevated about 350 feet above the shores of Lake Ontario; and the upper country, the base of which is limestone, is generally level, until we approach the high lands between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. This calcareous region abounds in organic remains, some of which, particularly the serpents in nests, are very rare and beautiful;* and in many places petrified horns and bones of wild animals, shells, trees, &c., have been frequently dug up. The limestone rocks of the Manitoulin Islands, in Lake Huron, contain similar organic remains to those that occur abundantly in the limestone rocks which prevail as the base of the Island of Anticosti. Along the north coasts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, granite predominates. Some distance back from the lakes and rivers, *steps* or *ramps*, which are abrupt elevations, occur. They seem to have formed, at some

* Note D.

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period, the banks or beaches along which the waters flowed. Behind the first of these steps table land generally extends for some distance, or until a second step and flat land occur, sometimes followed by a third and fourth ramp. These appear at Malbay, Lake St Peter, Lake Huron, and at many other places. Indications of volcanic eruptions appear at St Paul's Bay, and on the mountains north of Quebec. The great earthquake of 1663 is said to have overturned a chain of freestone mountains 300 miles long, north of the St Lawrence, and levelled them with the plains. We cannot, however, consider the authority we find in the journals of the Jesuits as sufficient to establish this circumstance, when the configuration of the adjoining country has not apparently been disturbed.

Canada is considered rich in minerals. Iron of the best quality has been found in great abundance. Silver has been picked up in small quantities; lead, tin, and copper, have been discovered in several places. We are, however, still ignorant of the mineral riches, and even of the geology of these regions.* The researches of the Montreal Natural History Society, lead us to expect important discoveries. The following extract from the Canadian Review, enumerates most of the minerals that have been discovered:—"The mineralogy of the Canadas has hitherto been almost altogether neglected; but the imperfect researches which

* Coal has not yet been discovered in Canada, although it is found in such extensive fields in the lower province.

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have been made, prove it to be rich in the scarcer kinds of minerals, and not deficient in those applicable to economical purposes. Petalite, one of the rarest substances in the world, and remarkable for containing the newly discovered fourth alkali, lithia, was sent from York, in Upper Canada, in 1820, by Dr Lyon, surgeon to the forces. Beryl is found at Lake of Woods; Labrador felspar (Lake Huron); axinite (Hawkesbury Ottawa, the only place *in North America*); aventurine (Lake Huron); amethyst (Lakes Superior and Huron); apatite, a phosphate of lime, (Fort Wellington,) may be added among others; Aragonite (Laclina); strontian, in magnificent forms, (Erie, Ontario, &c.); schorl (St Lawrence); precious and manganesian garnet (River Moira, Ontario, &c.); cornelian, agate, zeolite, prehnite, barytes and fluor spar (Lake Superior); brown and green cocolite (Montreal and Hall Ottawa); olivine, augite, (Montreal); staurotide (Rainy Lake); and the very rare authophyllite (Fort Wellington). Marbles and serpentine are quite common. Plumbago, ores of antimony, lead, iron, and copper, are frequently met with. The northern and western shores of Lake Ontario abound in salt springs, some of which (Stony Creek and St Catherine's) are very productive, even with the employment of small capital. The north shore of Lake Erie exhibits immense beds of gypsum, the principal of which is in Dumfries, and quarried largely for the purpose of agriculture."

The region between Lakes Michigan and Superior and the Rocky Mountains, is generally flat; and in

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this territory are situated the largest savannas, or prairies, in the world. The lands separating the rivers which fall into the lakes of Canada, and those of the Mississippi and Missouri, are generally low, and sufficiently overflowed in spring to allow a communication with canoes.

The Rocky Mountains are vast chains, extending north and south from Mexico to the Arctic regions, and dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic rivers from those of the Pacific. These mountains are considered from 9000 to 11,000 feet high; and, where crossed between the latitudes of 44° and 48° N., covered for from forty to sixty miles over with eternal snow.

The western regions are but imperfectly explored. It would appear, from the outlines of some of the old French maps, that the remote parts of Canada were better known before the conquest of Quebec than since that period. Scientific men were employed to explore Canada by the French authorities; but their journals and maps were removed from the colony before it came under the power of England, and lodged in the "Bureau de la Marine" at Paris.

The forests and wild animals of Canada, I have already described in a former book.

The temperature of the climate of Canada is much colder at Quebec, and along the river St Lawrence to the eastward, than at Montreal or Upper Canada. The duration of winter is frequently two months longer. Severe frosts commence in November, and ice seldom disappears until the last week of April. In

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summer the heat is as intense as in the United States, and very oppressive; but when the wind shifts to the north, the temperature, particularly below Quebec, changes suddenly, often from 120° Fahr. to 60° or under. These transitions are not, however, frequent. The average summer heat in the shade is about 82°; it is sometimes 104°. Snow falls in great quantities at one time, but long periods of the clearest frosty weather intervene between the snow storms. In 1790, mercury froze at Quebec. It is often 60° Fahr. below the freezing point; 20° is about the average. Some years ago, an officer of the royal artillery tried several experiments at Quebec with bombshells, in order to ascertain the expansion and consequent power of freezing water. The shells were nearly filled with water, and an iron plug was driven into the fuse hole by a sledge-hammer; the temperature was 51° Fahr. below the freezing point. When the water froze, the plug was forced out with great velocity and a loud report. When a plug was used that had notched springs, which expanded within the cavity, the shell always burst. A plug two and a half ounces weight, was thrown four hundred and fifteen yards, with the elevation of the fuse axis at 45°. Rocks, particularly those of the calcareous, schistous, and sandstone order, are often rent by the expansive force of intense frosts.

The climate of Montreal and the upper country, is nearly in every respect similar to the general system and theory of the climate, as treated of in the first volume of this work.

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Canada is eminently blest with a remarkably clear atmosphere. The sky at Montreal, both in summer and winter, is beautifully bright. I have often heard it compared to that of the Mediterranean. Rains in summer and autumn are far from being frequent, but they fall in great quantities at one time. Thunder storms are remarkably violent, but of short duration. Squalls of wind are frequent on the lakes and rivers, in the vicinity of high lands. Strong gales of wind occur in Canada about the 20th of October. They sometimes, particularly on the great lakes, resemble perfect hurricanes.

Volney observes, that there is a correspondence of time and action between these hurricanes and those of the Gulf of Mexico; and Dr Franklin, with his usual sagacity, on remarking this periodical disturbance of the air, inferred that the *focus* of the movement existed in the Gulf of Mexico.

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CHAPTER VII.

Coast of the River St Lawrence from Gaspè to Quebec—Bay of Seven Islands—Trinity—Manicougan Shoals—Port Neuf—South Shore—Cape Gaspè — Anse de l'Etang — Matane—Mitis—Rimouski—Bique—Trois Pistoles—Appearance of the South Coast—Roads, Travelling—Canadian Parishes—Auberges—Churches—*Habitans'* Houses—Rivière de Loup—Kamouraska—St Anne's—St Thomas'—*Habitans* on Sunday—Moral Character—Point Levi—North Coast—Tadousac—Saguénay—Malbary — St Paul's—Islands in the St Lawrence—Orleans, &c.

THE coast and interior country of Lower Canada, from Cape Gaspè to the Paps of Matan, a distance of about 200 miles, still exhibits the same primeval wildness which this portion of the western world presented to Cartier 296 years ago. The northern shores, from Labrador to Tadousac, are equally desolate; and, if we except the king's posts at Seven Islands' Bay and Port Neuf, we discover no signs of art or civilisation, no traces of the industry or enterprise of man. A few miserable wandering Montagnez Indians, and a few transient fishermen and furriers, are the only human beings that frequent this cold, desert, and barren region. The vast country which lies between the lower shores of the St Lawrence and Hudson Bay, seems, indeed, unfit for any other inhabitants, save the ruthless Esquimaux, or hardy Mountaineer Indian, who wander along its

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waters, or traverse its wastes; yet the vast swarms of salmon that frequent its rivers, and the remarkably fine fur of its wild animals, offer sufficient temptations to the adventurous, and sources of profit to the industrious.

The Bay of Seven Islands lies on the north coast of the St Lawrence, which at this point is seventy miles broad. It derives its name from seven high rugged islands which lie at its entrance. There is deep water close to these islands, which rise abruptly out of the sea, and from ten to fifty fathoms depth of water in the bay. It forms within, a large round basin; and the lands at its head appear sinking low in the horizon, while those on each side are high and rugged. Here there is a king's post rented to the Hudson Bay Company. Humpback whales enter this bay, in which they are sometimes pursued, both by the American and Gaspè whalers.

The best track, sailing up the St Lawrence, nearly as far as Tadousac, especially with contrary winds, is along the north coast. The current always runs so strongly down along the south shore, that it can only be stemmed with a fair wind. The shores of Anticosti are flat, but the soundings are regular; and lighthouses are erecting on the east and west points of this dangerous island. The Labrador coast may be safely approached. It affords harbours, and excellent anchorage, and the tides are nearly regular. Trinity, a little below Point des Monts-Pilès, on which there is also a lighthouse erecting, is a place where ships anchor in proceeding up the St Law-

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rence with a head wind.* Pilots usually meet vessels between Point des Monts and Cape Chat, which is nearly opposite, on the south side. There are two formidable dangers off the north shore, between Point des Monts and Tadousac. The first is a rocky shoal, extending several miles off and along the coast at Manicougan. Several ships have been

* On my last sailing up the St Lawrence, we anchored here for some days, close alongside of several ships. One of these was a passenger ship from Ireland; and a most miserable appearance did the poor beings make who were on board of her. Squalid poverty, aggravated by being crammed thickly together in the ship's hold, presented as deplorable a picture of human wretchedness as I have ever witnessed. Their total want of money, or requisite necessaries, and their utter ignorance of the country to which they were going, or how they were to procure the means of living, afforded a subject of abundant interest for the destinies of families, consisting of old men and women, middle-aged, and young children. On board of another ship, which had sailed from London, there were a few English passengers; among whom I observed a genteel-looking woman, walking on the deck, with three pretty and neatly dressed children. She seemed, however, to have known better days, and to have been forced from a once comfortable home by the pressure of poverty; at least, the care-worn countenance of her husband, who came on deck soon after, justified this conclusion; for his wife was rather cheerful than otherwise. She certainly bore her troubles, whatever they might be, with more firmness than her husband; and I have seldom observed a more unaffected or interesting exemplification of the sacred affection of the mother and wife, than in this woman. She had suffered greatly from sea-sickness; but trusted that soon after their arrival at Quebec, they would be settled in a tolerably comfortable way in some part of Canada.

They were also ignorant of the country, and formed their conclusions according to English habits and occupations. Thousands similarly situated leave the United Kingdom for North America.

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stranded on it. The other is a lesser danger, lying off Point de Mille Vaches, a little above the king's post at Port Neuf. There is no further danger until we pass the mouth of the River Saguenay; and I therefore return to sketch a brief description of the south coast of the St Lawrence, which has hitherto been neglected in all the English accounts of Canada that I have seen. The counties of Gaspè, Rimouski, and Kamouraska, comprehending a valuable territory, extending about 300 miles along the River St Lawrence, are less known in England than Kamschatka.

Cape Gaspè is rather high, and its rocky cliffs are perpendicular. Cape Rosier is low, but the land behind rises into high round hills; and the whole is covered with trees of various kinds. The coast preserves this character as we proceed up the St Lawrence, and generally slopes, covered with trees, to the water's edge. At Great Fox River there are a few fishermen; and at Anse de l'Etang, twelve leagues above Cape Gaspè, there is a small harbour for shallops. It may be known by a remarkably high wooded conical hill on the east side, and by a beach with a few huts and stages on the west. Some of the *habitans* of the parish of St Thomas, on the River de Sud, thirty miles below Quebec, frequent this place during the cod-fishing season. The river issues from several lakes, one of which is only half a mile through the woods from the fish stages.* Fishermen also fre-

* I landed at this place, and travelled up to the lake. The river descends from it by three small but beautiful falls. The mountains, which are richly wooded, rise so high on each side

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quent Grand Vallée des Monts, Magdalene, Mount Louis, St Anne's, and Cape Chat, during summer; but I believe there are no permanent settlers, (unless it be at St Anne's,) until we reach Matane. As far, however, as I could judge of the country, it appears to possess sufficient advantages for settlements. The shortness of the summer, and the intense cold of winter, may form strong objections to agriculture; but the severity of its climate differs *little from* that of the thickly settled agricultural parishes about 200 miles farther up than Cape Gaspè, nor is it so cold as many parts of the corn countries of Russia. The soil in the valleys is fertile, and the uplands appear also to be fit for cultivation. The trees, growing on the hills, and on the sloping high lands, facing the coast, if used in ship-building,—and there are abundant convenient situations for bulding vessels,—would be found far more durable than those which grow in the valleys or along the rivers and lakes of the upper country. The "scrubby oak" of the hills, as it is called, is considered as durable as the best English oak. It is admirably adapted for the timbers of a ship, and of sufficient size for the construction of large vessels.

The following account of Matane, Grand and Petit Mitis, and Rimouski, which may be considered the lowest down of the established settlements on the St

and about the head of the lake, that although it is several miles long, it appeared little more than a large pond. The *habitans* had been rather successful in fishing, and they gave us some excellent small cod, and choice pieces of smoked halibut.

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Lawrence, I have lately received from a friend,* who visited those places since I was in Canada :—

" In proceeding up the River St Lawrence, after passing Cape Chat, the first place of remark is *Matane* River, known by a large square white house, and a long barn, level on the top. Ten leagues farther up is Little Matis, or Mitis, situated on a long, low, flat, rocky point, with several white houses, extending about a cable's length to the north-east. This is noticed as a guide to the anchorage at Great Mitis, which is about six miles farther to the westward. On opening the bay, (say close in shore,) a square house will be first observed, near the water side; a mile farther, in the south-west corner, up the bay, in the same view, will be seen the upper part only of a house, which is the establishment of Great Mitis. A vessel may close in with Little Mitis Point into six or seven fathoms water, and turn for Great Mitis, by the lead, in from five to eight fathoms. Should the vessel be turning up on the north shore, or in mid channel, Mount Camille, which will be seen, should be brought to bear north-west by south, which will lead from sea to the bay As this place has only recently been visited to any extent, I have thought it worth while entering into the particulars.

" At Little Mitis the late John M'Nider, Esq., of Quebec, a gentleman of considerable enterprise, esta-

* Nathaniel Gould, Esq., of Tavistock Square, London, who lately visited the United States and the Canadas, for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition and resources of those countries.

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blished a fishery, with the intention of supplying Quebec, during the summer, with fresh fish, as well as for curing. Notwithstanding the abundance of fish, the scheme did not answer, and we believe has been attended with considerable loss; the fish in this part of the River St Lawrence has been found to be capricious in its haunts, perhaps annoyed by the small whales and porpoises which abound.

"Mr M'Nider also endeavoured to settle and clear the seigniory for cultivation; and many settlers proceeded thither at different times, but the *spirited* proprietor died in 1829, without having reaped those benefits from his exertions which might have been anticipated; the situation, perhaps, not offering first-rate advantages as regards climate, or (at present) proximity to markets for surplus produce.

"About five miles farther west is Grand or Great Mitis; this place has lately risen into notice by the erection of saw-mills by Mr William Price of Quebec, by whom a very considerable outlay has been made; and by the constant employment afforded by the mills, and felling of logs in the winter, an active little settlement has been created.

"The mills are on a fall of the River Mitis, about three miles up; this river, like the Chaudiere, near Quebec, and most others on the south side of the St Lawrence, comes tumbling over rugged rocks of considerable elevation, as it approaches the estuary. The river itself is a small stream, greatly impeded with rapids when not swelled by freshets; and it has been found necessary to dam the river with wicker

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work and mud for a considerable distance, to keep back water enough to float the logs down to the mill. From the mill the deals are floated down a *dall* or *trough* to the basin for shipment, part of the distance being cut through soil and rocks fourteen feet deep. The deals produced are spruce and a very superior yellow pine.

"At about half a mile from the *débouché* of the river is a small rocky island, by which a secure and picturesque basin is formed. Over the sand bar at the entrance of the basin there is fourteen or fifteen feet at low water, and ample room for two vessels to lie stem and stern of each other. The tide flows exactly at one o'clock at full and change, and rises from twelve to fourteen feet. The channel is now marked with buoys into the basin.

"With a ship of great draught of water it is advisable to lie in six fathoms at low water, with the house at the east side of the River Mitis open to the eastward of the island in the bay, so that the river may be seen between them. The high land of Bic will then be just clear of Point Osnelle, some of the houses of Little Mitis will be seen, and Mount Camille will bear SSW. by compass; in such a mooring the swell is broken before it comes in by the shore. The ground will be found excellent for anchorage, being clay; and, with one anchor to the eastward and another to the westward, the vessel will ride in perfect security. A vessel of smaller draught may go within five fathoms.

"From hence, along the shore, will be observed, at

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great distances, the small white houses of the *habitans;* in general, however, occupied by pilots or fishermen, who have cultivated small patches of the land around them. Occasionally, when, from a wet summer, the harvest of the westward has failed, these small farmers reap a benefit by the greater backwardness of their seasons.

" The House of Assembly of this province lately voted money for the completion of the road from Quebec hitherto, as well as for opening a communication with Miramichi and St John's, New Brunswick; and, during the last season, considerable progress has been made in them.

" At Rimouski are saw-mills, recently erected by Mr Price of Quebec. The locks and dam by which the head of water for the mills is kept up at the mouth of the little river Rimouski, are of considerable extent, and executed with great boldness. The timber cut down here, although so near to the yellow pine of Mitis, is all red pine, which, though small in size, is of excellent quality.

" Ships bound to the anchorage here should endeavour to close in with the land about Point au Père, or Father Point, (on which are the numerous white houses of the pilots,) into six or seven fathoms, and then steer due west, for about three miles, for the body of St Barnaby's Island, until the extreme eastern point (on which is a large round stone) bears, by compass, WNW. about three-fourths of a mile, in four and a half fathoms at low water. Rimouski church will then bear about SSW., and a round bluff island be-

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tween St Barnaby's and the main WSW., and Father Point E. by N. As the water shoals gradually towards St Barnaby's Island, ships of light draught of water may go something nearer, taking care to allow for three or four feet sand in the event of a north-east gale. With westerly winds, which generally prevail, this is a most smooth and secure anchorage. Ships intending to load here should moor NW. and SE., with not less than sixty fathoms each way, so as to have an open hawse to the NE. Ships coming to anchor off the west point of Barnaby's Island, will find a most secure anchorage from east and north-eastwards in four fathoms at low water, having the east end of Bique Island at W. by N., the point of land from Bique at W. by S., the west point of Barnaby bearing NE. and by N. half a mile."

From Rimouski we may ride or drive in a wheeled carriage through all the Canadian parishes. At Bique there is good anchorage; but the coast, nearly as far up as Trois Pistoles, is steep and iron-bound. Small rocky islets rise along the river from two to three miles off the shore, from which mud flats, nearly dry at low water, and producing a long marine weed, (*eel grass,*) extend about the same distance from the coast as the islets. These mud flats occur along the St Lawrence wherever there are eddies, and particularly within the small islands that lie between the channel and the shore. We observe this particularly at Trois Pistoles and Green Island, at the Pilgrims and at Kamouraska. They are formed of deposits car-

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ried down by the river, and generally repose on flat rocks. The islets are all rocky.

The River St Lawrence, and the whole country, from the lowest parishes to Quebec, unfold scenery, the magnificence of which, in combination with the most delightful picturesque beauty, is considered by the most intelligent travellers who have visited this part of Canada, to be unequalled in America, and probably in the world. Niagara comprehends only a few miles of sublimity. The great lakes resemble seas; and the prospects which their shores, like those of the coasts of the ocean, afford to our limited visual powers, although on a grand scale, fall infinitely short of the sublime views on the St Lawrence, below Quebec.

Here we have frequently, as we ascend the eminences over which the post-road passes, or as we sail up or down the St Lawrence, prospects which open a view of 50 to 100 miles of a river from ten to twenty miles in breadth. The imposing features of these vast landscapes exhibit lofty mountains, wide valleys, bold headlands, luxuriant forests, cultivated fields, pretty villages and settlements, some of them stretching up along the mountains; fertile islands with neat white cottages; rich pastures and well-fed flocks; rocky islets; tributary rivers, some of them rolling over precipices, and one of them, the Saguenay, bursting through an apparently perpendicular chasm of the northern mountains; and, on the surface of the St Lawrence, majestic ships, brigs, and schooners, either under sail or at anchor, with pilot boats and river craft in active motion.

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This beautiful appearance, however, changes to a very different character in winter; and, late in the fall of the year, a dark stormy night in the River and Gulf of St Lawrence presents the most terrific, wild, and formidable dangers.

In winter the river and gulf are choked up with broken fields of ice, exhibiting the most varied and fantastic appearances; and the whole country on each side is covered with snow; and all the trees, except the stern fir tribes, are denuded of their foliage.

The south shores of the St Lawrence are thickly settled by the descendants of the French, who at different times emigrated to Canada; and the manners and customs of their ancestors are tenaciously and religiously preserved by the Canadians, or *habitans*, more particularly in this part of Canada, where they have held little intercourse with the English. The villages and parishes have a general similarity of appearance; and although some of them are more extensive, and much more populous than others, yet one description is sufficient for all.

We cannot but be pleased and happy while travelling through them. They assuredly seem to be the very abodes of simplicity, virtue, and happiness. We pass along delighted through a beautiful rural country, with clumps of wood interspersed, amidst cultivated farms, pastures and herds; decent parish churches, and neat white houses or cottages. The inhabitants are always not only civil, but polite and hospitable; and the absence of beggary, and of the squalid beings whose misery harrows our feelings in the United King-

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dom, is the best proof that they are in comfortable circumstances. Thefts are rare, and doors are as rarely locked. You never meet a Canadian but he puts his hand to his hat or *bonnet rouge;* and he is always ready to inform you, or to receive you in his house; and if you be hungry, the best he has is at your service.

The manners of the women and children have nothing of the awkward bashfulness which prevails among the peasants of Scotland, nor the boorish rudeness of those of England. While we know that each may be equally correct in heart, yet we cannot help being pleased with the manners that smooth our journeys; and often have I compared the easy obliging manners of the Canadian *habitans* with the rough "What d'ye want?" of the English boor, or the wondering "What's your wull?" of the Scotch cotters.

At the *auberges*, or inns, many of which are post-houses, we find civility, ready attendance, and have seldom to complain of what we pay for. The post-houses, which are established along the main roads, are regulated by an act of the Provincial Parliament; and the *maitre de poste* is obliged to keep a certain number of horses, caleches, and cabrioles, ready at all hours of the night or day, for the accommodation of travellers. There is seldom any delay; fares are fixed by law; there is nothing to pay the driver, and a paper is given, stating the charge from stage to stage, which is, for a caleche or cabriole, in which two can travel, fifteen pence per league. In travelling, we

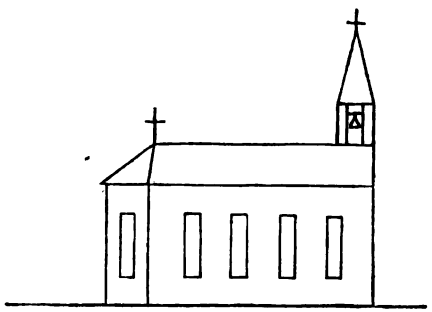
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now and then meet a cross erected at the side of the road, on a spot to which some trifling legend is attached. In some places we see large plaster casts of the crucifixion, under a wooden canopy, supported by four tall posts. I observed one of these in the middle of a marsh, near the post road below Kamouraska.

The house of a captain of militia is always distinguished by a tall flag-staff near it, painted red, or with circles of white, red, blue, or black.

The priest's house is always close to the church; and you never see him except in his sacerdotal robe. Enter his house, and you are welcome; nor will he let you depart hungry.

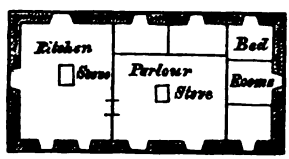
The parish church, with a pretty, bright, tinned spire, and sometimes with two, is a striking characteristic feature, which occurs at intervals of from four to eight miles, along the banks of the St Lawrence. The elevation seldom deviates from the following outline:

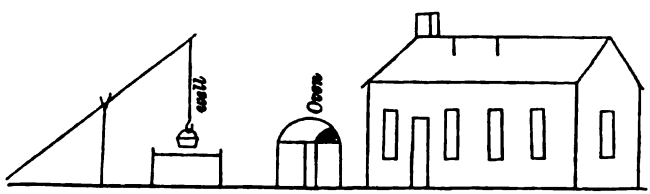


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The houses of the *habitans* are sometimes built of stone, but generally of wood, and only one story high.

The walls outside are whitewashed, which imparts to them, particularly in summer, when almost every thing else is green, a most lively and clean-looking appearance. Each contains a large kitchen, one good sittingroom, and as many sleeping or bedrooms as may be judged requisite. The garret *is generally* used for *lumber*, and seldom for bed-places. Some of the houses have verandas, and an orchard and garden is often attached; near the house there is always a clay-built bake-oven, and a well; from the latter the water is drawn by means of a lever. The elevation and ground-plan of a family house is generally the same as the following outlines. Those of a young married couple generally want the sleeping apartments at the end furthest from the chimney.





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The sittingroom or parlour, and bedrooms, are lined with smoothly planed boards, and painted with blue, red, green, yellow, &c.; and, according to our ideas, in very bad taste, but according to Jean Baptiste's* fancy, very fine and *bien joli*; and why not, if he be happy in the idea? Wax and brass images of the virgin and child, or of the crucifixion; and pictures of grim saints, the madonna and child, &c., all of the cheapest and most common kind, are hung round the room; and one middle-sized and several common looking-glasses, and a common clock, are seldom wanting. Sometimes we observe a looking-glass and picture, which, from their curious wrought frames, must be from one to two hundred years old. There is also one or more cupboards, or *boufettes*, in the room, which exhibit common glasses, decanters, cups and saucers, &c., and generally a large punch-bowl, for the purpose usually of making *egg nog*,† or milk punch.

The geese raised on their farms afford sufficient feathers for beds; and the *habitans* are never without them. Their sheets and blankets are rather coarse, but manufactured by themselves of the fleeces of their sheep, and of the flax they cultivate.

The barns and cattle-houses are plain oblong build-

* Jean Baptiste is as frequently a *nom de guerre* for Canadian *habitans*, as John Bull is for the English, or Saunders for the Scotch.

† *Egg nog*, or, as Jonathan terms it, *flip*, consists of eggs and sugar beat up together, to which is added a little water or milk, and as much spirits as will be equal to a quarter of the whole. This is a common treat among the Canadians.

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ings. The farms run parallel with each other: pole fences occasionally separate them, and from ten to fifty arpents of each are cleared and cultivated. The post-road runs across them all, and each *habitan* keeps his own portion in repair.

The most populous or important parishes or fiefs below Quebec, or at least those which arrested my attention most as a traveller, are Rivière de Loup, Kamouraska, St Anne's, and St Thomas'.

The saw-mills, erected on a great scale at an immense expense, on the Rivière de Loup, by Mr Caldwell, are well worth visiting.

Kamouraska, during summer and autumn, is a very delightful spot. It is the watering-place of Canada, and is frequented, during the bathing season, by families from Quebec and Montreal. A steam-boat plies between it and Quebec. There are several inns here, but the most commodious and comfortable, when I visited the place, was kept by an Englishman (Croft), in very fair style. It had hot and cold baths, to which sea water was conducted, attached to the hotel. The St Lawrence is twenty-two miles broad here, but above this its waters are no longer salt. Salmon and herring are caught at the mouth of the river. It is a small mountain stream with a fall, some distance, of thirty feet.

The parish or village of St Anne is also populous, and prettily situated on the River Orrelle. In front there is a wide shoal bay; and opposite, the high lands of Eboulemens frown in the distance over the St Lawrence. In the bay a porpoise fishery has long

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been followed at little more expense than by driving a line of stakes placed close together in an oblique direction, so as to lead the porpoises over the shoals lying between the mouth of the Orrelle and a rocky ledge which juts into the St Lawrence four miles below. When the tide ebbs the porpoises are left dry. There are from nine to sixteen feet long, and yield about a ton of oil each. The seigneur claims one-tenth as his due. There is a cross planted on the ledge of rocks, which the priest sanctifies every spring, to invoke the presence of the porpoises, or, in other words, to bless the spot where a successful fishery is expected.

The parish of St Thomas, on the Rivière de Sud, is the most populous below Quebec. This river flows from the south, through a beautiful, extensive, fertile, and rather thickly settled country, and rolls over a ledge of rocks, twenty feet high, into the St Lawrence. It has several excellent bridges over it, and along its banks are many of the best cultivated farms in Lower Canada.

In the village there is a handsome, though plain, stone church, said to contain near 3000 persons. I had the opportunity of being at this church on a Sunday. Nothing could be more pleasing than the scene which presented itself. It was on a delightful calm summer morning; the meadows, corn-fields, and woods, were as richly decked as imagination could well fancy, and the surrounding scenery as interesting as picturesque tourist could even wish. The whole creation was wrapt up in peaceful, but not solemn stillness;

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for the lively verdure of the country, thickly decked with neat white cottages, and the smooth flowing beauty of the St Lawrence, with several tall ships carried along by the tide, banished every impression except those of the most happy admiration, while the spirits were just raised to that pitch of cheerfulness, in which neither volatility nor gloom has any share.

About 10 o'clock the roads leading through this extensive parish exhibited a decently dressed peasantry, clad chiefly in fabrics manufactured by themselves, of the wool, and flax, and leather, and straw, produced on their farms. A great number moved on with a sober trot, in caleches or cabriolets; others on foot; but no one disturbed the calm tenor of the day, farther than casual converse between two or three.

In church, if the most close and devout attention during, the whole service of mass, and the delivery of a short practical, but not argumentative sermon, which dwelt altogether on their moral conduct, without alluding to points of faith, be considered as general proofs of sincerity and piety, the *habitans* of this parish have undeniable claims to these virtues. I believe there is little difference to be found, in this respect, among the other parishes. If there be, I have failed to discover it; and admitting, as I have frequently heard, that they are religious by habit and imitation, rather than by conviction, no one who has travelled among them can deny that they are sincere, amiable, charitable, honest, and chaste. Let

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us leave abstract points of Christian doctrine to theological disputants, and the raving of *new lights*, to the sectarians who disturb the settlements of Upper Canada, the United States, and the other colonies that I have attempted to describe, or to the fanatics of camp-meetings; but if we look for a more correct or moral people than the Canadian *habitans*, we may search in vain. A Sabbath morning in the Scotch parishes most remote from the towns, bears the nearest resemblance to a Sunday, before mass, in Canada.

The interval, however, between morning and evening service, differs, but not widely; for in both countries, those who do not return to their houses, spend the time in conversing on local incidents, or in communicating what news is gathered during the week. But the evenings of Sunday are far more cheerfully spent than in Scotland. The people of the parish often meet in small groups, or at each other's houses, for the sake of talking, and on these occasions they sometimes indulge in dancing.

A low belt of thickly-peopled country, lying between the St Lawrence and the high lands, extends from the Rivière de Sud until we arrive within a few miles of Point Levi, where the post-road ascends over a high eminence, from which we have a rich prospect of the Isle of Orleans; and, soon after, the city of Quebec, and the heights and citadel of Cape Diamond, burst suddenly into the view, and draw our attention from all other objects. Before I attempt, however, to describe Quebec, I will finish my

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sketch of the lower country, by briefly describing the settlements on the north side, and the islands of the St Lawrence.

Tadousac harbour lies at the mouth of the Saghuny or Saguenay. It is well sheltered, sufficiently deep, and affords excellent anchorage. To it the first French adventurers who visited Canada resorted, and it continued for a long time to be one of the principal fur-trading posts. The old French post is still maintained, and occupied by the Hudson Bay Company; but the place is at present of little importance, in consequence of there being no settlements on the great river that flows past it into the St Lawrence.

Of this mighty river we know but little. Some of the accounts of the fur traders trace it to the foot of the mountains, between the Ottawa and Hudson Bay mountains; and it is deep and navigable for about ninety miles, when it is interrupted by a cataract of about fifty feet perpendicular. The vast body of water which it discharges is of sufficient force to influence the stream of the St Lawrence obliquely to the south. It flows through excellent lands, and a great timber country may be opened on this river. Commissioners are appointed for exploring it, under a provincial act. I extract the following sketch from an article lately sent me from Canada, written, I believe, by a gentleman on board of the schooner Gulnare, employed for some time past in surveying the St Lawrence. It was published in the official gazette at Quebec, and considered correct. The information it contains respecting a river along which

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towns, villages, and settlements will assuredly rise, and in which the sons and daughters of industry and enterprise are as certainly destined to act their parts, cannot fail to be interesting :—

" On the next morning, we left our anchorage. As we approached the mouth of the Saguenay River, the wind died away, and we were obliged to come to anchor. We were strangers to its navigation ; and though one or two of our companions professed a knowledge of it, we found, nearly to our cost, that they were not to be trusted. After waiting till the ebb tide had ceased, we took advantage of a light wind that favoured us, and shortly found ourselves securely at anchor in the little harbour of Tadousac, at the mouth of this river.

" The view from our anchorage was of the most picturesque description. To the southward were the long reefs off each point of the entrance of the Saguenay, forming an effectual barrier to the waves of the St Lawrence, and affording security to the harbour. In the distance, was Red Island ; beyond it, Green Island ; and in their rear, the blue hills of the south shore. To the north-westward, up the Saguenay, precipice succeeded by precipice was seen in perspective, their bases washed by the dark deep waters of the river, over whose surface they cast their shadows, in gloomy, solemn grandeur. Near us was the little semicircular beach of bright sand, forming the bay or harbour of Tadousac. Rising immediately above this, a green terrace, on which stand the houses of the fur traders, ornamented in front with a row of

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old guns, placed round the confines of a tolerable garden, more for the sake of appearance than for use. Above this terrace appears a ridge of white granite hills, on the other side of which is a small lake. The view in this direction is finally closed by mountains of granite, rising to the height of about 2000 feet.

" The astonishing depth of the Saguenay renders it one of the most extraordinary rivers in the world. It is the grand outlet of the waters from the Saguenay country into the St Lawrence, which it joins on its southern shore, at above a hundred miles below Quebec; and although only a tributary stream, has the appearance of a long mountain lake, for an extent of fifty miles, rather than that of a river. The scenery is of the most wild and magnificent description. The river varies from about a mile to two miles in breadth, and follows its impetuous course in a south-east direction, through a deep valley, formed by mountains of gneiss and sienitic granite, which in some places rise vertically from the water side to an elevation of 2000 feet.

" There is a feature attending this river, which renders it a natural curiosity, and is probably the only instance of the kind. The St Lawrence is about eighteen miles wide at their confluence, and has a depth of about 240 feet. A ridge of rocks below the surface of the water, through which there is a channel about 120 feet deep, lies across the mouth of the Saguenay, within which the depth increases to 840 feet; so that the bed of the Saguenay is absolutely 600 feet below that of the St Lawrence, into which

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it falls—a depth which is preserved many miles up the river. So extraordinary a feature could only occur in a rocky country, such as is found in some parts of Canada, where the beauties of nature are displayed in their wildest form. The course of the tide meeting with resistance from the rocks at the mouth of the Saguenay, occasions a violent rippling, or surf, which is much increased, and exceedingly dangerous to boats, during ebb tide. The extraordinary depth of the river, and the total want of information concerning it, have given rise to an idea among the credulous fishermen, of its being in many parts unfathomable. This effect is admissible on uninformed minds, for there is always an appearance of mystery about a river when its water is even discoloured so as to prevent the bed from being seen; and the delusion is here powerfully assisted by the lofty overshadowing precipices of either shore.

"Following the course of the river upwards, it preserves a westerly direction to the distance of about sixty miles, in some parts about half a mile broad, in others expanding into small lakes, about two miles across, their borders being interspersed with a few low islands. In the narrow parts of the river, the depth, at the distance of a few yards from the precipice forming the bank, is 600 feet, and in the middle of the river it increases to nearly 900. It is, as yet, only known to the few fur traders who deal with the native Indians, and the salmon fishermen who frequent its banks."

From the mouth of the Saguenay to Mal Bay the

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country is still in its primitive wild state; and wild indeed it is, in all the varied conceptions of the word. A row of sandhills, from twenty to forty feet high, stretches along near the river, in front of it. The mountainous seigniory of Mal Bay was formerly called the King's Farm; and here were thirty buildings when the English conquered Canada; but it afterwards dwindled into obscurity. Some time after the American revolutionary war, a Captain or a Major Nain, I forget which, was rewarded for his services with this high land seigniory, which was very little valued by the Canadians; but to him its worth was fondly associated with his recollection of the Caledonian hills. When he settled in this place, some four or five cottages only showed their humble roofs; it now contains about four hundred inhabitants. He passed the rest of his days in this village, and left a widow, who was not long since, and may still be, living. His daughters were married, and settled in the parish; and a son of his was an officer at the battle of Chrystler's Farm, where he was killed.

A road leads from Mal Bay to St Paul's Bay, over the bleak heights and through the village of Eboulemens. At St Paul's Bay, into which a mountain torrent falls, there is rather a crowded settlement, sheltered by the northern mountains; and at Le Petit Rivière, near it, the cultivated low land is so well protected from cold winds, that apples, equal to those of Montreal or Niagara, as well as peaches, cherries, and damsons, grow in abundance. The road from here passes over the mountain ridge of

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Cape Tourment, (said to be 1800 feet high, I think 800 nearer the truth,) to the retired parish of St Joaichim, where there are lands and houses belonging to the Catholic seminary at Quebec, and a rather closely settled parish. We then pass through the villages of St Anne and Chateau Richer to the River Montmorency, across which, a little above the falls, there is a bridge, over which the main road leads and winds through the beautiful and populous village of Beauport, then, by a bridge over the River St Charles, to Quebec. Before we enter this city, I must, however, in order to finish this sketch, say something of the beautiful islands which lie below.

Green Island, which is well cultivated, and from which excellent butter is sent to Quebec, is six or seven miles long, and lies near the south shore, from which it is separated by shoal water and mud flats. Its east end, on which there is a lighthouse, lies about south-east from the mouth of the Saguenay; in a line with which stands Red Island, (a small islet,) from which a dangerous shoal extends; and here the navigation of the river becomes very intricate. The French always proceeded up on the north side; but since the English have possessed the country, the south has been preferred. Yet many say, that the north channel is by far the safest and best.

Hare Island, which is about ten miles long, and from which also dangerous ledges extend, lies in the middle of the river, about fifteen miles further up than Green Island. It has some excellent salt marshes, cultivable land, and herds of cattle. Passing by the

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Pilgrims, and the Kamouraska Islets, we come to Isle Coudre, which lies close to the north coast, and in front of St Paul's Bay. It is about eight miles long, three broad, the soil fertile, and is one of the oldest settlements in Canada. Nearly opposite to it are the intricate shoals, among which the traverse, or south, channel winds. Between these shoals and Orleans, are the Goose and Crane Islands,—low, flat, in some places rocky, in others marshy, but inhabited, cultivated, and pretty. Near these, at the eastern end, the Pillars (rocks) rise abruptly out of the St Lawrence.

The Island of Orleans is about twenty miles long, and from four to five broad. Its upper end is five miles below Quebec, and on each there is a deep channel. Its soil is fertile; a belt of original wood extends from its eastern to its western extremities, between which and its shores, are corn-fields, orchards, pastures, and meadows, thickly speckled with the white cottages of the inhabitants, pretty clumps of wood, and here and there a parish church. Near the west point, in a small vale close to the shore, were built those mammoth ships, the Columbus and Baron of Renfrew; the largest masses in one body that human ingenuity or daring enterprise ever contrived to float on the ocean.*

* Note E.

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CHAPTER VIII.

City of Quebec—Appearance from the River—Lower Town, Wharfs, *Hangards*, Streets, Houses, Upper Town, Public Buildings, English and Catholic Cathedrals, Churches, Nunneries, Jesuits' College, Market, Populace, Society, Canadian Gentry, Amusements, Summer, Winter, Classification of Ranks, Hotels, *Table d'Hôte*, Public Institutions, Literary and Historical Society, &c., Trades-people, Auctions, Walls, Fortifications, Citadel of Cape Diamond—Wolfe and Montcalm's Monument—View from Cape Diamond, &c.

THE city of Quebec, the capital of Canada, and the Gibraltar of America, stands on the extremity of a precipitous cape, in latitude 46° 54′ N., longitude 71° 5′ W.

The Island of Orleans, five miles below, divides the St Lawrence into two channels, each about a mile broad. Immediately opposite Quebec, where the river makes a sudden bend, it is little more than half a mile broad, but the depth of water is about twenty-five fathoms. Between this and the Island of Orleans is formed the splendid basin of Quebec,—somewhat more than five miles long, and about four broad in the widest part. On sailing up the river, we see nothing of the city until we are nearly in a line between the west point of Orleans and Point Levi. Quebec, and its surrounding sublimities, then burst suddenly into the vast landscape; and the grandeur

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of the first view of this city is so irresistibly striking, that few who have beheld it can, I think, ever forget the magically impressive picture it presents.

An abrupt promontory, 350 feet high, crowned with an impregnable citadel, and surrounded by strong battlements, on which the British banners daily wave,—the bright steeples of the cathedral and churches,—the vice-regal chateau, hanging over the precipice,—the house-tops of the upper *town*,—the houses, wharfs, *hangards*, or warehouses, &c., of the lower,—a fleet of ships at Wolfe's Cove, and others at the wharfs,—steamers,—multitudes of boats,—several ships on the stocks,—the white sheet of the cataract of Montmorency tumbling into the St Lawrence over a ledge 220 feet high,—the churches, houses, fields, and woods of Beauport and Charlebourg,—mountains in the distance,—the high grounds, church, and houses of St Joseph, some Indian wigwams near Point Levi, with some of their bark canoes on the water, and vast masses of timber descending on the river from the upper country,—may impart to the fancy some idea of the view unfolded to the spectator who sails up the St Lawrence, when he first beholds the metropolis of the British empire in America.

On landing at Quebec, and ascending from the lower to the upper town, we pass through narrow streets, lined with old-looking houses, with small windows and iron shutters, built apparently in all the confusion of antiquity. The ascent, which is commanded by well-planted cannon, is either by a winding of Mountain Street through the city walls

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near the Parliament House, or by a flight of steps called "Break-neck Stairs."

The lower town is the seat of activity and commerce, and stretches below the walls, from *Anse des Meres* along the foot of Cape Diamond, and *Saut au Matelot*, round by the St Charles to the suburb of St Roche. Most of the ships anchor above the town at Wolfe's Cove, where there is less rapidity of current, and where the timber rafts are landed for inspection. In this place are also the huts of the lumberers, and a few houses. The Custom's House and Exchange Reading-room, in which the English, colonial, and United States papers and periodicals are taken, and to which an excellent extensive library is attached, is in the lower town. The streets are exceedingly steep and dirty; in one place there is a descent by stairs from the head of Champlain Street to the *Cul de Sac*, of most fatiguing length. The most crowded part of the Old Town of Edinburgh is not more irregular or more confused than the lower town of Quebec, and particularly in that part which is immediately under the height crowned by the chateau. Between the lower town and the River St Charles there are extensive flats, dry at low water. The great rise of tide (about twenty-five feet) adapts these for the site of docks. The French contemplated building wet and graving docks in this place; and would, it is thought, have done so, had they remained masters of the country.

On arriving in the upper town from the lower, we find ourselves in a very different place; the streets

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are rather narrow, but in general they are clean, and tolerably well paved. The houses are covered with tin; shingles are not allowed. Many of the buildings are, it is true, in the style of olden time, yet there is an air of respectability, a fashion, a *je ne scai quoi*, which at once tells us we are in a metropolitan city.

The public buildings are substantial rather than elegant. The Chateau de St Louis, the residence of the governor-general, is a huge plain baronial-looking building, projecting so far over the precipice of Cape Diamond, here 300 feet high, that the outer walls are supported by piers, much in the same manner as viaducts are. The principal apartments in this castle are large and comfortable. The view from the veranda is magnificent. There is a small garden attached to the chateau, and several buildings on each side the entrance. In front there is an open space, a kind of esplanade. Nearly opposite the gates stands the Protestant cathedral, a plain handsome modern edifice, with a beautiful spire, and near it stands the Court-house, both on the grounds formerly occupied by the monastery of the Recollet Friars, which was burnt down by accident. The Scotch kirk is rather a mean-looking building. The old palace of the former Bishops of Quebec, standing nearly over the gate leading from the lower town, is now the Parliament House of Canada. As a building, it is certainly much more imposing than our House of Commons. The magnificent palace of the Intendant-General, or Civil Governor of New France, was destroyed by Sir Guy Carleton, to prevent its being taken by General

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Montgomery. Its site is occupied by stores and stables belonging to the engineer department.

The Catholic cathedral is a huge edifice, with a heavy dome and spire. Its interior exhibits all the imposing grandeur of the Romish churches. The altar is magnificent. Images and paintings line the walls; and lamps, showing glimmering lights, and attended by old women, are kept perpetually burning. It is open at all hours. We may always enter and walk through it silently. One or more priests attend daily to various duties, from a very early hour in the morning until evening. Making some remarks to a gentleman who accompanied me to view the interior of this cathedral, I was immediately checked by a meek-looking elderly priest, in his sacerdotal robes—"*Ne parlez pas ici, monsieur,*" said he; "*c'est la maison de Dieu.*" We may always observe beings kneeling along the aisles, or beside the columns, with their faces towards the altar; and as we pass along, we hear the half-smothered breathing of their devotions. At such a time, rather than during the pompous celebration of high mass, few, I believe, have ever found themselves within the walls of a spacious Catholic cathedral, that have not experienced a deeper feeling of reverence, and a more impressive consciousness of the presence of Omnipotence, than is usually experienced within the temples of Protestantism. This we know is not philosophy; but it is nature.

On Easter Sunday, and on some other feasts, especially the *Fête Dieu*, this cathedral exhibits ceremonies and solemnities widely different from the calm

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spirit of devotion that prevails on week days. The bishop, and sometimes fifty priests, officiate during the celebration of high mass. The pompous procession; the chiming of the bells; and, in the cathedral, the loud solemn tones of the organ; the kneeling crowds; the silver censers; the incense; the splendour which surrounds the altar; and all the other various accompaniments of this high celebration, are infinitely more imposing than any religious ceremony to be witnessed in these days in England.

There are several other Catholic churches in the city, and one in the lower town, and one also in the suburb of St Roche.

There are also three nunneries here. The general hospital, which stands on low ground, in the midst of a beautiful meadow near the River St Charles, was founded by Vallier, the second Bishop of Quebec, in 1693. The nuns of this convent devote their care to sick persons of all religions. The Hotel Dieu was first established for poor nuns; at present, its usefulness as an hospital can scarcely be too much extolled.* The Convent of the Ursulines is the best provided for, and most numerously filled; but in this nunnery the inmates are more closely secluded from the world, although strangers are, by special permission, allowed to visit the interior; and several young girls, Protestants as well as Catholics, are admitted to receive instruction in reading, writing, and needlework. The nuns of Canada are not the use-

* Note F.

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less beings that may be imagined. Although they have retired from the open world, yet as nurses to the sick admitted within their walls, or as the instructors of young girls, they are of much benefit to society. They also manufacture beautiful work-boxes, *reticules*, and some other articles, which they sell for the benefit of their respective convents. They form two classes, distinguished as *mères*, or mothers, *tantes*, or aunts. The first are generally of genteel family; the second, I was told, from among the daughters of the *habitans* and mechanics. We are generally told at Quebec, that the nuns seldom take the veil until they despair of getting husbands. This may be true, but I believe that few enter these convents, who are not as happy as they would be if they were out. Some few young girls have certainly sacrificed themselves to the whim or fanaticism of parents, or to disappointments of the heart. They are novices two years before they take the veil.

The strong quadrangular building which was formerly the College of the Jesuits, was, when occupied by them, the most spacious building in America.* It is three stories high; along each of these there was a long gallery, on each side of which were the private cells of the fathers. It contained a large public hall, in which seats were placed along the walls; and before the seats were the dining-tables. They never allowed women to reside among them.

* Founded in 1635, by Pere Reni Rohault. It will, it is said, contain 2000 troops.

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They were either fathers or brothers: the latter were novices preparing for admission to the order. When the fathers dined, the brothers carried the dishes from the outer halls to the tables, for common servants were never admitted into the dining-hall; nor were the brothers ever permitted to dine with the fathers. At dinner, the fathers all sat down with their backs to the walls; and, in a pulpit opposite, one of them read aloud from some book during the repast; when strangers were invited, this observance was omitted, and animated conversation on general subjects, but seldom on religious matters, prevailed at the table.

In this building there were also several public halls and rooms, a library, laboratory, refectory, &c.; and an extensive orchard and kitchengarden were attached. The British government converted this edifice into barracks, for which purpose it has long been used. It is still in good repair. In front there is an open space, in the middle of which stands the market, an ugly wooden building, constructed in the worst possible taste, and equally inconvenient, although the job cost from L.6000 to L.8000.

This market, or rather the open space that surrounds it, is the place to see all the varied characteristics of the population of Quebec and its environs. In summer and autumn multitudes of horses and carts, with hay, wood, butcher's meat, fowls, heaps of wild pigeons, vegetables, fruits, flowers, &c., appear early in the morning, attended by the wives and daughters of the *habitans*, and a few squaws, in small

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carts, from Indian Lorrette. Amidst these, we observe the officers of the civil government and those of the garrison, with the gentlemen of the learned professions, and the merchants, all scrambling for the luxuries of the market; and, thickly mixed among the thronged carts and horses, the noisy half-brutal carters of the town, with their wives and daughters, together with the *canaille* of the suburbs of St Roch. The brawling and vociferation in bad French, and broken English, that takes place, might well conjure up the confused spirits of old Babel. When we hear the loud angry squabbles of the carters and others, we expect an immediate fight, and look if the police be at hand; neither, however, is the case. The Canadian carter is not the pugnacious animal that the man of similar occupation in England is; and the quarrel that is apparently the most angry and noisy, is generally the soonest over. In winter, sledges bring in hay, grain, frozen carcasses of beef, pork, mutton, and whatever comes to market. Every article of luxury, except good fish, is abundant. The fish most esteemed is the poisson d'orèe, a kind of pickerel, but it is rare. Shad and salmon are sometimes plentiful, and a fish called after the river in which it is caught, Masquinongè, a species of pike, with a long hooked snout, is excellent eating. Bass, sturgeon, eels, and petite morue,* are also brought

* These are caught in vast quantities along the river, where they are left confined within the ice cracks, when the tide recedes—strange as it may appear, when thrown up, and frozen, the Cana-

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to market, but cod seldom, unless Jonathan bring them across the country from the Atlantic.

The population of Quebec, including the suburbs, is a matter of dispute. Some have it 40,000, others less than 30,000. I consider it something over 30,000; more than two-thirds of the number are Canadian French.

The style of living, hours of entertainment, and the fashions, assimilate nearly with those of *Halifax*; but society is not by any means so well knit together as at the latter place. This arises principally from the English and Canadians not generally mixing with each other; and partly from the English having formerly assumed an arrogant superiority over the French: at a period, too, when the latter were far above the former in the scale of manners and acquirements which shed lustre over, and give a tone of well-bred gentility to, society. The difference of language has, it is to be regretted, not only preserved some of the old jealousies, but it has also been the great cause which has prevented an approximation of manners and habits. The Canadian gentry all over the province, consisting chiefly of the *old noblesse* and gentry, or their descendants, retain the courteous urbanity of the French school of the last century. They speak French as purely as it is spoken in Paris. Many of them, also, speak English fluently; and although their political jealousies may be ob-

dian horses will not only eat them, but they soon become remarkably fond of them.

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jected to, yet their society is very agreeable, and not sufficiently courted by the English.

There are few amusements during summer. Active pursuits occupy all classes. Short excursions on the water, or pic-nic parties to Indian Lorrette, Lake St Charles, or the falls of Chaudiere, are occasionally made; and sometimes excursions are extended down the river to Kamouraska, or up to Montreal, or as far as the Falls of Niagara. On the plains of Abraham, near the city, there is an excellent course, where races have been established for several years. Fishing and shooting afford abundant sources of sport.

In winter, when all the world at Quebec is idle, and when the navigation of Canada and trade of Quebec are bound in icy fetters, balls at the Chateau, assemblies in the town, *pic-nics*, and family parties are frequent. The inhabitants dress in summer as lightly as in Jamaica; and in winter, both gentlemen and ladies require to be as well protected with muffs, tippets, fur caps and robes, as if they were in St Petersburg. Quebec may truly be said to have an Italian summer, and a Russian winter. Nothing can be more grotesque than the figures that drive out in carriolles or sledges, either on the ice to Isle Orleans, or on the snow-covered roads. On the ice these rides are pleasant enough; but the roads are generally in such an uneven state with *cahots* (waves made in the snow by the low carriolles), that the sledges pitch something like a boat in a head sea.

The ice is seldom firm between Quebec and Point Levi; and notwithstanding the intense frost, the

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"habitans" cross in wooden canoes, hauling or pushing them forward, among the cakes of ice. When the ice does form, it is called a *pont*, and a kind of jubilee takes place on the occasion; but this does not happen once in ten years. In the spring, when winter breaks up, and the snow and ice melt, the streets are horrible.

Quebec is considered an extravagant place to live in, and it is so. This does not arise *either from* the scarcity or high price of articles of necessity or luxury, but from too expensive a style of living—too great a passion for show and fashion. Many families have been reduced to poverty in consequence.

Strangers meet with the most hospitable attention from those to whom they are introduced. This is indeed the case all over Canada. The grades of classification into which society is divided, may place a stranger sometimes in a situation not very pleasant. His rank in Canada may not depend on his character, or the society among which he lived in the United Kingdom, but more frequently on the accident of his introduction. If he settles either at Quebec or Montreal, and if he may unluckily have happened to be introduced to, and associate on his arrival with, a family who do not visit the Chateau, all the *élite*, especially the ladies, will, as long as he resides in Canada, disdain to breathe the atmosphere of any house he enters; while it frequently happens, that if both were in England, those who are not Chateau visitants would be the most respected. Circumstances truly pitiable have often been the consequence of

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this ridiculous frailty. Families who have arrogated to themselves the supremacy in society, have too frequently been reduced to poverty, and humiliated to the necessity of being under pecuniary obligations to those whom they at one time considered both mean and contemptible. That rank and place in society must always be marked and preserved, otherwise respectability and order will cease to exist, few will deny. It is the folly and inconsistency of those who assume the *dictum* of exclusion, that render them ridiculous; and of whose laughable pretensions we hear so much when travelling in the colonies.

There are several taverns and hotels; one or two of the latter are very respectable and comfortable. Each has a *table d'hôte*, where all dine together; but private rooms may be had by those who wish for them. Gentlemen who expect to gain information on their travels, will profit much by dining at the *table d'hôte*; for there they will meet with intelligent men from all parts of the colonies, and from the United States.

The public institutions of Quebec are numerous. The French college is a substantial old building, with a garden attached. Before the conquest, none but students intended for the church were instructed at this seminary. At present, all are admitted indiscriminately. It has a principal and three professors; one each, for theology, rhetoric, and for mathematics and physics, and five regents of the humanity classes. Besides several minor French and English schools, and some Sunday schools, there is a national school

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on a liberal foundation ; also a royal grammar school, and a classical academy.

A spirit for improving the mind evidently exists in this city. Some time ago, a royal institution was established for the advancement of learning within the province. The protestant bishop, Dr Stewart, is the principal ; the chief officers of the civil government, and the members of the legislature, are the trustees of this institution.

The literary and historical society of Quebec, which is also patronised by the government, deserves all praise. This institution is under the direction and management of the Chief Justice of Canada as president, four vice-presidents, corresponding, recording, and council secretaries. It is divided into four departments : viz. literature, general history, sciences, and the arts. The Quebec library contains a great variety of standard and interesting works. There is also an excellent library for the use of the garrison.

There are four newspapers of respectable pretensions published in this city. The old Quebec Gazette, now published twice a-week, was commenced in 1764, and printed in English and French. It was the public periodical under the immediate authority of government until 1823, when Mr Nielson, the proprietor and an intelligent member of the legislature, displeased the executive government ; and another paper, published weekly, assumed the same name under the governor's authority. The Quebec Mercury and the Star, are published twice a-week. Neither does Quebec want benevolent and useful associations.

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The principal of these are—the Quebec Emigrant Society; Quebec Agricultural Society; Medical Society; Quebec Diocesan Committee of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge; Ladies' Society for Propagating Education and Industry in Canada; Ladies' Bible Society; Bible and Tract Society; Quebec Education Society, and the Fire Society.

Besides the Bank of Quebec, and a branch of the Montreal bank, there is also a savings' bank.

There are two or three distilleries, breweries, tobacco, soap, and candle manufactories. Several beautiful ships have been for many years built here; and we find such tradesmen as are usual in a city, but not all those of a manufacturing town. Here are brewers, distillers, carpenters, joiners, carriage-builders, smiths, saddlers, tanners, barbers, tailors, shoemakers, mill and wheelwrights, upholsterers, and those more important personages, players, fiddlers, dancing-masters, and tavern-keepers.

A great proportion of the British and other goods imported, are sold by auction; the Canadian shopkeepers, who seldom import goods from other countries, prefer buying their goods at public sales than by private bargains. Some of the shops are fitted up in a way which the Cockneys would call rather *stylish*; but, like the shops all over America, you find in most of them every variety of goods sold in the country: silks, lace, muslins, ribbons, crockery-ware, and ironmongery; broad cloths and cutlery; saddles, and looking-glasses; spikes, nails, and spades; needles, thimbles, and pins.

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What will ever render Quebec a position of the first and most mighty consideration to England, or to any power holding possession of the empire of the Canadas, and which fully justifies even the enormous outlays expended on its fortification, is its particular situation, and the extraordinary natural features of the spot on which it is founded. It is now absolutely impossible for a ship of any size to pass either up or down contrary to the *permission* of those who possess its garrison. Very large ships cannot go up to Montreal; nor are there any intermediate places of great commercial importance.

The citadel of Quebec, on the highest part of Cape Diamond, is a fortification not inferior to any in Europe, and commands every surrounding position. The old French walls were remarkably strong, but they have been nearly all destroyed on the land side, and replaced with others if possible still stronger, and constructed according to the more modern rules of defence. There are five gates, strongly defended, in the walls which surround the city, viz. St Louis' Gate, St John's Gate, Palace Gate, Hope Gate, and Prescott Gate, through which we ascend from the lower to the upper town. The armoury of Quebec is well worth visiting and examining. It is only inferior to that of the Tower of London.

On the west, and in front of the citadel, are the celebrated plains of Abraham, where Wolfe fought, conquered, and died; which, with many circumstances less known, but still splendid in the historical records of Canada, impart a classic interest to Quebec, to which

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no other city in the Western World has a similar claim.

Although it was proposed, immediately after the conquest of Canada, to erect a monument on this spot to the memory of Wolfe, and although M. de Bougainville obtained permission at the same time from our government to place a monument in the Ursuline church in honour of Montcalm, yet seventy years had nearly passed away before this duty, which custom has made sacred, was fulfilled. At length an obelisk of appropriate grandeur was erected; and, with the chivalrous generosity and admiration due to heroes, it is dedicated to the "Immortal Memory of Wolfe and Montcalm."

The grandeur of the view from the citadel of Cape Diamond has been extolled by all that ever beheld it. The prospects from the castles of Edinburgh or Stirling have the greatest claims of any that I have seen to a comparison with it; but both fall far short of the magnificent views enjoyed from the summit of Cape Diamond. When we look down the St Lawrence, we have before us a sublime landscape, exhibiting from forty to fifty miles of one of the greatest rivers in the world, with tall ships, small vessels, and boats on its surface, and divided for twenty miles by the Island of Orleans; of which also, with all its interesting beauties, we have a bird-eye view. At the same time the southern coast presents villages, churches, cottages, farms, forests, and mountains in the distant outline. If we turn to the north and east, we have a vast amphitheatre, embosomed within lofty

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mountains, and enriched and animated by the villages and churches of Beauport, Charlebough, and Lorrette, with the vale of the River St Charles, and a country decked with clumps of wood and richly cultivated farms. If we look below, we behold, some hundreds of feet underneath us, the lower town, with all its active accompaniments, and with crowds of ships at anchor in the cove, alongside the wharfs, and under sail. Opposite stands Point Levi and a populous country. Upwards, the view, although not extensive, is still grand. The country is bold and romantic, yet cultivated and populous; and the river exhibits the unceasing movements of steam-boats, sailing vessels, small boats, Indian canoes, and rafts of timber floating down the stream, and covered with men, women, children, and huts.

Description, however, can never do justice to this vast picture; nothing but a *panorama* painting can give those who have not beheld it a full idea of its splendid magnificence; and well would it remunerate those artists who have excelled in painting the enchanting delusions exhibited in panorama views, if they were to cross the Atlantic, and bring back to Europe a representation of that which is beheld from the citadel of Cape Diamond.

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CHAPTER IX.

Environs of Quebec—St Roch—Road to Montmorenci—Falls—Patterson's Mills—Road to St Foix—Sillery—Jeune Lorette—Hurons—Cascades—Lake St Charles—Falls of the Chaudiere—River St Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal—Post Roads—Winter Travelling—Steam-Boats—New Liverpool—Rapids of Richlieu—Trois Rivières—Ursuline Convent—Abbé de Calonne—Forges of St Maurice—Lake St Peter—Delta—Fort William Henry—River Richlieu—Summer Residence of the Governor—Fort Chambly—St Jean—Isle Aux Noix—Rouse's Point—Lake Champlain—St Lawrence from Fort William Henry to Montreal.

On the low ground which lies between the walls of Quebec and the St Charles, a multitude of shabby, dirty-looking wooden buildings, inhabited by the lowest and most immoral of the *canaille* of Canada, form the suburb of St Roch.

In summer, one of the most pleasant rides or walks in the vicinity of the city, is over Scott's Bridge, and along the road leading amongst the cottages, orchards, and farms of Beauport, to the falls of Montmorenci.

The river of the same name with this cataract, flows down from the northern mountains, among woods and rocks, and then over rugged steps through a richly cultivated country, until within a few yards of the precipitous banks of the St Lawrence, where, in a breadth of fifty feet, it thunders over a perpen-

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dicular ledge 220 feet high. In summer, the volume of water precipitated over this fall is greatly reduced. In spring particularly, and before winter sets in, the body of water hurled down is immense. A little above the falls, the river is crossed by a bridge; and near the brink of the ledge there is a mill, frightfully, but securely pitched, the wheels of which are turned by the rapidity of the current. A stream has also been diverted from the river above the cataract, for the purpose of turning the wheels of Patterson's saw-mills, which are a little distance below. These mills are the largest in Canada, if not in America.

The road to St Foix, which leads along the heights, is also exceedingly interesting; and more particularly so, if we turn down towards the St Lawrence into the beautifully secluded dingle of Sillery, once the abode of pious missionaries, established here a little after the first settlement of the country. This place, including four leagues north by one in breadth, was formerly given to the Hurons of Jeune Lorette; the Jesuits are said to have cajoled them out of it.

The road leading along the picturesque St Charles to the Indian hamlet of Jeune Lorette, is perhaps the most interesting outlet from Quebec. Lorette contains the wretched remnant of the once warlike and powerful nation of the Hurons, reduced to its present degraded, and nearly exterminated state, by the quarrels and diseases of Europeans, and by the introduction of brandy, rum, and gunpowder.

There is rather a neat-looking church in this ham-

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let; and the Indians, who speak French, attend to all the ceremonies of the Catholic religion with the most implicit obedience to their priest; but most of them, except the women, are lazy, and addicted to drink; and few things appear more likely than that before another century expires, the whole race will vanish from the face of the earth.

A little above Lorette, there is a beautiful cascade; and, three miles further on, we reach the picturesque lake out of which the river flows. It is three miles long, and two rugged points, jutting across about the middle, nearly divide it into two lakes. The scenery altogether is enchanting; and to it the "brothers of the angle" may resort with great pleasure, and with the certainty of greater success than "a glorious nibble."

The cataract of Chaudiere is sufficiently interesting, even for those who have beheld Niagara, to visit. Four miles from the southern shore of the St Lawrence, and twice that distance from Quebec, the Chaudiere, 240 yards in breadth, with its banks decorated with woods and glades, and broken into romantic grandeur by vast masses of rocks, roars and foams, in wild sublimity, over immense ledges of more than 100 feet in height, and then rushes, and boils, and thunders, over and among rocks and ledges, until its waters mingle with those of the St Lawrence.

The country on each side of the St Lawrence, from Quebec to Montreal, exhibits a succession of parishes, mostly consecrated by name to the memory of some saint, and the whole so thickly settled as to assume

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the appearance of one continued village. The post road leads through those on the north shore; and on the south there are also good roads, but the parishes, generally, are not so populous, nor are they so much frequented by travellers as those of the north. The banks of the tributary rivers are also settled on; and some of these, particularly the Chaudiere, Beçancourt, Nicolet, St Francis, Yamaska, and Richlieu, on the south; and the Jacques Cartier, St Anne, St Maurice, and Masquinongè, on the north, would be considered rivers of great magnitude in England.

In winter, travellers going between Quebec and Montreal, may either hire a carriolle, or go by the post. The winter road is generally on the ice, near the edge of the river; or, when this route is considered either difficult or dangerous, through the parishes. Travellers may stop for food or lodging, or to bait their horses, either at the auberges, or at any *habitan's* house.

In summer, the post roads, excepting the intercourse between respective parishes, have been nearly abandoned since steam navigation has afforded such great facilities to those who wish to move easily, cheaply, and rapidly, between Quebec and Montreal. Formerly the river was navigated by schooners of thirty to a hundred tons; their passages upwards were usually very tedious, and but few square-rigged vessels proceeded to Montreal. The latter are now laden with full cargoes in London, Liverpool, the Clyde, and various distant ports; and those of moderate size, without stopping longer at Quebec

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than may be necessary to procure a steamer, are towed direct to Montreal, often in less than thirty hours, although the distance is 180 miles, half of which is always against the stream.

The steam-boats that navigate the St Lawrence are certainly of the first-rate description, and offer every temptation to those who choose to be carried along by locomotive power. Cabin passengers pay a fixed sum (I think ten dollars, about forty-five shillings, up to Montreal, and eight dollars down to Quebec), for which breakfast, luncheon, dinner, and bed, in fact, every luxury, with ice and fruits, except wines, are provided. I forget whether the stewards expect any thing, but I think not, from the passengers.

The dining cabin, or *table d'hôte*, is usually a kind of long house, built on the after deck, with a flat roof, round which there is a railing, and over which, in hot summer weather, there is an awning; chairs or cane sofas are placed along the side, and here we may either promenade, or sit down, as we find most agreeable. The arrangements for dinner are much in the same style as at the best hotels.

On leaving Quebec, we soon pass Cape Diamond, Wolfe's Cove, the shipping, small craft, timber booms, and lumberers' huts. A little further on, we have a glimpse of the dingle of Sillery; and on the south shore, New Liverpool, opposite which there are usually some ships loading, rises from the margin of the river. At this place a deep water wharf, and three *dolphins*, or mooring stages, for the convenience of

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shipping, have been constructed by Mr Price of Quebec. Here there is also a good hotel, in the most charming situation imaginable.

As we proceed up the St Lawrence, various objects incessantly unfold themselves. We meet, or are accompanied by, river craft, or steam-boats; some of the latter, probably, towing up brigs and schooners; and not unfrequently we also observe one or more of those immense floats, the timber rafts, covered with men, women, and small *shanties*.

The banks on each side continue high, but sloping, and beautifully decked with woods, churches, white cottages, orchards, and corn fields, until we pass the mountain torrent of the River Jacques Cartier, and reach the rapids of Richlieu, forty-five miles above Quebec.

These rapids are occasioned by a visible descent of the river running over an unequal bed; but sailing vessels can, with a fair breeze, *stem* and surmount them. The banks now gradually diminish; the highlands recede to the north and to the south; a low country, of evidently secondary formation, and in a natural state less interesting, commences and prevails; but populous villages and cultivated lands lend beauty and animation to the scenery, and we soon after pass the mouths of the St Maurice, or Trois Rivières.

Trois Rivières, or Three Rivers, is the third town in Canada. It faces the St Lawrence, on the west side of the St Maurice. Its situation is very agreeable; but the soil near it is light and sandy. The

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river is deep near the town, and here the steamers stop to take on board passengers and fuel.* It owes the name of Trois Rivières to two small islands at the *débouché* of the St Maurice, which give it the appearance of three distinct rivers. This town is one of the oldest places in Canada. It contains about 300 dwelling-houses, mostly built of wood, and about 2000 inhabitants,—a decent-looking Catholic and Protestant church,—a convent of Ursulines, founded in 1677 by St Valiere, second Bishop of Canada, for the education of female children, and for the poor sick, as well as those who were tired of the world. The funds of this convent are incompetent to its useful purposes. Here lived, and here, (in 1823), nearly eighty years old, died the venerable, amiable, and accomplished Abbé de Calonne, brother of the famous financier and minister of Louis XVI. The infuriated demon of revolution drove him from France to England. He then sought and found an asylum in Prince Edward Island, which he left for Canada, —a colony whose inhabitants were more agreeable to the associations of his life and education. The world for him had lost its fascinations; for, when the Bourbons reascended the throne of France, he not only became possessed of considerable property, but he had offers to return to his native country, that ambition would not have rejected. The property he at once distributed among others; and his little cure at Three Rivers satisfied his ambition as to ecclesiastical power.

* Wood, not coal, is used; but the latter, which can be had from Pictou or Cape Breton, would be found equally cheap.

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Here the courts of justice for the district are held; and here at one period not only a great share of the fur trade centred, but, from its lying nearly midway between Montreal and Quebec, its general trade was also of much more importance than it is at present, in consequence of the latter places having been brought, morally speaking, so much nearer each other by the power of steam navigation.

On the right bank of the St Maurice, seven or eight miles from the town of Three Rivers, are the iron forges which were established, in 1737, by individuals whose want of wealth prevented them from being regularly worked until they were bought by the crown. The right of the French king devolved on his British majesty, and these forges have since then been let to private enterprising persons, who have worked them with success. The ore is abundant, and equal to the best Swedish. The *habitans* prefer the iron made of it to any other; and the stoves cast at the foundery are said to endure the heat better than those made at Carron. Scarcely any other kind is used in Canada; and many of them find their way to the other provinces. Stoves, pots, and potash kettles, are the principal articles cast here. The forges are worked night and day; charcoal only is used; the workmen are chiefly Canadians. Englishmen are only employed in making models.

The River St Maurice is a large river, winding over an extensive territory only known to fur traders, and broken by rapids and cataracts.

About eight miles above Three Rivers we enter

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Lake St Peter, which is an expansion of the St Lawrence over flats for about twenty-five miles in length, and five to ten in breadth. Passing over this lake, particularly on a hot calm day, is exceedingly tame and uninteresting. The water is shallow, and the channel, which is very intricate, requires to be marked with beacons, usually small fir poles stuck in the mud, with part of the green tuft left on their tops. The lands are so low on each side that the shores are scarcely seen; and we cannot help feeling an impatient anxiety to get rid of the tame scene, especially when we recollect that the post roads along this lake pass through a populous and beautiful though flat country.* As we approach the head of the lake, innumerable green islands and villages, rising on each side the river, reanimate our progress. These islands are evidently formed of alluvial deposits, as are also most of the low lands we pass until we reach Montreal.

On the south, at the head of the delta of Lake St Peter, the St Lawrence receives the River Richlieu, or Sorell, or Chambly, for by all these names is it known. On the east bank, and on the site of the fortress erected by M. de Tracy, stands the town of Sorell, or, as it is now called, Fort William Henry. This little town is charmingly situated, but its appearance, being little more than a collection of humble

* My recollection of this lake may be perhaps biassed by my feelings; for although two of the passengers were gentlemen of much information, we were all, under the influence of the extreme heat, quite averse to conversation until evening approached.

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wooden houses, with a Catholic and a Protestant church, both small buildings, has little that is attractive. During war it has always been a post of some consequence, and the shadow of a garrison is still kept up. The steamers stop here to land or receive passengers, and to take on board fuel, of which, being wood, vast quantities are used.

The Richlieu issues from Lake Champlain, and flows, for about seventy miles, through a *fertile* and rather well-settled country, and passes close by several villages or small towns, the principal of which are Champlain, Lacolle, Isle Aux Noix, St Jean, Chambly Beloiel, and St Ours, before it mixes with the St Lawrence at Fort William Henry. It differs from most rivers in its being only 250 yards wide at its *débouché*, while it increases gradually upwards to more than four times that breadth.

About a mile and a half from Fort William Henry stands the simple but pretty Canadian-fashioned cottage, which is the temporary summer residence of the Governor-general of Canada. Lord Dalhousie introduced the Scottish system of agriculture on the farm he cultivated here; and on this charming spot he probably spent the happiest portion of his residence in Canada.

The village of Chambly, about forty miles up the Richlieu, faces a beautiful basin formed by an expansion of the river; and seven or eight miles farther on we come to Fort Chambly, one of the old French garrisons, formerly erected to prevent the incursions of the Iroquois. It is a substantial stone fortifica-

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tion, and during the late war it became a post of great consequence, as the headquarters of from 6000 to 7000 troops. Two miles above Fort Chambly stands the town of St Jean, where there is a custom-house, at which all goods passing into or out of Canada, by Lake Champlain, are, or at least should be, entered. A horribly bad road, eighteen miles long, leads from this place to La Prairie, opposite Montreal; the ground over which it passes is low, and a rail-road is contemplated; from the line of incessant intercourse which this road forms, few projections would answer better. St Jean lies in the route by the way of Lake Champlain to the United States; steamboats in summer arrive and depart regularly; and thousands of sledges, principally American, pass through it in winter.

About twelve miles further on, we come to the British naval station and garrison on Isle Aux Noix, which completely commands the river. Here are three forts, with a deep wet ditch and glacis, blockhouses and barracks; and here the hulks of the ships of war that were not taken or destroyed by the Americans, and several gun-boats, are now rotting.

At Rouse's Point, where Lake Champlain, one of the most picturesque of the inland waters of America, opens, are the deserted huge stone fortress and outworks, erected by the Americans during the late war, when they considered this position within their boundary. It is, however, within the British line, and completely defends the pass of Lake Champlain, between Canada and the United States.

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Returning from this diversion up the Richlieu, and leaving Fort William Henry for Montreal, we pass numerous islands, all evidently of alluvial formation; the lands on each side are also alluvial, and the country flat, but populous, well cultivated, and luxuriant.

At length Montreal, with the magnificent wooded mountain from which it takes its name, together with the broad sheet of water between it and La Prairie, the strongly fortified island of St Helena, and the ships, steamers, and small craft, two hundred and seventy miles above salt water, and more than five hundred from the sea, all open into view, and exhibit a grand, varied, and most interesting picture.

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CHAPTER X.

Montreal—General Appearance—St Paul's and Notre Dame Streets—Nelson's Monument—Champ de Mars—Suburbs—Public Buildings—Catholic Cathedral and Churches—English Church—Scotch Kirk—Court-House—Jail—Government House—Nunneries—French College—M'Gill College—Natural History Society—Mechanic's Institution—Hospital—Public Schools—News-Room—Libraries—Periodicals—Position of Montreal—Trade—*Bateaux*—Scows—North-west Company—Bank—Committee of Trade—Population—Society—Hotels—Amusements—Theatre and Circus—Environs of Montreal—The Mountain Scenery—Outlets of Montreal—Lachine, &c.

THE island and seigniory on the south side of which the city of Montreal stands, is about thirty miles long, and from five to ten broad. On the north a small stream divides it from Isle Jesus, which is also a seigniory, and about twenty miles long, and from Isle Bizare, which is four miles long. Some miles above, "Utawa's tide" divides into two branches; the lesser, winding betwixt these islands and the main continent, joins the St Lawrence on the east at Repentigny; and the greater, rushing among a cluster of islets and rocks, lying in the channel between the pretty wooded island of Perrault, and a sweet village, Moore's "St Ann," mingles its waters on the west with those of Lake St Louis. At the lower end of this lake, the St Lawrence contracts, and boils,

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and foams, and whirls, and dashes along, among and against small islands, and over rocks, for nine miles, forming the rapids of La Chine, or Sault St Louis. A little below Montreal there are *unbroken* rapids, too powerful, however, for sailing vessels to surmount, except with a strong fair wind. Steam vessels not only easily ascend them, but also tow brigs up to Montreal.

The city of Montreal is on the south *side of the* island, in latitude 45° 30′, longitude 73° 25′ W. Betwixt the Royal mountain and the river, there is a belt of low land, nearly two miles in breadth; on this, close to the river, does the town stand. Including the suburbs, it is much more extensive, and somewhat more populous, than Quebec. Both cities differ very greatly in appearance; the low banks of the St Lawrence at Montreal, want the tremendous precipices frowning over them, and all the grand sublimity which characterize Quebec. There are no wharfs at Montreal; and the ships and steamers lie quietly in pretty deep water close to the clayey and generally filthy bank in front of the city. Neither is there that busy incessant movement and commercial air, near the water, that usually distinguishes Quebec and Halifax. The whole of the lower town is covered with gloomy-looking houses, with dark iron window shutters; and although perhaps rather cleaner than the lower town of Quebec, yet it is still very dirty. The streets are not only narrow, but the footpaths are interrupted by slanting cellar-doors, and other projectings. St Paul's, the principal street for shops

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and trade, is the longest, widest, and best in the lower town. Parallel with it, dividing the old town from the more modern, extends Rue de Notre Dame.

Small narrow streets cross between both. At the upper part of a kind of square, in which the principal market stands, there is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson. It is a Doric column, on a square pedestal, and surmounted by a colossal statue of the admiral. On the pedestal are figures and representations in *basso relievo*, emblematical of the principal actions of our great naval hero.

The new or upper part of Montreal, contains many handsome fashionable-looking houses, built of beautiful greyish stone, and some of the neighbouring villas are noble residences.

The Champ de Mars is a pretty, but not very fashionable esplanade, planted round with Lombardy poplars: the houses on its west side are handsome genteel buildings. Here the troops are reviewed, and here the military bands usually perform in the evenings, during summer and autumn.

To the east extends the Quebec suburb, to the north and west those of St Antoine, St Lawrence, and St Recollet. Many of the houses in each are built of wood, but within the space once encompassed by the walls, there are no wooden buildings; and this city and Quebec have more truly the aspect of old European towns than any other in America.

The older parts of the city of Boston may lay some claim to apparent antiquity; but, with this exception, all the towns in the United States, with their wide

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rectangular streets, and large airy houses, lighted with a multitude of windows, present an appearance which at once unfolds the tale of their late birth and recent growth, as well as the taste and ideas of the spirits that have brought them into existence.

Many of the public buildings are more imposing in their appearance than those of Quebec. Among these the new Catholic cathedral, although the most modern, demands the first attention. *It is unquestionably* the most splendid temple in America. The cathedral at Mexico may perhaps nearly equal it. It is even said that there are none in France superior to it, unless it be those of Notre Dame, Amiens, and Rouen, and those only surpass it in their interior grandeur. The old cathedral, which nearly interrupted the middle of Notre Dame Street, was levelled, in order to extend the site of the new edifice. Its foundation stone was laid in September 1824, and it was opened for the celebration of high mass in the autumn of 1829. It is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Its length is 255 feet, breath 234, and the height of the walls 112 feet. The style of architecture is taken from the rich Gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has six massive high towers: between these, along the roof, there is a promenade twenty-five feet wide, elevated 112 feet above the ground. It has one superior altar, and six of less grandeur. It has five public, and three private entrances; and from 10,000 to 12,000 people, which it will accommodate, may disperse in five or six minutes. The eastern window behind the altar is

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thirty-three feet broad, and seventy high; the other windows are ten feet by thirty-six feet. It is surrounded by a fine terrace. The chime of bells, clocks, altars, and all the interior arrangements, correspond with the magnificence of the exterior. From 7000 to 8000 persons frequently congregate within this edifice.

Besides the cathedral, there are several Catholic churches; one of these, of plain modern appearance, but of large size, was built in the suburbs, on the arrival of a bishop from France, after the late war, for whom a palace was built near it. I was informed (in 1824) that a partial schism then existed at Montreal among the Catholics, arising from a dispute respecting the degree of precedence he should take and maintain in Canada.

The bells of the Catholic churches are eternally ringing, and outraging all pretence to harmony; and are consequently a most disagreeable annoyance, particularly to strangers.

The whole island of Montreal is comprised in one seigniory, and belongs to the priests. They are consequently wealthy: but in exacting the *lods et ventes* due them on the mutation of land, they are very liberal, and usually compound for these fines.

The principal English church is a handsome capacious edifice: its style partakes of the plain Grecian taste, and it is surmounted by a high and remarkably beautiful spire. The interior, in which there is an excellent organ, displays arrangements, in which elegance and good order have been studied. The Scotch kirk is a very plain building, standing close to the

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Champ de Mars; but the congregation which attends it is highly respectable. The Methodists have a very handsome chapel.

The court-house and prison are substantial, respectable-looking buildings, separated from, but close to each other, standing in a range between Notre Dame Street, and the Champ de Mars, and occupying the site where once stood the college of the Jesuits.

The government-house, or the residence of the military commandant, is an old low building, somewhat respectable in appearance, but not imposing.

Since the prohibition of monasteries, the old convent of the Recollets* has been used for barracks.

Three nunneries still flourish in this city; and however much the inmates may be mistaken in their ideas of piety, as respects the devoted life they lead, yet, like the nuns of Quebec, the usefulness of their lives in ameliorating the sufferings of others, or by the elementary instruction they afford to young females, cannot be too much applauded. There are lands, and some beautiful islands, belonging to these nunneries.

In the Hotel Dieu, which was founded in 1644 by Madame Bouillon, the *mère supérieure* and thirty-six nuns devote their attention chiefly to the sick poor.

* The last of this order of mendicants, in Canada, was alive at Montreal, in 1825. A piece of dirty brown cloth was tied close round his head, and his robe, of the same kind and colour, fitted closely to his body. He was reduced to a skeleton, never looked up, and appeared as if he had not smiled or looked cheerful for half a century.

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The convent of La Congregation de Notre Dame, usually called the *Sœurs Noir*, or black nuns, from their dressing in black stuff, founded in 1650, as already noticed in the historical sketch, by Marguirete de Bourgeouis, for instructing young females, has a *mère supérieure* and sixty nuns, whose duties are directed to the education of young girls.

The convent of *Sœurs Gris*, or grey nuns, the chapel and garden of which faces St Paul's Street, was intended by Madame Youville, a young widow, who founded it in 1752, as a general hospital for "the infirm and invalid poor." It is at present a most benevolent institution, in which the insane, and old invalids, find an asylum. The nuns also devote their attention with motherly tenderness to the care of foundlings. This excellent charity is conducted with much neatness and propriety.

The French college at Montreal, founded in 1719, to which may be added the old seminary,* affords the Canadians not only the benefits of elementary instruction, but the advantages of a complete course of education. It has a principal and professors of theology, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, and Greek; five regents of the humanity classes, two tutors, and a French and English teacher. This edifice stands at the west end of the city, and its size and appearance is respectable.

There are usually from 200 to 300 students at this college. Their dress does not correspond with our

* The fraternity of St Solspicius, established, about the same time (1644), a seminary in Canada, one at Siam, and one at Pondicherry.

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academic ideas. Their blue frocks, with a party-coloured worsted sash round the middle, resemble the costume of the Indians. Some of the best lands on the island belong to this institution.

The English university of M'Gill college was founded and endowed by the will of the late honourable James M'Gill of this city, and established in 1821 by royal charter. Its management is ruled by the governor-in-chief, and the Lieutenant-Governors of Lower and Upper Canada, the Bishop of Quebec, and the Chief Justices of Quebec and Montreal, for the time being, as governors; and the course of studies are under the direction of a principal and professors of divinity, moral philosophy, and the learned languages, mathematics, philosophy, history, and civil law.

The Natural History Society of Montreal deserves not only particular attention, but it claims the gratitude of Canada to those gentlemen who were efficiently instrumental in establishing an institution so honourable to the province, and so well calculated to illustrate the natural history, and unfold the vast resources, of America.

The Earl of Dalhousie is its patron. It has a president, three vice-presidents, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, and cabinet-keeper; a council of ten gentlemen, an Indian committee of six, a committee of publication of five, a library committee of five, a committee for selecting subjects of conversation and debate of seven, and a committee of finance of three.

There is also a Mechanics' Institution under the

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patronage of General Sir James Kempt, the late governor-in-chief, and present master-general of the ordnance; and under the direction of a president, five vice-presidents, with a treasurer, secretary, corresponding secretary, librarian, and keeper of the museum.

The Montreal General Hospital is a handsome building, situated between the Champ de Mars and the mountain. It is unquestionably the best regulated and most extensive establishment of the kind in British America. It was founded in 1821, and incorporated by royal charter two years after. The direction of its affairs devolves on thirty governors for life, and thirteen governors elected in 1829. It has a president, vice-president, treasurer, acting treasurer, a committee of management, a medical board, an apothecary, and matron. One of its governors, a gentleman of great excellence and kindness of character, politely accompanied me through all the wards, and showed and explained to me all the arrangements;—the convenience of which, for all the purposes of comfort, and the cleanliness of the whole establishment, I have not seen surpassed even in England.

Other institutions have been gradually established, among these the schools claim our attention and praise. It has been usual to say, that the means of instruction were not to be obtained in Canada; and even Mr Duncan, the most correct writer on America that I have read, observes, in speaking of Montreal, (I think with a little bias and severity), "If literary

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society is your choice, you will discover, I am afraid, but little, and of religion still less." Besides the French and English colleges, we now find at Montreal a royal grammar school, a classical academical institution, two classical academies, a parochial school, a union school, a national school, under the patronage of the Montreal District Committee for promoting Christian Knowledge, with a ladies' committee for superintending the female department, and two or three young ladies' academies, besides Sunday and minor schools.

There is also a Central Auxiliary Society for promoting Education and Industry, and a ladies' society for the same purpose, with bible and tract societies, an infant school, and an orphan asylum.

There are also agricultural and horticultural societies, a fire society, a house of industry, and a savings' bank.

There is an excellent news-room, in which the Edinburgh Quarterly Review, Blackwood's Magazine, the Monthly, and New Monthly Magazines, Canadian and United States' Reviews, and English, Colonial, and United States' papers, are regularly received. Large and excellent maps of all countries are hung round the room. Attached to it is the Montreal Library, containing the most voluminous and best collection in the British colonies of books, and prints illustrating the costumes and scenery of different countries. There is also a judiciously selected garrison library, and an advocates' library, containing an appropriate collection of books. There are five newspapers pub-

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lished twice a-week, and one weekly paper. The Montreal Gazette and the Herald are ably conducted. I am not prepared to pass an opinion on the others. La Bibliotheque Canadian is a monthly publication. The Canadian Quarterly Review, which commenced in 1824, and in which some excellent articles appeared, has been discontinued; there was scarcely at that time a field to support it. A quarterly, to be called the "Coin de Feu," is proposed, and likely to be established; what its object and nature may be, I have not been able to ascertain. A religious publication, called the Christian Sentinel, is published every two months. In 1808, there were only two newspapers printed in Canada.

Except along the river, where there is no convenience for landing, there appears a greater spirit of improvement than at Quebec. There is much activity observable among all classes connected with trade. The position of Montreal, at the head of the ship navigation, and near the confluence of the St Lawrence with the Uttawa, and its subsequent communication with Upper Canada, the Gennessee country, and other parts of the United States, will always constitute it one of the greatest commercial emporiums in America, which must increase in magnitude and importance along with the rapid improvement and increasing population of the upper and surrounding countries.

In winter the trade of Montreal is not suspended like that of Quebec. Thousands of sledges may be seen coming in from all directions with agricultural

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produce and frozen carcasses of beef and pork, firewood, and other articles. Keen, calculating Jonathan, who finds out whatever will enable him to obtain a dollar, also directs his way with a horse and sledge, carrying the fish he caught in Massachusetts Bay over snow and ice to supply the tables of the fresh-fish epicureans of Montreal.

Manufactured goods of all kinds are continually selling off in packages by the merchants or the auctioneers to the shopkeepers and country-dealers, who again retail them to the *town's folk* or country people; and flour, wheat, potatoes, &c., are continually coming in and filling the stores or warehouses. The markets of Montreal are abundantly supplied at all seasons of the year; and, although the expense of living is unusually great, the price of provisions is certainly not the cause. An American traveller, comparing the river St Lawrence with the Mississippi, observes, "great was our surprise, on arriving within view of Montreal, at the magnitude and importance of the place, and the grandeur of the vast river, and the shipping five hundred miles from the ocean. It may well compare with our own Mississippi; and, though winter fast locks it in ice, summer, on the other hand, brings no yellow fever.

In summer, vast rafts of timber come down and pass the town for Quebec, and scows, batteaux, or Durham boats, bring down the produce of the upper country. The batteaux will carry about six tons; they are forty feet long, six feet broad, flat-bottomed, and draw about twenty inches water, and constructed to shoot or pass through the rapids. The dangers to

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which the *voyageurs* or boatmen are exposed, are almost incredible. When rowing, they keep time by singing their celebrated airs, the effect of which in fine weather on the rivers and lakes is truly delightful. Moore's charming Canadian boat-song is in beautiful accordance with local truth. The scows are rude, oblong, rectangular, flat-bottomed vessels, that will sometimes carry down 4 to 500 barrels floating with the stream. They are built in the upper countries merely for carrying down one cargo, and then sold, to be broken up, for a few dollars, at Montreal or Quebec.

Before the North-west and Hudson Bay Companies joined their interests, Montreal was the head-quarters, the grand depot of the fur trade. The company have still a warehouse here; and we may occasionally observe canoes, laden with various articles to barter for furs with the Indians, depart for the ports on the river St Maurice. There is a cast-iron foundery; and machinery for steam-engines, stoves, kettles, &c., are manufactured in the town. There are also distilleries, breweries, soap, candle, and tobacco manufactories; and several ship-building establishments, where many substantial and handsome vessels have been constructed. The bank, which was established in 1817, facilitates commercial transactions to a vast extent. There is a branch of it at Quebec. There is also a committee of trade, which regulates various commercial matters and charges.

The population of Montreal resembles that of

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Quebec. More than three-fourths are French; the rest English, Scotch, Irish, and Americans. The appearance of the population in the streets is also much the same as at Quebec, with an addition of tall, lathy, sallow, calculating Yankees; and athletic, warm-hearted, unsuspicious Highlanders from Glengary; with groups of Iroquois Indians, in tawdry costume, and equally as degraded as the Hurons of Lorette. It has a more ecclesiastical character than Quebec; a greater number of priests in their black robes, and students in their academicals, are seen walking about.

The state of society is also much the same as at Quebec, and, I think, equally genteel and respectable. The cessation of business during winter at Quebec, contrasted with the active occupations of the inhabitants of Montreal during the same period, may produce effects, probably favourable to Montreal, on the society of both places. The north-west merchants and their ladies gave, at one time, the lead to society. I have heard it said, merely because they gave the best dinners—an observation as unjust as it was ungrateful, and more particularly so, when made by the hungry falcons who fattened on the hospitality of those adventurous men, who, after a long period of life spent in perilous pursuits, returned from the vast, distant, and, except to them, unexplored regions of the North-west, and disinterestedly opened their mansions, and welcomed to their tables the less adventurous inhabitants, or transient visitors, of Montreal.

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A full share of all that I have said respecting admission to what is considered the first society at Quebec, prevails at Montreal. Let a stranger, however, be but once well introduced, and in no place will he meet with more liberal and kind attention. Personally, I have with gratitude and sincerity to acknowledge this.

Near the river, there is a splendid hotel. Its appearance is more like that of a large public edifice. Here every luxury that the greatest epicure can wish for, may be procured. During the excessive summer heats, ice is to be had at any of the hotels or boarding-houses; grapes, peaches, apricots, apples, and many other fruits, are also abundant.

The Montreal apples have long been celebrated. The pomme gris, in particular, is a most delicious fruit, the pomme niege, which granulates and melts in the mouth, the fameuse and bourraso, are all excellent.

The pleasures and amusements of Montreal resemble so closely those of Quebec, that the same description is sufficient. There is a very neatly fitted up theatre near the mansion-house; and a circus has for some years been annually opened by a company of American equestrians, in which the exhibitions of horsemanship that I have witnessed, are only surpassed, not in mere physical power, but in classical attitudes, by Ducrow.

Riding on horseback, and driving out in open carriages, appear to be more indulged in than at Quebec; and the winter season being milder, is also more

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favourable to pic-nic parties at that season. There are annual races, and also a fox and jockey club, but the foxes are, I believe, always bagged.

The outlets from Montreal are not surpassed, in soft luxuriant beauty, any where in America. The ride round the Mountain is most indulged in, and thought the most agreeable. I think, however, that the ride along the Saut St Louis *is preferable.*

The Mountain is about 800 feet above the level of the river; along its foot, and particularly up its sides, are thickly interspersed, orchards, corn-fields, and villas; above which, to the very summit of the mountain, trees grow in luxuriant variety.

A little distance up among the trees, a plain white pillar is seen from the town. This monument stands over a natural romantic alcove, in the bosom of which, within a mausoleum, repose the ashes of the late Simon M'Tavish, Esq. To this retired and beautiful spot, a pretty path winds among the trees. To this place he used to walk, and sit for some hours reading on the spot where, on his death-bed, he requested to be buried. Some distance below it, stands the beautiful mansion which he erected, but did not live to finish; nor has this yet been accomplished. The prospect from the Mountain is truly grand, although the features of the scenery want the romantic grandeur viewed from Cape Diamond. On the south, we observe the blue hills of Vermont, and all around, a vast extent of thickly inhabited, cultivated, and fertile country, embellished with woods, waters, churches, houses, and farms. Under us, we have a map view

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of the city of Montreal, with its shipping and river craft, and the island of St Helena; and opposite, the low lands of Longeuil, where the river is about two miles over, and La Prairie about eight miles distant; upwards, lie "Nuns' Islands," and several others, among which Saut St Louis foams and rushes; and, on the right, the low ground crossed by the Lachine Canal. In another place, we observe the priests' farm, surrounded with a wall so strong, as if the reverend fathers were apprehensive of a siege. There are good roads leading to the east end of the island opposite to Repentigny, and to Isle Jesus, and also by Lachine to St Anne's. The post road to Lachine leads over one of those steps or heights, which occur in the rear of alluvial lands; the ground lying between it and the rapids is low and fertile. The road along the river is two or three miles longer; but the traveller who prefers it, if he has any taste for the beauties of nature, will be more than pleased when he rides for nine miles along the beautiful scenery of this part of the St Lawrence.

At Lachine, there are government stores and batteaux; here also are the goods of the Indian department deposited; and thirty batteaux are sometimes employed to carry them to Kingston. The whole sum thus expended in the shape of presents to the Indians, has produced no efficient good. This is unquestionable. Why, therefore, should it be persisted in? as the money, if at all appropriated for the benefit of the Indians, might be more wisely and much more usefully applied.

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Lachine has long been a great point of departure for Upper Canada. From it the north-west company dispatched their large bark canoes for the Ottawa and western regions, laden with various and necessary articles. From this place also, the steam-boats now start for Upper Canada; and we may either take a passage by one of them, or we may drive in a calèche, through a beautiful rural country to St Anne's, from whence we may cross the ferry to Isle Perrault, and from thence proceed to Upper Canada, or by the lake of the two mountains, continue our voyage or journey up the Uttawa.

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MAP
of
UPPER CANADA
Exhibiting the
Districts & Counties
FOR
MT GREGOR'S
BRITISH AMERICA
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
IMMENSE FORESTS AND FERTILE LANDS
NEWCASTLE
HOME DISTRICT
MIDLAND DT
JOHNSTOWN DT
WESTERN DISTRICT including the Counties of Kent and Essex
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
Georgian Bay
Manitoulin Is.
Rocky Coast
Flat Country
Elevated Table Land
Fertile Forest Lands
Fertile Lands
Streams falling into the River Thames approach within a few miles of Lake Erie
Lake Chats Rapids
Lake Chaudiere
Rideau Canal
Ottawa or Grand River
S.W. Branch
Black River
Shallow Lakes
Detroit
Sandwich
Amherstburg
Chatham
Malden
Moravian Towns
London
Oxford
Norfolk
Burlington
Dundas
Kingston
Gananoque
Brockville
Prescott
Cornwall
Sandusky B.
Pelee I.
Long Point
Presqu'ile
Niagara
Queenston
Chippawa
Fort Erie
Buffalo
Black Rock
Genesee River
Erie Canal
Rideau Canal
Lake St Francis
St Lawrence

CHAPTER XI.

Partition of Canada—Impolicy of the measure—Constitution—Laws—Counties—Public Offices—Church Establishment—Clergy Reserves—Revenue—Public Burdens—Lachine Canal—River Uttawa—Voyagers—Settlement of Hull—Timber-rafts—Cataracts—Union Bridge—Military Roads and Settlements—Perth, Lanark, Richmond—Navigation of the St Lawrence—Rideau Canal—Steam Boats—Lake St Louis—Rapids—Glengary—Lake St Francis—St Regis—Cornwall to Prescott—Lake of the Thousand Isles.

THE partition of Canada in 1791 was exceedingly impolitic. By the formation of the St Lawrence, nature evidently meant that the interests of all Canada should be regulated under one constitution, and that Montreal should be the seat of its government.

The chief inconveniences that have already unfolded their aspects in consequence of the division of Canada into two provinces, are, first, the difficulty that must always be experienced in appropriating a just share of the impost duties levied in the lower provinces on goods consumed in Upper Canada; and, secondly, the operation of conflicting laws and usages, in a country, the trade of which must ever flow in and out of the River St Lawrence, from which both provinces should derive equal benefits. Nothing but reuniting them, can obviate these and many other evils and inconveniences.

The constitution of Upper Canada is the same as

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that of Nova Scotia, already described; and the laws and appointments to office only differ, in a few instances, to correspond with local circumstances.

The Lieutenant-Governor is a Major-General in the army, and the Executive Council consists of the Chief Justice, the Bishop of Quebec, the Archdeacon of York, and four others.

The Legislative Council consists at present of seventeen members, including the Bishop of Quebec, and the Archdeacon of York, but not the Chief Justice.

The House of Assembly consists of fifty members, who represent the counties and towns, namely, the towns of Kingston, York, and Niagara, one member each; the counties of Prescott and Russell, one; Glengary, two; Stormont, two; Dundas, two; Grenville, two; Leeds, two; Lanark, one; Carleton, one; Brockville, one; Frontenac, two; Lennox and Addington, two; Prince Edward, two; Hastings, two; Northumberland, two; York, two; Simcoe, one; Halton, two; Haldimand, one; Durham, two; Wentworth, two; Lincoln, three; Middlesex, two; Kent, one; and Essex, two members.

In the Court of King's Bench, one Chief Justice, and two Puisne Judges preside; and in each of the eleven districts, into which the province is divided, there is a district Judge.

There are few countries where litigation is more frequently resorted to than in this province, and the cost of civil suits amounted last year to L.40,000, as stated in the House of Assembly.

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The principal public officers, besides those of the law department, are the Receiver-General, or Treasurer of the Province; Inspector-General; Surveyor-General; Surveyor-General of Woods, and Agent of Crown Lands; Secretary and Registrar, and Auditor-General of Lands.

The establishment of the Church of England in Upper Canada is considered within the diocese of the Bishop of Quebec, and consists of forty-one clergymen, besides the Archdeacons of York and Kingston.

One seventh part of all the lands in every township in the province, has been reserved for the Protestant clergy, which has been construed to mean those of the Church of England.

In a country circumstanced like Upper Canada, the folly and injustice of such reservations, were it on no other grounds than preventing the settlement of such valuable portions of the province, cannot be too severely condemned; the great bulk of the population being Presbyterians of the Kirk of Scotland, Catholics, and Dissenters of various denominations.

The revenue of the province arises from trifling duties levied under the 14th George III., and the allowance made for duties levied at Quebec on articles consumed in the upper province.

The appropriation of this revenue has formed the cause of very unpleasant misunderstanding between the legislative and executive branches of the government, during the administration of the present governor, Sir John Colborne, and of his predecessor.

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Two regiments of foot are usually stationed in the province, and a commodore and other officers in charge of the naval department. The militia laws and statute labour are regulated in the same manner as in Nova Scotia, and the revenue is appropriated to various public uses, such as opening roads, constructing bridges and public buildings, aiding in supporting schools, and contributions to the payment of the civil list.

The partition, or constitutional act of 1791, separated from the government of Quebec, that vast region lying west of the Uttawa, and north of the St Lawrence, commencing at the boundary of Longeuil, from the great lakes to the regions of Hudson Bay. No part of America, above St Regis, south of the St Lawrence, was retained by the British government; yet, when we examine a map of the country, we are at a loss to account for the abandonment of the valuable peninsula of Michigan, or of any part of America lying north of the parallel of the head of Lake Erie.

To obviate the obstructions in the navigation of the St Lawrence above Montreal, various canals have been completed, and others are now cutting.

The Lachine Canal, immediately above Montreal, which was undertaken by a company in 1821, is nine miles long, twenty feet wide, and five deep. It has substantial stone locks, one hundred feet long. The total expense was L.130,000; and the tolls, which must greatly increase, paid last year (1830) 4 per cent. on this amount. Steam-boats may pro-

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ceed from the island of Montreal up the Uttawa, and pass through the lock lately cut at Vandrieul to the *Long Saut* rapids, near Granville; to obviate which, a canal is now cutting, about forty miles above Lachine, by government, that will cost about L.180,000.

The Uttawa has only been very partially explored. It is said to have its source near the Rocky Mountains, and to traverse, in its windings, a distance of 2500 miles: If so, its magnitude, although only a tributary of the St Lawrence, is equal to any river in the old world. It certainly rises in the north-west regions, beyond Lake Huron; and probably winds its course, for from ten to twelve hundred miles, before it joins the St Lawrence. This great river, however, was scarcely known, except to the fur traders. It was their grand route to the North-west territories. Forty to fifty canoes formerly proceeded from Lachine with articles of traffic, and ascended the Uttawa for about 300 miles; from whence they were carried over *portages, decharges,* or paddled along lakes, and then across by French river to Lake Huron. The coasts of this lake, and those of Lake Superior, were afterwards traversed until the voyagers met at the Grand Portage, with the *Coureurs bois,* and *Bois brulès,* who brought the furs from the Indian hunting countries. The voyagers then returned with these furs to Montreal; and in light bark canoes, voyages of several thousands of miles were performed by those hardy adventurous men.

The navigation of the Uttawa is frequently inter-

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rupted by cataracts and rapids; and the scenery exhibits picturesque beauty and fertility. In some parts it expands over the country, and forms what are termed the lesser, or *thirty mile* lakes of Canada. It receives several rivers between its *débouché* and its upper settlements, most of which issue from or run through lakes. The largest of these rivers are the Petite Nation, the Rideau, the Canadian Mississippi, and the Madawask, &c.

It divides Lower from Upper Canada; and townships have been laid out, and settlements have for some time been rapidly forming, along its banks. Some eight or ten years ago, the township of Hull, and the whole surrounding country, exhibited nothing but a vast wilderness. An enterprising American (the notable Philemon Wright, Esq., of Mr M'Taggart; and on the Canadian stage, the Obadiah Quincy, banker of Boston, of the ingenious Mr Galt,) travelled in quest of lands, and proceeded up the Uttawa. He examined the country about Hull, and quickly discovered its favourable advantages. Here, in the heart of the wilderness, eighty-five miles above Montreal, was a magnificent river, flowing from afar through excellent lands, with abundance of timber, and mountains of iron ore. He knew well how to bring those resources into profitable operation, and immediately proceeded to Quebec, where he obtained a grant of the lands. He drew hundreds of settlers to the place; forests rapidly disappeared, which were soon succeeded by houses, inhabitants, yellow cornfields, meadows, and flocks and herds. Settlements

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have extended since that time twenty to thirty miles above Hull.

Vast quantities of pine and oak timber are floated down the Uttawa. It is said that some *gangs* of lumberers have brought rafts down 600 miles. The dexterity with which they manage these rafts, or masses of timber, is astonishing; particularly when directing a raft down the falls of Chaudiere.

This cataract is grandly picturesque, about a mile wide, and broken and separated by numerous islands, where it comes thundering down eighty feet over precipices.

Here, however, the two provinces are connected, by the execution of a most daring plan, the "Union Bridge," over the Grande Chaudiere, where no sounding has been found at a depth of 300 feet.

This bridge was erected three or four years ago, under the superintendence of able engineers (Captain, now Colonel Bey, and Mr M'Taggart.) It has eight arches of sixty feet, two of seventy feet, and one of 200 feet.

The whole of the country lying between the St Lawrence, from Longeuil to Kingston and the Uttawa, and from Kingston to Detroit, has been laid out in townships, about ten miles square, and containing 63,600 acres each. Among these we find several flourishing settlements, which were commenced under the care of superintendents in 1815.

At the conclusion of the last war, this thriving portion of Canada presented a vast, almost impenetrable forest. A military road, and numerous other

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roads were opened; and, as the lands along them were rendered accessible, they were soon settled upon; and the resources of the country then began gradually to develope themselves, and to afford ample means of subsistence to the inhabitants. The first settlers were principally disbanded soldiers and emigrants from Scotland. The military settlements of Perth, Lanark, and Richmond, were among the first that prospered with such amazing success.

The obstructions in the navigation of the St Lawrence, and the facilities afforded an enemy to intercept the intercourse between Montreal and Kingston, were partially obviated, by opening, soon after the war, the great military road from the Point of Nepean, on the Uttawa, to Kingston.

Since that time, the Rideau canal, to answer more effectually the object of transporting goods to Upper Canada, was commenced by the government in 1827.

The estimated expense of this canal was about L.500,000. Its extreme length, including the rivers and lakes through which it passes, is 160 miles; but it is considered that there will not be more than twenty miles of excavation. The principal expense will be the construction of dams and locks. It will have forty-seven locks, 147 feet long, and thirty-three feet wide. The total lifts for lockage rise to a height of 437 feet; the Summit reservoir is Lake Rideau, which is twenty-four miles long.

The usual route to the lakes of Upper Canada is still, and will always continue to be, along the St

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Lawrence, by steam-boats in summer, and with carrioles or sledges in winter.

On leaving Lachine in a steam-boat, we pass the Indian hamlet of Cagnawaaghaa, and Lake St Louis immediately after expands to a width of several miles. The scenery, which unfolds its picturesque features as we pass along, is exceedingly interesting. The swelling high outline of Montreal receding behind us; the romantic *débouché* of the Uttawa, the sweet village and decent church of St Ann, and the richly wooded island Perault, rising on the north; a low but rich country, through which the Chateuguy flows, extending along the south; and the head of the lake near the Cascades, rising before us in the distance, form an extensive and beautiful panorama.

At the rapids of the Cascades, where there is a short lock, travellers land from the steam-boats, and proceed by a stage coach to the little village of Coteau du Lac. The post road leads along the north banks of the river, and a succession of dangerous rapids occur in this distance, known by the name of the *Cascades* and *Les Cedres*. The latter take their appellation from the cedar trees growing on some of the islands, close to a village of the same name.

At Coteau du Lac, above the split rock, or *La buisson* rapid, at the lower end of Lake St Francis, where there is a small lock, it is usual to embark in a steam-boat for the village of Cornwall, at the head of the lake, at which the dangerous rapid, or succession of rapids, called the *Long Saut*, again interrupt the navigation.

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The first township in Upper Canada is Glengary, and we soon discover that we are not among the Canadian *habitans*. The inhabitants of Glengary are principally Scotch Highlanders, or their descendants; and a more hospitable warm-hearted people we seldom meet with; yet, although they have surmounted all the peculiar difficulties of new settlements, there is nothing of that snug comfort that we observe among the peasantry of Lower Canada. In Glengary the houses are often too large, and only half finished; or we still find many of the inhabitants living in log huts. This arises altogether from want of management, and the force of habit. Here dwells the excellent Catholic bishop of Upper Canada, the Right Rev. Alexander M'Donnell.

Lake St Francis is about thirty miles long, and spreads to a width of some miles. A little below Cornwall the boundary of the United States meets, and follows the St Lawrence. Close to this place is the Indian village of St Regis, the last point on the south shore in Lower Canada. On the opposite side of the river, lands are reserved for them by the British government.

From Cornwall, stages run along the north banks of the St Lawrence, forty-eight miles, to Prescot. Both sides of the river are equally fertile; but from St Regis upwards, the Americans have made improvements, to rival which, in extent and beauty, the British settlers can, on their side, make no pretensions.

From Prescot, nearly opposite to which stands the

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American village of Ogdensburg, steam-boats run to Kingston, passing between the little British town of Brookville, and the American town of Morristown, and then, through the Lake of the Thousand Islands, the charming picturesque scenery of which has been so frequently admired.

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CHAPTER XII.

Kingston Naval Establishment—Dock-Yard—Ships of War—Sackett's Harbour—Lake Ontario—Steam Ships—New Settlements—Marmora Iron Works—Bay of Quinté—York—Lake Simcoe—Coote's Paradise—Niagara—Brock's monument.

KINGSTON is very conveniently situated near the spot where old fort Frontenac formerly stood, and at the mouth of the Cataraqui, which joins the St Lawrence at the bottom of Lake Ontario. Its appearance is pleasing, and the surrounding scenery is agreeably picturesque. It has a court-house, jail, church, kirk, Catholic chapel, and meeting-house, barracks, market-house, bank, and hospital. Some of the houses are built of stone, the rest of wood. The population is variously estimated at from 3 to 5000; truth probably "lies between." Among the inhabitants, agreeable and genteel society is to be met with, but it is considered to be divided by the spirit of party.

The harbour is excellent; ships of the line can lie close to the shore; and a stone fort and block-house command the entrance. The St Lawrence, 112 guns, and Psyche frigate, and two or three other ships of war, with several gun-boats, are lying in the harbour rotting, and in nearly a sinking state. The dock-

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yard is furnished with every article of naval stores required to equip ships of war. Here are two seventy-four gun-ships, a frigate, a sloop of war, and eleven gun-boats, which have reposed on the stocks, and under cover, since the war. They are not planked, and men are employed to replace any piece of timber that may be decaying. It is said they might be sent to sea completely equipped in little more than a month.

The immense sums which were expended during the last war in Upper Canada, arose, in a great measure, from the unaccountable ignorance of those who had the direction of sending the materials to Canada. Besides the vast expenditure of the commissariat department, which for a long time issued about L.1200 daily, the preparations for naval warfare were managed in the most extravagant manner.

The wooden work of the Psyche frigate was sent out from England to a country where it could be provided on the spot, in one-tenth of the time necessary to carry it from Montreal to Kingston, and at one-twentieth part of the expense. Even wedges were sent out; and to exemplify more completely the information possessed at that time by the Admiralty, a full supply of water-casks were sent to Canada for the use of the ships of war on Lake Ontario, where it was only necessary to throw a bucket overboard, with which to draw up water of the very best quality.

Kingston Harbour is crowded, during summer, with sloops, Durham boats, batteaux, and scows; and

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its position must always secure to it a great share of importance.

Its rival, Sackett's Harbour, where the Americans have a naval yard and depot, is far from being so safe or convenient, as the sea rolls heavily into it, when the wind blows from the lake. Here the Americans have on the stocks an immense ship of 102 guns, which was put together apparently in a substantial manner, in forty days, from the day the first tree used in her construction was cut down. The peace, however, rendered it unnecessary to launch her, as it was agreed that no armed force should be kept on the lakes; and six or seven American ships are now lying half sunk in the harbour, "progressing," as the Americans say, "to dissolution."

Lake Ontario opens into full view immediately above Kingston, and unfolds, not the appearance we associate with a fresh water lake, out of which a great stream issues, but a vast rolling ocean, receiving the waters of many rivers. It is about 180 miles long, forty to fifty broad, fifty to nearly 500 feet deep, and 222 feet above the tide level of the ocean. It is navigated by sloops, schooners, and steam-boats; and the sea is frequently so rough, that steam-boats of common size were at first not considered fit to traverse its waters with comfort or safety. The length of the Frontenac steam-ship, which used to run between Kingston, York, and Niagara, was 172 feet, breadth thirty-two feet, and her burden 740 tons.

On the American coast, parallel, and near to which

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the great Erie canal passes, the Gennessee country has been rapidly improving, and cultivated principally by Dutch and Scotch settlers.

The British shore, from Kingston to Burlington Bay, was, a few years ago, a mere wilderness. The spirit of adventure and the necessities of mankind have, however, planted settlers in, and opened roads to, every township along the lake, and in most of those lying between it and the chain of lakes connected with the Trent, and also in those townships between York and Lake Simcoe. An iron foundery was established some years ago, at Marmora, near the River Trent; but after great outlays, and although the ore is abundant and of the very best quality, circumstances with which I am unacquainted have hitherto prevented its profitable operation. The whole establishment was sold last year (1830), and a bill brought under the consideration of the Legislature for granting a charter to a company whose funds may enable them to carry on the works.

A little above Kingston, a long inlet, called the Bay of Quintè, winds beautifully for forty or fifty miles through the country, and receives the waters of several rivers; some of which, particularly the Trent, issue from chains of numerous lakes. Excellent red cedar abounds here, and there is a beautiful peninsula called Prince Edward, lying between it and Lake Ontario. This peninsula ought to be the very paradise of loyalty, if we may draw an inference from the names of various parts of it; for we have

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Adolphusburg, Maryburg, Ameliaburg, and Sophiaburg.

A tolerable road leads from the Bay of Quintè, along the lake to York. It passes through the village of Newcastle and Port Hope. In the rear of the latter lies Rice Lake, close to which is Monaghan, the flourishing experimental settlement of Irish emigrants, formed under the superintendence of Mr Robinson.

York is the capital of Upper Canada, for what reason it is difficult to say, unless it be, that its harbour, being shallow at the entrance, was considered a good protection against the Americans; who, however, took and nearly burnt the whole town during the last war. It has a few handsome public buildings, and some good houses; but the country in its immediate neighbourhood is extremely barren. A road leads from it, fifty miles, to Lake Simcoe, along which a great number of emigrants have been settled.

The lands round Lake Simcoe are considered excellent, and some spot near it has been considered far preferable to Kingston for the seat of government.

Lake Simcoe is forty miles long, twelve broad, and throws off its surplus waters by the River Severn, into Gloucester Bay, Lake Huron. Roads also lead from York to the River Nottawasaga, which falls into Lake Huron, and to Burlington Bay. Settlements are forming along all these roads.

Burlington Bay is considered one of the most beautiful places in Upper Canada—a fine sheet of

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water, with a natural breakwater to shelter it in front, and a richly-wooded range of high lands form an amphitheatre in the rear.

At the head of this bay stand the villages of Ancarta and Dundas, close to which is Coote's Paradise,* an extensive swamp, between which and Burlington Bay vast numbers of water fowl are frequently on the wing.

Good roads have been opened from Dundas to Amherstburg, at the head of Lake Erie. Others have been opened to the Canada Company's town of Guelf,† which, with two others from Dundas, are continued to and through their Huron tract to Goderich. A good road leads over a fine fertile country from Ancaster to Niagara, and another from Ancaster crosses the Ouse, and joins the main road leading from Niagara along Lake Erie to Detroit. The whole of the country lying west of Niagara is uncommonly fertile, and the climate will ripen in perfection the finest apples, pears, prunes, nectarines, melons, and various other fruits. Grapes may also be raised in great abundance. At the mouth of the Niagara, close to the little town of the same name, we have a fort of feeble pretensions, called Fort George, opposite, and

* This place owes its name to the circumstance of a Major Coote having been in the habit of visiting the spot, for the purpose of shooting wild-fowl, and humorously calling it his Paradise.

† Founded by John Galt, Esq., to whom the credit of establishing the Company's settlements is most justly due; and to whose judgment, in overcoming the difficulties particularly incident to so remote a district, that Company owes much of its prosperous condition.

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within gun-shot of which, the Americans have a strong stone fort called Fort Niagara. Queenston is a small place, the consequence of which has greatly diminished since the North-west fur trade has been directed to Hudson Bay, and since the opening of the Welland Canal, which renders it unnecessary to re-land goods for the upper country. Immediately above Queenston stands *Brock's monument*, on the heights where the battle was fought in which that hero was killed. His body was removed to it from Fort George in 1824. The view from the top of this fine column is probably the most beautiful in Upper Canada. Near this is the village of St Catherine's, where there are valuable salt springs, from which excellent salt is made.

As the Falls of Niagara interrupt the inland navigation of Canada, which otherwise might be continued without obstruction from Ontario to the Falls or Rapids of St Mary's, between Lakes Huron and Superior, (which might also be obviated at little expense, and throw open an inland ocean extending 500 miles further west,) the bold project of ascending by a canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie was planned by Mr William Hamilton Meritt of St Catherine's.

A company was accordingly incorporated in 1824, under the title of the Welland Canal Company, for the purpose of constructing a canal sufficiently large to allow vessels of about 120 tons to pass between Lakes Ontario and Erie; and five years after the work was commenced, three schooners entered the

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canal from Lake Ontario, at Twelve Mile Creek, passed through the village of St Catherine's, then ascended the height west of Queenston, by locks, and then following the canal to the River Welland, descended the Niagara, and proceeded to Black Rock Harbour, at the lower end of Lake Erie.

The length of the Welland Canal, from Twelve Mile Creek to where it joins the Ouse, or Grand River, is forty-one miles; its width fifty-six feet, and its depth eight and a half feet. The summit level is 330 feet; the ascending locks are thirty-seven in number, and constructed of wood, that they may, if found necessary to deepen the canal, be altered. The locks are 22 feet wide and 100 feet long.

This canal will extend great advantages to the country. It not only passes through the most populous part of Upper Canada, but it will also divert a great quantity of agricultural produce, potatoes and other articles, from the United States to the markets of Montreal and Quebec.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Cataract of Niagara.

All travellers who have visited Niagara* have attempted to describe the Falls, yet none have succeeded, for it is beyond the power of language ever to portray the tremendous grandeur of this sublime phenomenon. Volney's description is the most philosophical, Captain Basil Hall's delineations the best detailed: Chateaubriant and others have either revelled in the regions of poetry, or raved in the giddy confusion that overwhelms the senses amidst the vast sublimities of Niagara.

Further attempts at description might therefore be deemed unnecessary, if some account of Niagara would not be considered a *desideratum* in a work treating of America.

As all cataracts owe their formation to the configuration of the countries in which they occur, we may observe, that all the territory between the Ohio and Lake Erie is one vast plain, the level of which is higher than most parts of the continent.

This plain extends west beyond the Mississippi,

* The Indian word Niagara pronounced Ni-ha-ga-rah.

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and eastward to the Alleghany Mountains; but after passing Lake Erie for some distance to the north, the surface rapidly descends about 340 feet into another plain, in the level of which lies Lake Ontario.

The surface of Lake Erie is 330 feet above that of Ontario; so that if the waters of Lake Erie should rise ten or twelve feet perpendicular, the adjacent flat country of Canada and New York would be overflowed.

On approaching the river Niagara from Lake Erie, we have in view, on each side, a level country. Nothing like mountain appears, except a few low distant summits over Prisq-isle. Following the Niagara downwards, the river is at first level with its banks, and flows smoothly along for some miles among islets, until Grand Island* divides it for about ten miles, forming Black Rock Harbour on the American side, and leading down on the British to Chippawa; near which both streams unite, at Navy Island. The river is here about two miles broad, but a little below it contracts suddenly to less than a mile, and then its current rapidly increases from three to seven or eight miles. Farther down than this, the Canadian boatmen, with all their intrepidity, dare not venture. We now hear a distant noise resembling the peculiar sound of the ocean, when, as the percursor of a storm, the sea rolls in upon the shores in fine weather.

* This island belongs to the Erie Canal Company. It contains 17,000 acres, and on it did Major Noah of New York lay the foundation of the city of Ararat, and raise an altar; but the city has never been built, nor is there much likelihood of the Hebrews ever resorting to it.

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This noise is more or less loud according to the direction of the wind; but loudest when all else is calm. A mile farther down, the river bends to the east, and we then perceive it at some distance, divided by Goat Island; leaving, however, by far the greater body of water on the British side, and rushing and foaming furiously among shoals and rocks. Beyond the rapids a cloud of vapour is seen rising from an immense chasm; no further trace of the river appears; no fall is yet presented; but the sound grows louder and louder, and the banks rise from the water, first ten or twelve feet, and soon to twenty, thirty, and fifty feet.

This rise of the banks indicates the declivity of the rapid, being about fifty feet in half a mile, and the acceleration of the current, until we reach the fall; where the whole vast volume of waters, incased between two lofty rugged banks, are hurled, with all the impetuous violence of its extraordinary and peculiar power, over a perpendicular height of 160 feet, into a vast and terrific gulf. On reaching the side of the falls, the senses are overwhelmed by the magnificent grandeur of this most gigantic, awful, and sublime of all cataracts.

From a jutting shelf, called the Table Rock, which is level with the edge of the cataract, the falls are usually viewed by travellers, but all agree that the grandeur of the spectacle is more striking at the bottom, below the falls, on the British side. The descent is partly down the less steep part of the bank, and partly by a spiral ladder, from the bottom of

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which a kind of path leads among rocks and under the precipitous banks to the crescent or great horse-shoe fall.

The scene before which the spectator then stands, no one can justly describe. If asked if we are disappointed in our anticipations, no answer can ever be better, than the reply quoted by Captain Hall,—"No, unless you expect to witness the sea coming down from the moon." Here we have the grand outlet of those great lakes which contain nearly half of all the fresh waters on our globe thundering over a terrific precipice, leaving, for a short distance, a smooth green surface, but quickly raging in impetuous, broken, foaming grandeur, as it hurls into the vast unfathomable abyss below.

The precipice over which the cataract rolls projects about 50 feet over its base, and the fall forms a great curtain, within which we may safely enter thirty or forty yards. Fish of different kinds find their way here; and eels actually creep along the rocks under our feet.

Goat Island divides the cataract, but the fall on the British side is much larger, though not quite so high as that on the American side of the island. The latter is 1140 feet wide, and 162 feet high; the former 2100 feet broad, and, in consequence of the greater declivity of the rapid, eleven feet less in height. Both falls unite before they are lost below in the turbulent confusion in which they are enveloped. The British fall has lost its former crescent shape, and has assumed, by the incessant action of the waters,

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an angular form, which renders it fully as romantic as before.

Goat Island, at the edge of the cataracts, is 960 feet broad. A daring speculator has thrown an ingeniously constructed and perfectly safe wooden bridge across the American fall, a few yards above the very crest of the cataract. A small sum is required on passing over this bridge; and towards the British frontier, a platform has been extended so far as to enable us to look immediately over the awful abyss. Mills, forges, trip hammers, &c., are erected at the village of Manchester, close to the rapids, which turn the wheels of the mills and forges.

There are two excellent hotels near the falls; the windows of each command a view of the cataract, but not the best. In 1828, either one or both of the keepers of these hotels "*got up*" a novelty to attract visitors, by purchasing an old schooner to sail down the rapids and falls. Some bears and other animals were put on board her, and the vessel was towed by a steamer to the upper part of the rapid; but soon after, the schooner turned across the stream, and, striking against the rocks, was dismasted, and swept ungracefully down the cataract. One bear previously jumped out and swam ashore. It was lately announced, to draw an assemblage to the houses of these worthy representatives of Boniface, that a man was to leap over the falls; and "that a mass of projecting rock which would weigh about ten millions of tons, would be hurled down." The sheriff of Niagara has very pro-

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perly interfered, and prevented the latter being attempted.

Four miles below the falls, in a semicircular basin, there is a terrific whirlpool formed by the violence of the river, which descends into this vortex with furious impetuosity, and rushes out between the narrow perpendicular cliffs of the Niagara, here 300 feet high. Into this terrible gulf fifty Indians plunged while running from the enemy in the darkness of the night; one only escaped.

At Queenston the river is about half a mile broad, twenty-five feet deep; runs at the rate of three miles an hour, and discharges 18,524,000 cubic feet of water, or 111,510,000 gallons, in one minute.

A little above the falls there is a spring, over which if a hollow cone, open at the top, be placed, a gas will issue and inflame on applying fire to it.

In coming up from Lake Ontario, and entering the river Niagara, the ground appears before us as it were a high and nearly equal ridge, broken by a deep valley, through which the river issues in smooth rapidity. This ridge is called Queenston Heights, and embosoms Lake Ontario, by stretching round to the west and north, and forming an extensive steppe, above which is the elevated flat country.

This elevation extends to the east into the United States; and originally the fall evidently commenced a little above Queenston, at the abrupt rise of these heights.

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An attentive examination of the chasm, proves clearly that the river has, by incessant action, slowly worn down the rocks, until it has carried the cascade back to the spot where it now is. The Niagara is also at least 100 feet deeper, from the falls to Queenston Ferry, than anywhere below.

The rock which forms the stratum of the heights is limestone, containing organic remains, and reposing on a bluish clay slate, which forms also the bed of the river. There is very little difference in the level of the land from where the heights commence, nearly seven miles below, to Lake Erie; the bed of the river alone presents inequalities. According to the observations of those who have resided near the falls during the last fifty years, the cataract has receded backward; according to one account, eighteen feet during thirty years previous to 1810; and lately it is stated, that during the last fifty years, the fall has retired 150 feet towards Lake Erie. Calculations, founded on either of these data, confound our chronology; for supposing the destruction of the rock to be at all times equal, according to the first, if eighteen feet have only been worn down in thirty years, the whole distance, about 35,000 feet, would have required the operation of about 58,000 years; and, according to the latter, if 150 feet in fifty years, 35,000 feet would require nearly 12,000 years. No correct calculation can, however, be offered, as to the period of time consumed in the excavation of the whole chasm, as the operation may have been much more rapid at one time than at another.

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At the ratio of 150 feet in fifty years, it would take 35,000 years before the cataract would wear away the Niagara to Lake Erie, which would then be drained suddenly off, and probably deluge the low lands bordering on Lake Ontario.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Lake Erie—Chippawa—Fort Erie—Buffalo—Sugar Loaves—River Ouse—Port Talbot—Long Woods—River Detroit—Lake St Clair—Lake Huron—Canada Company—Guelph—Goderich—The Far West—Manitoulin Islands—Georgian Bay—Lake Michigan—Lake Superior—North West Territory—Lake Salmon.

LAKE ERIE is 270 miles long, and from thirty to fifty-five miles broad. It is shallow when compared to the other great lakes, being only from sixty to seventy feet average depth; and its waters, from this circumstance, are frequently rough and dangerous. Schooners, sloops, a few steamers, *bateaux*, and Durham boats, navigate this lake. The Americans have the finest vessels; some of their schooners resemble the Baltimore *clippers*. Chippawa, on the British side, at the mouth of the Welland, is the entrepot for goods sent to, or received from, the upper country. The goods discharged or laded at this place will be much diminished in quantity in consequence of the Welland Canal now obviating the necessity of land carriage, as formerly, between Queenston and Chippawa.

Lake Erie is said to be filling up with deposits, carried down by the rivers, at the mouths of which deltas are evidently increasing. Through the River Detroit, it receives apparently the surplus waters of Lakes St Clair, Huron, Michigan, and Superior.

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The American shores are rather thickly inhabited, and the townships along the British coast, from Niagara to Detroit, are rapidly filling up with settlers. Opposite to Fort Erie, where the Niagara issues from the lake, stands the thriving American town of Buffalo. Here the Grand Canal commences which connects Lake Erie with the Hudson, and consequently with the Atlantic.

At Fort Erie the lake opens, and we soon come to the Dutch settlement, called "Sugar Loaves," which takes its name from six conical hills, rising from the low grounds near the lake. The counties of Haldimand, Norfolk, Middlesex, and Essex, divided into townships, follow in succession along Lake Erie. The lands are all flat, but in some places the banks, formed chiefly of clay and sand, are 100 feet perpendicular.

At the mouth of the Ouse, or Grand River, in a low marshy unhealthy situation, there is a naval and military post, named Sherbrooke, where we have two armed schooners and several gun-boats. The Welland Canal is continued through Wainfleet Marsh to the Ouse, which it joins three or four miles from its mouth. This river is, following its windings, about 150 miles long, 1000 feet wide, and navigable for thirty miles. Lands for the Indians, who have small hamlets on its banks, have, in several places, been reserved.

On one of its branches called the Speed, about 100 miles from its mouth, lies the young thriving town of Guelph, founded by the Canada Company on one

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of their blocks of land. Between the Ouse and Port Talbot lies the well-settled tract of country called Long Point.

Port Talbot is nearly equidistant between Niagara and Detroit. Here, in 1802, the settlement of the country to the westward, then an uninhabited wilderness, commenced under the able superintendence of Colonel Talbot. He encountered *great difficulties* before he succeeded in laying out and opening roads, extending about eighty miles parallel to the lake. Along these, farms of 200 acres were granted to emigrants, subject to certain stipulations, such as clearing ten acres of land, building a house, and opening a road in front of the farm. Settlers, principally poor people, soon flocked to it, and the whole is now densely filled with inhabitants. At the upper end there are a great number of Highlanders; the rest are chiefly Irish.

Settlements were soon after extended along the roads, opened through the wilderness of the Long Woods; and the town of Amherstburg, 785 miles above Quebec, and 1100 from the mouth of the St Lawrence, arose on the banks of the Detroit.

The River Detroit runs from Lake St Clair into Lake Erie. Its navigation is not interrupted, and its fertile banks are thickly peopled. But different characteristics present themselves to those we meet elsewhere in Upper Canada.

The inhabitants are French Canadians, and on the banks of the Detroit, they tenaciously retain all the habits and observances common to their countrymen,

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the *habitans* of Lower Canada. Here for twenty or thirty miles we again observe the village form of settlements, the decent church, the pious priest, and the kind civil *habitan*. This is a rich beautiful country; and if once the ague and lake fever were banished, the climate would be truly delightful. All kinds of grain, and the finest apples, pears, nectarines, peaches, and grapes, grow in perfection.

Near Detroit there is a settlement of simple harmless Moravians.

Lake St Clair is about thirty miles long, and nearly the same breadth, and its shores as yet not well settled. It receives several rivers; the principal of which, named the Thames, winds for more than a hundred miles from the north-east; and on its banks, settlements and embryo towns are growing. It has its Chatham, London, and Oxford; and certainly the situation of the Canadian London is much better adapted for the metropolis of the province than York. General Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, was exceedingly anxious that the seat of government should be established somewhere nearly equidistant to Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron.

There is a large delta at the upper end of Lake St Clair, which appears to be increasing; and through which, by several channels, the river issues. On the east or American bank, stands Old Fort St Clair; and a few miles farther up where Lake Huron opens, Fort Gratiat was erected to command the river.

On the eastern shores of Lake Huron the Canada Company's principal tract of land lies nearly in a

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triangular form, commencing in latitude 43°, and extending about sixty miles along the coast.

This company was incorporated by act of Parliament in 1826, and contracted with government for this tract and some others, as well as for a portion of the clergy reserves, comprehending in all about 2,000,000 of acres, payable in fifteen years, by yearly instalments of £.15,000 each. On the largest detached block, the town of Guelph was founded in the midst of the wilderness on the banks of the tributary River Speed. This stream affords many convenient situations for mill seats, or what Jonathan terms hydraulic privilege; and excellent timber, limestone, and clay for bricks, abound on the fertile lands through which it flows. Seventy-six houses, a saw-mill, grist-mill, market-house, brick-kiln, school-house, shops, two taverns, &c. arose during the first years, and the buildings and population have since then greatly increased. The town lots, of one quarter of an acre each, were first sold at twenty dollars; but the price has since then been raised to forty dollars. Lands in the vicinity first at 7s. 6d.; since then to 10s., 12s. 6d., and 20s. per acre.

The Canada Company have opened roads in various directions through their lands; and at the mouth of the Maitland, where it joins Lake Huron, the town of Goderich has been founded. In the space of six years has this territory, previously untrodden, except by Indians, furriers, and wild beasts, been rapidly opened and settled by the energies and means of a company removing those disheartening obstacles,

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which, in the wilderness, and particularly in a remote region, require the best part of a man's life to surmount by individual exertion alone.

Beyond Goderich, if we except one or two military stations, the posts of the Hudson Bay Company, and the small settlements which have arisen from Lord Selkirk's foundation at Red River, the vast regions from Lake Huron to the Pacific are all still in primeval wilderness, and still to be inhabited and cultivated by Europeans. That emigration from the east will subdue, inhabit, and cultivate the far western wilderness is not to be doubted. We have only to reflect on the progress made by Europeans, in defiance of the most formidable difficulties, in penetrating and subduing the wilderness, from the time the first permanent settlement was formed at James' River to the present day, to agree with the following observations which I extracted from a paper printed at Buffalo.

"'The Far West'—where is the west, and what are its bounds? But a few years have passed since our thriving town (then a rude hamlet) stood upon the further confines of the rising west. Still beyond there did indeed exist an ideal realm of future greatness—a matted and mighty forest, but 'clouds and thick darkness rested on it.' Here and there it was dotted with a settlement of whites, clustered together for mutual assistance and mutual defence. These were 'few and far between,' and still beyond, and deeper sunk in the murky shadows of the wilderness, roamed the border band of lawless and outlawed

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whites—a race of men found only upon the line of frontier territory, between savage and civilized life, to neither of which they have any affinity, and whose anomalous character, rejecting the virtues of either, embodies in one the vices of both.

"But the solitude has been penetrated, the forest has been overwhelmed by the towering wave of emigration. That wave but recently spent its utmost fury, ere it reached even here, and its last and dying ripple was wont to fall gently at our feet; but not so now—it has risen above—it has swept over us, and while its mighty deluge is yet rushing past in one undiminished current, the roar of its swelling surges, repeated by each babbling echo, is still wafted back to us upon every western breeze. Ours is no longer a western settlement; our children are surrounded by the comforts, the blessings, and the elegances of life, where their fathers found only hardship, privation, and want. The 'westward' is onward, still onward, but where? Even the place that was known as such but yesterday, to-morrow shall be known so no more. The tall forest, the prowling beast, and

'The Stoic of the woods—the man without a tear,'

are alike borne down, trampled and destroyed by this everlasting scramble for the west. This course of empire may, must be stayed, when the shore of the Pacific has been reached, and the intermediate distance reclaimed and populated. But before these are effected, how mighty must be the growth of our republic!

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Already the annual tourist, who was wont to exhaust all his rambling desires in reaching the 'Falls,' disdains so slight an excursion; he must visit 'the west,' and Green Bay or Fort Winnebago is now his resting-place. Another year and even these will be left behind, and the ever-receding west must be pursued over succeeding rivers, and mountains, and plains, until the 'western tour' shall terminate, by necessity, at the mouth of the Oregon."

Lake Huron is 250 miles long, 120 broad, and 860 feet deep, without comprehending a branch of it called Georgia Bay, which is 120 miles long, and fifty miles broad. Near the head of the latter at Pentagushine, there is a small naval depot.

The lands on the east and west coasts are generally fit for cultivation, and covered with heavy timber; but the north coast presents a rugged, formidable, and barren aspect.

A multitude of islands called the Manitoulins, or Islands of Spirits, extend from the northern extremity of Georgia Bay, to the Detour, between the continent and Drummond's Island. The largest of these islands is eighty miles long.

Through the Strait of Mickillimakinak, the fort of which the Americans claim, the navigation to Lake Michigan is deep and safe. This lake is within the American territory. It is, without including Green Bay, a branch of it, 400 miles long, fifty broad; and Green Bay is 105 miles long, and twenty miles broad; both are on a level with Lake Huron.

The passage to Lake Superior is interrupted by

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the Rapids or Falls of St Mary; but it is said that a moderate outlay would obviate this difficulty, and lay open the navigation between Superior and the lower lakes.

Lake Superior is 480 miles long, 420 broad, and 900 feet deep. The southern, and the most valuable part of the north-west coasts, belong to the Americans. The northern shores, as far as we *know*, are wild, barren, and rugged, and only known to those who have been engaged in the fur-trade. But from the information obtained from them, the whole country between this great lake and Hudson Bay, and from thence north and west from Lake Athabasca to the Arctic regions, is of little value, except for the furs of the wild animals, or the fish that may be caught in the rivers.

In the regions lying in the parallel of Lake Superior, west to the Pacific, excellent lands, watered with numerous rivers, forests, savannahs, prairies, and buffalo licks* abound.

Salmon, some of which weigh sixty pounds, herrings, black bass, sturgeon, and various other *kinds* of fish, are caught in the lakes; but it is remarkable that neither salmon nor herring have been caught in any of the lakes that do not communicate with the St Lawrence. How either the one or the other have got into the great lakes of Canada, must ever puzzle naturalists to account for.

* Buffalo, or deer licks, are prairies or marshes rendered salt by the overflowing of numerous salt springs; both buffalo and deer resort to them for the purpose of licking the salt off the shrubs, hence the name *lick*.

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The comparative depths of the lakes form another extraordinary subject of enquiry. The bottom of Lake Ontario, which is 452 feet deep, is as low as most parts of the Gulf of St Lawrence, while Lake Erie is only 60 or 70 feet deep; but the bottoms of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, are all, from their vast depths, although their surface is so much higher, on a level with the bottoms of Lake Ontario, and the Gulf of St Lawrence. Can there be a subterranean river running from Lake Superior to Huron, and from Huron to Lake Ontario? This is certainly not impossible; nor does the discharge through the River Detroit, after allowing for the full probable portion carried off by evaporation, appear by any means equal to the quantity of water which the three upper great lakes may be considered to receive. All the lakes of Canada are estimated to cover 43,040,000 acres. The great lakes occasionally rise above their usual level sometimes from three to five feet. These overflowings are not annual nor regular. They have occurred about once in seven years, and are probably the effect of more rain and less evaporation during the seasons in which they take place. Sir Alexander M'Kenzie observed occasional overflowings of two to three feet in the lakes north-west of Superior, so that they are not peculiar to the lakes of the St Lawrence.

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CHAPTER XV.

Population of Lower and Upper Canada—Religion—Catholic Church and Clergy—Church of England—Kirk of Scotland—Dissenters—Education—Jesuits—Priests—Colleges and Schools—Manners—Customs, and Pursuits of the Inhabitants—*Habitans*—*Voyageurs*—*Coureurs du Bois*—*Bois Brûlès*—Indians.

THE population of all Canada, in 1763, was about 70,000. Forty years afterwards, we find that Lower Canada contained about 220,000 inhabitants; and by the census taken in 1825, the population was stated to be 423,000. The actual number was, however, considered much above this statement, as an idea is well known to prevail, that numbering the people is preparatory to laying on a poll-tax; and the militia service, and statute labour, which subject all males, from sixteen to sixty years old to both these duties when necessary, form also an obstacle to correct information in ascertaining the number of inhabitants.

On carefully comparing the well-known actual population of some settlements, with the number stated in the census, I conclude, that in 1825, the population of Lower Canada was at least 450,000; and by adding the natural increase for six years, according to the ratio of the preceding equal period,

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and adding also the number of emigrants who have settled in the province since 1825, the present population will be found to be nearly, if not, 600,000.

In 1782, Upper Canada had a population of only 10,000. In 1808, it had increased to 70,000; in 1824, to 152,000; in 1829, to 225,000, to which add the natural increase since the summer of that year, with the addition, also, of about 40,000 by emigrations, and those omitted in the census, and we may estimate the population of Upper Canada, without enumerating the Indians, or the *Coureurs de Bois*, and *Bois Brûlès* in the remote regions, at nearly, if not, 300,000, making the aggregate population of Canada about 900,000.

The inhabitants consist, first, of the French Canadians, who are chiefly settled in Lower Canada, and who may be considered as constituting half of the whole population; the other half consist of English, Scotch, Irish, American loyalists, and Germans. The Scotch and Irish are, after the French, by far the most numerous, forming probably three-eighths of all the inhabitants. Their pursuits have been already described in the first and second books of this volume.

In Lower Canada, the Catholic religion, of which four-fifths of the inhabitants are professors, is established on a constitutional foundation, as fully protected in all its immunities and privileges as that of the Church of England. All the revenues from lands, enjoyed under the government of France, and the twenty-sixth part of the grain raised on the farms

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cultivated by Catholics, are secured by law to their church.

The Catholic establishment of Canada may be said to have scarcely any connexion with Rome. Nearly all the ecclesiastics are Canadians, and consist of the Bishop of Quebec,* who may be considered the Primate of the Catholic church in British America; the titular Bishop of Fussala, coadjutor at Quebec; the titular Bishop of Telmesse, auxiliary and suffragan at Montreal; four vicars-general; and 209 priests or *curés*, in Lower Canada, seven of whom are missionaries to the Indians.

The Catholics of Upper Canada form about a fourth of the population; among whom, under Bishop M'Donald, about twenty clergymen officiate, besides missionaries to the Indians.

In Lower Canada, the revenues arising from lands and the tithes, are found fully adequate to support the Catholic clergy; and when we take into account the whole Island of Montreal, we must consider the Catholic church of Canada richly provided for. The incomes of the *curés* average L.300 per annum, which enables them, in so cheap a country as Canada, to live respectably, and to exercise a very liberal share of benevolence and hospitality.

Protestants are not compelled to pay any thing in support of their clergy; and if a Protestant even buys lands from a Catholic, he is exempt from tithes

* The present venerable bishop, Mons. Bernard Claude Panet, has passed fifty years at the head of the Catholic church in Canada.

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to which the latter was subjected. One-seventh of all the lands in the townships are reserved in Lower, as well as in Upper Canada, for the purpose of making a provision for the Protestant church; but the revenue derived from these reservations is of little consequence, and it would be wise policy to dispose of them to persons who would bring them under the profitable cultivation of which they are susceptible.

The diocese of the Protestant Bishop of Quebec, includes both provinces; and under him are one archdeacon, and twenty-nine clergymen in Lower Canada; and two archdeacons, and forty-five clergymen in Upper Canada. They are supported by salaries allowed by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts.

There are six clergymen of the Kirk of Scotland in the Lower, and ten in the Upper Province, besides several dissenting preachers, principally Baptists and Wesleyans, all of whom may be said to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their respective hearers.

The education of youth was long neglected in Canada. Among the *habitans*, it does not appear that the clergy encouraged learning, although they did not at the same time discourage education otherwise than by the example which their indifference taught. Few of the *habitans* who have passed the middle age of life, can read or write—the women were more frequently taught both than the men. This arose from the extinction of the male religious fraternities, particularly the Jesuits; while the nunneries were

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not disturbed by the British Government, and the nuns have always given their attention to the instruction of young girls.

The Jesuits afforded the only source of instruction which the country formerly possessed. To the conversion of the savages, and to the education of youth, did those extraordinary men direct their labours with the most arduous zeal; and the course of instruction which they taught was eminently practical. They did not attend funerals, visit the sick, or hear confessions; these duties they left to the priests; but in their grand attempts to convert and civilize the Indians, they endured the most extraordinary privations, and encountered the most formidable difficulties. Their ardour in the pursuit of this great object, led them undauntedly into the wildest regions, and among the most warlike and furious of the Indian tribes. To the Jesuits is the merit of the early discovery of the Mississipi from Canada, and of exploring the country around and west of the great lakes, most justly due. As their estates in Canada have been confiscated, and as they applied their means, and devoted so great a portion of their lives to the useful instruction of mankind, however pernicious may have been the principles laid down in the secret institute of their order, might not the revenues arising from the lands that belonged to them, be wisely appropriated in aid of public instruction?*

* The British Government, however, never violated their promise not to disturb the Jesuits in the enjoyment of their property, as long

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The priests, who are now the only Catholic ecclesiastics in Canada, were formerly only second to the Jesuits,* and never troubled their heads about giving more instruction to the people than was comprehended in the service and ceremonials of the church; but their influence and example, although injurious as affecting mental improvement, was certainly beneficial in respect to morals.

To the Catholic priests of the present day in Canada, justice requires us to acknowledge that there is great merit due. Although their education and attainments do not exhibit the splendid points of acquirement in polite literature, and in the sciences, which distinguished the Jesuits, yet they neither want intelligence, nor are they destitute of useful or classical learning.

They have been accused of silently opposing the establishing of schools, and the instruction of the Canadian youth, particularly in the English language. No charge can now be more unjust. Disputed points of faith do not belong to my province; and having known many of the Canadian priests, truth and candour require me to declare that they are pious and amiable; and not only watch carefully over the morals of their parishioners, but conduct themselves

as any of those who were in Canada at its conquest lived. The last of the order, Jean Joseph Cazot, died about 1800. He received the whole revenue of the Jesuits' lands for several years, and expended the whole in useful and charitable purposes. On his death the Crown came into possession of the property.

* Note G.

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as individuals, and as a body, with praiseworthy correctness. They certainly never give an advice to others, that the example of their own conduct does not enforce.

Besides the colleges and seminaries enumerated in describing Quebec and Montreal, the Catholics have four other seminaries, which they designate colleges, and in which elementary and classical instruction are taught. These are the seminaries of St Nicolet, St Hyacinth, St James, and Chambly.

Schools under the protection and the partial support of legislative enactments and appropriations, have been established in every parish and in almost every settlement in Lower Canada. These schools are open to all without any test as to religious creed, and the full benefit of elementary instruction, in English, is now extended to the Canadians.

In Upper Canada there is an university called King's College, with a constitution similar to that of Windsor in Nova Scotia, but the students must on admission subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. Another seminary, named the College of Upper Canada, has been founded, but it does not appear that much good has yet arisen from it. Grammar schools have also been established in the towns and counties, and elementary schools in the settlements of Upper Canada; and money in aid of their support has been appropriated by the provincial legislature.

The inhabitants of the Canadas, exclusive of the French *habitans*, are of nearly the same mixed cha-

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racter and extraction, as those I have already described when treating generally of the people of British America, in the first book of this volume; and exactly similar are the manners and customs of the English, Scotch, and Irish in Lower Canada.

There is not probably in the world a more contented or happy people than the *habitans* or peasantry of Lower Canada. They are with few exceptions in easy circumstances; and they are fondly attached to the seignorial mode of holding their farms. In all the settlements, the church forms the point around which the inhabitants born in the parish like to dwell; and farther from it than they can hear the ringing of its bell, none of them can be reconciled to settle. They are not anxious to become rich, but they possess the necessary comforts, and many of the luxuries of life.

They are frugal, but not enterprising, and will seldom buy what they can make themselves. Their lands yield them grain and vegetables, and food for their horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry, as well as hemp, flax, and plenty of tobacco. They make coarse woollen and linen cloths, straw hats and *bonnets rouge*, and their own soap, candles, sugar, and implements of husbandry. They have in fact every article of real utility—every necessary resource within themselves. Their mode of agriculture is clumsy and tardy; yet the soil, with the most negligent culture, yields abundance for domestic consumption, and something over the tythes, to sell, for the purchase of articles of convenience and luxury. Their farms are small, and

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often subdivided among a family. The agricultural societies, which are diffusing benefits among the other inhabitants of Lower Canada, and over the settlements of the upper province, may gradually improve husbandry among the *habitans;* but hitherto neither example, nor the prospect of interest, have been sufficient to induce them to adopt the more approved modes of husbandry, or any of the methods of shortening labour discovered during the last or present century.

We discover among the Canadians the customs and manners that prevailed among the peasantry of France during the age of Louis the Fourteenth; and to this day the most rigid adherence to national customs is maintained among them. Contented to tread in the path beaten by their forefathers, they in the same manner till the ground; commit in the like way the same kind of seeds to the earth; and in a similar mode do they gather their harvests, feed their cattle, and prepare and cook their victuals. They rise, eat, and sleep at the same hours; and, taking for truths all the priests tell them, observe the same spirit in their devotions, with as ample a portion of all the forms of the Catholic religion, as their ancestors.

They are fond of soups, which are seldom, even in Lent, of meagre quality. Bread, butter, cheese, with eggs, tea, poultry, fish, and flesh, constitute nearly all the other articles of their food. They have their *jours gras,* or feasting days, before and after Lent, on which they gourmandize vast quantities

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of pork and beef, and indulge in drinking; but on other occasions they are temperate.

The amusements of former times are also common among them at their weddings, feasts, and dances. Even the noisy tumultuous *charivari** is not forgotten. They delight in driving about in calashes and in carrioles; to the harness of their horses they hang numerous small bells; and on passing each other always take the contrary side of the road to that which we are accustomed to in England. Of dancing, fiddling, and singing, they are also fond, in which, after vespers on Sunday, they consider it no sin to divert themselves, always, however, without disorder or drunkenness.

Politeness seems natural to the Canadians. Habit, imitation, and temperament, have made them a courteous people; and the first thing a child learns is to say its prayers, to speak decorously and respectfully to every body, and to bow or curtsey to its elders, and to all strangers. The *habitans* never meet one another without putting a hand to the hat or *bonnet rouge*, or moving the head. Men and women are civil to all; not from appearance, but from a sense of propriety; and they always treat their superiors and parents with deference. Parents and children live frequently in one house to the third generation; this is the best proof that they live happily. They are exceedingly modest—the women from the natural delicacy and disposition of their sex; the men from

* Note H.

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custom, and a full sense of decency: the latter never bathe in the rivers, nor even in the most private places, without being partially covered.

The men are well proportioned, about, but sometimes taller than the middle size, and very rarely corpulent. From exposure to the climate, their complexions are dark; the sun in summer, and the snow in winter, bronze their faces, and the use of stoves may also affect their colour. The features of their face are characteristic. The nose is prominent and often aquiline; the eyes dark, rather small, and remarkably lively; the lips thin, chin sharp and projecting, and the cheeks inclining to lankness.

Many of the girls are pretty oval-faced brunettes, with fine eyes, good teeth, and glossy locks. They make affectionate wives and tender mothers. Their feelings are keen, and their attachments ardent. They are more intelligent than the men; and a *habitan* rarely enters upon or concludes a matter of any importance until he first consults his *femme*. On entering the house of a Canadian, his wife seems to anticipate our very wishes. If they have not at the time what we want, the landlady regrets it with such a good grace, that we cannot fail to be delighted with what she gives us.

The *habitans* marry young; sometimes twenty couple are joined in wedlock at one time in the same church. They hate being alone. The world is nothing to them unless a number have the opportunity of being together. How very different from the Americans; among whom, a man and his wife will

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leave a populous settlement in which they were born, and all their friends and relations, without apparent regret, and plant themselves, regardless of all the human race, amidst the solitary gloom of the darkest forest!

The priests by their admonitions restrain, to a certain degree, and more effectually than sumptuary laws ever could, the dress of the *habitans*.

In winter the men are clothed in long full-skirted dark grey coats, buttoned close to the body, with a hood attached, to draw over the head, and with a many-coloured sash, frequently ornamented with beads, round the middle; and in pantaloons, *bonnet rouge*, or *bonnet bleu*, and mocassins, and never without a pipe in their mouths. In summer, light short jackets and straw-hats are worn in place of the long coats and *bonnet rouge*.

The dress of the women is old-fashioned, even when they wear gowns. Petticoats and short jackets or bedgowns, long waists, neat white caps, and in summer straw-bonnets, form the prevailing dress. In the towns the girls dress in the English fashions; and I must observe that the simplicity and virtue which delights us when travelling among the country parishes, does not exist generally either at Quebec or Montreal. For in these towns much of what Raynal and Professor Kalm observed of the Canadians, as they were a century ago, joined to loose habits, certainly exists at this day.*

* Note I.

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The majority of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are emigrants from the United Kingdom, who have carried with them the habits, customs, and manners of the places in which they were brought up; but to this province do the worst of the refuse of the United States also resort, either to evade the laws of their own country, or to cheat the unwary. Whatever want of principle and moral character has been laid to the charge of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, including the litigious spirit of the people, and the more frequent occurrence of crime than in the lower and maritime colonies, may be attributed chiefly to the pollution carried along by the majority of those who enter the province from the United States; and, partly, by the contamination disseminated from the equally unprincipled, but not such expert rogues, who are mingled with those who emigrate from the United Kingdom to Canada. No doubt the United States receive, and are equally curst with a great proportion of the latter, as well as with a great portion of those, whose crimes and vices drive them direct to the United States from Great Britain and Ireland.

It is, however, unjust to stamp the general character of the inhabitants, either of the British colonies or United States, with the immoralities and crimes of those whose wickedness makes them notorious; yet travellers have indulged too frequently in doing so; and erroneous impressions respecting the inhabitants of North America, are consequently cherished in the United Kingdom.

The lumberers and raftsmen, whose characters

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have been subjected to so much, and frequently just abuse, were some time ago nearly all Americans; or if there were those among them who were not, and whose moral character was bad, it was much better for the province that they mixed with the lumberers, than that they should have remained among the farmers. Those now principally engaged cutting timber in the woods, are the resident inhabitants who find useful employment in the forest, when they have no other occupation; and their conduct is generally as correct as if they lived in any part of England.

The Americans who navigate the Durham boats, are very different from the Canadian boatmen, who man the batteaux. The former are generally tall, lank fellows, seldom without an immense quid of tobacco in their mouths; grave-tempered schemers, yet vulgar, and seldom cheerful, "grinning horribly" when they venture an attempt to laugh.

The Canadian boatman, or voyageur, is naturally polite, and always cheerful; fond enough of money when he once possesses it, but altogether unacquainted with overreaching; and if he attempts to cheat, he knows not how. He sings, smokes, and enjoys whatever comes in his way, thanking "Le bon Dieu, la Vierge, et les Saints" for every thing. The voyageurs know every channel, rapid, rock, and shoal, in the rivers they navigate; and, never pretending to question their leader or bourgeois, fearlessly expose themselves to the greatest hardships, and the most frightful dangers. When singing their

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celebrated boat-songs, two usually begin, two others response, and then all join in full chorus. These songs make them forget their labour, and enliven their long and perilous voyages. Nothing can be more imposing than a fleet of canoes, and the voyageurs all singing "cheerily," while paddling over the bosom of a lake, or along the sylvan shores of the St Lawrence, or Uttawa.

The *Coureurs du Bois*, are a race nearly similar to the Indians in their habits. They sprung up from having been a kind of pedlar fur traders, and in a great measure outlaws of the church. The licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, branded their name with infamy. They were afterwards employed by the French officers who succeeded to the trade; and, since the conquest of Canada, by the Northwest Company. They scarcely ever came down from the regions west of the lakes; and with them sprung up another race more fierce than the most savage Indian. These are the *Bois brulès*, or *half-breeds*, the progeny of Canadians or Europeans and Indian women. They seem to be an infernal race, rather than men of ordinary dispositions; but still they are very useful to the fur traders.

The remnant of the Indian tribes scattered over the Canadas, and over the maritime colonies, exhibit a state of deplorable wretchedness, which claims the consideration, not only of the government, but of every reflecting individual. To say that the Indians are incapable of civilisation would be to express the

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most gross absurdity that was ever uttered. A North American Indian, except when maddened or stupified by the liquors introduced by Europeans, is the most dignified person in the world. He is never awkward, never abashed, nor ever ill bred, or intrusive. The grave, dignified, taciturn, yet, when occasion requires, eloquent, gentleman of nature, has never been properly respected by Europeans, and least of all by the English, who, to our disgrace be it said, have, on almost all occasions treated the

"Stoic of the woods, the man without a tear,"

with contempt. The proud heart of the Indian, deprived of his fine country, the forests of which once afforded him abundant game, and in the rivers of which he alone fished, rather than submit to the degradation of working for the robbers who now despise his race, pines in silent anguish, while he beholds the melting away of his tribe amidst the encroachments of Europeans. All the attempts to ameliorate, or, to speak more properly, to raise the condition of the Indian to the state which is indisputably his right, are useless and futile, unless we convince him that he is respected. The schools which we have pretended to establish, the religion which we have endeavoured to teach, have not, let well-meaning and zealous missionaries state or write what they please, been as yet of the smallest utility. The Indian must have the place to which he has a right in the society of mankind, and he must believe that he is respected

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as a man, before he will embrace civilization, or adopt those useful arts, which are necessary to obtain the comforts of life, or to promote the happiness of a race, who, from the encroachments of Europeans, cease to be a nation of hunters.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Trade—Commerce, while under the French Government—Annual Expenses of the Colony—Fur Trade—Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies—Southwest and New York Companies—Articles of Export—Pot Ashes—Trade with the United States—General Trade—Imports and Exports—Recapitulation of the Trade, Population, and Capital of British America.

THE commerce of Canada, since the time it became possessed by England, has advanced in importance nearly in the same ratio as its population has increased: accompanying in its natural course the settlement and improvement of the country, when not paralyzed or impelled by war, casual circumstances; and, more particularly, by the sudden alteration of laws and duties which have regulated any well-established branch of our colonial trade.

While the country was possessed by France, trade, except the commerce in peltries, was nearly altogether neglected. A few ships, it is true, were built in Canada, and sent with wood to France. Seal oil, flour, and pease, in trifling quantities, were also exported; and for some time ginseng, which grows wild in abundance, was sent, first to France, and then to China, the only country which at that time afforded a market for it, to the value, one year, of 500,000 livres, about L.20,000. This trade the French lost

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from not having patience to cure the ginseng, and thus imposing a bad article on the Chinese.

The balance of trade was always greatly against the colony, and the difference was remitted to France in bills of exchange, drawn by the intendant-general, for the expenses of the civil and military government, and for the cost of public works. The exports of Canada, previous to 1759, appear, by statements transmitted to us, to have amounted *only to* the value of

L.88,333	6	8	in furs.
10,416	13	4	in seal oil.
10,416	13	4	in flour and pease.
6,250	0	0	in timber.
L.115,416	13	4	

The annual expenses of the government *in salaries* to public officers, in presents to the Indians, and in money expended in the erection of fortifications at Quebec, Montreal, and upwards, along the St Lawrence, in order to form a line of forts from Quebec to New Orleans, so as to prevent the English from ever penetrating the regions west of the Ohio, or the Great Lakes, increased from L.16,663, 13s. 4d., the expenditure in 1729, to more than a million sterling before 1759.

This immense expenditure did not, however, augment or encourage the trade of the country; but, as Raynal observes, "military glory, and its dazzling grandeur, maintained the ascendant, and every other employment was considered mean, unless it were the

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fur trade. This pursuit was always connected with arms, and accompanied by the military, who not only guarded the posts, but enjoyed the benefits of the trade."

The fur trade, after marts were established, first by Pontgrave, at Tadousac, and about the middle of the 17th century, at Trois Rivieres and Montreal, for the purpose of bartering fire-arms, gun-powder, and shot, brandy, red cloths, knives, hatchets, trinkets, and a few other articles of European manufacture, for furs, with the Indians, was afterwards conducted by *coureurs du bois*, who penetrated the remote upper wilds of Canada, and accompanied the savages with their furs, down to Montreal.

Many of the *coureurs du bois* settled among the Indians, and defrauded those who intrusted them with goods; while the rivalry of the English traders began, also, at the same time to divert to New York, the furs that would otherwise have found their way to Montreal. The French government, then, to change and regulate this commerce, undertook its management, and granted a limited number of licenses to poor gentlemen, and old officers, who were burdened with families, to enable them exclusively to carry merchandise to the fur countries. It was expressly prohibited, on pain of death, to all persons of whatever rank, to go themselves, or employ others to go, to the great lakes, or to any part of the fur countries.

Each license allowed two canoes, loaded with mer-

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chandise to proceed to the lakes. Those who were authorized, were privileged either to act themselves, or to dispose of their licenses to others. These licenses were usually estimated at 600 crowns each, and generally purchased by the merchants, who employed *coureurs du bois* to carry on a trade that was attended with extraordinary hardships and dangers. To traverse the lakes, and penetrate the forests of the western region were, particularly at that period, undertakings attended with great peril and fatigue. Savage nations, wild inland seas, thick and seemingly interminable woods, cataracts, rapids, musquitoes in summer, and snow and ice in winter, were all to be encountered.

Twenty to thirty canoes, in each of which were six or seven men, and about 1000 crowns worth of goods, proceeded to the lakes, as far, and afterwards beyond, Michillimakinak. These goods were charged to the *coureurs du bois*, at 15 per cent more than the cash price of such goods in the colony, and the cargo of each canoe purchased four return cargoes of furs, say—

160 packages beaver at fifty crowns each, which were distributed as follows:—		8000 crowns,
The merchant received for the license,	600	
for the merchandise,	1000	
And forty per cent on the balance of 6400 crowns as profit,	2560	
	4160	
Leaving for the *coureur du bois* each 600 crowns for six,	3840	
		8000

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The furs were afterwards sold to the farmer general, who usually paid twenty-five per cent additional for them to the merchant.

The *coureurs du bois* were annually accompanied by fifty or more canoes of Hurons and Ottawais, who descended to Montreal, in order to traffic more advantageously than at Michillimakinak. On arriving at Montreal they encamped near the town, and spent the first day in erecting wigwams, landing their furs, and arranging their canoes. On the following day they demanded an audience of the governor, which was granted without delay, and held in the market-place. Each tribe formed its own circle, and the governor was seated on a chair in the centre. Each Indian, in the meantime, sitting on the ground smoking his pipe, while the orator of one of the tribes stated that he and his brother were come to visit Ononthio, as they termed the Governor of Canada, and to renew peace with him. The orator seldom failed to remark, that their principal object was to render themselves useful to the French, who were not able to hunt for furs; that they knew the French were delighted at their arrival, on account of the great profit of the trade; that they wanted in return for their furs, guns and ammunition, to enable them to hunt for furs another year, and to chastise the Iroquois, if that nation should be disposed to attack the French. The orator then made a present of shells and furs to the governor, demanded his protection against the people of the town, and then the tribes arose and retired to their tents. The bartering

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of furs for other articles took place next day. Brandy and wine, in the meantime, was prohibited, but, afterwards the Indians, who usually had some furs left, after paying for their stores, indulged in drinking to excess; and in their quarrels beat and mutilated each other, killed their slaves, and went about from shop to shop with their bows and arrows, in a state of nature.

The fur trade after the conquest of Canada, was carried on by private adventurers, aided by the *coureurs du bois*. For a long time jealousies and animosities created quarrels and losses among those who were engaged in this perilous trade. At length the traders associated themselves, principally through the exertions of the late Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, and formed the famous North-west Company of Montreal. The details of the trade carried on by this company are far too tedious. In the introduction to his travels, Sir Alexander M'Kenzie has given a very interesting and clear account of it. The expense of conducting and supporting a trade, the returns for the goods required in which cannot be realized in less than three years, is very great; and while it passed through Canada, gave animation and spirit to the commercial enterprise of Montreal.

The North-west Company, in consequence of the difficulties that arose from the grants made, as already noticed, by the Hudson Bay Company to the late Earl of Selkirk, joined their interests with those of the latter company, which arrangement has diverted nearly the whole trade to Hudson Bay. An establishment is still, however, kept up at Montreal, from

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which a few canoes for the River St Maurice are dispatched with stores, &c.; and furs are also bought by the merchants and shopkeepers in various parts of Canada, which, in the value of exports, amount to a large sum. About twenty years ago, nearly L.500,000 worth of furs were exported direct to England, and about L.300,000 worth, through the United States, to China, by the Canada merchants.* These sums included the furs of an association on a smaller scale, called the South-west or Michillimakinak Company, who traded in the country south-west of Lake Michigan.

The traders of the American New York Fur Company, now meet and cross the country traversed by the Hudson Bay traders, and rencontres and disturbances, if not guarded against, may be apprehended.

Hudson Bay is merely a mart for the fur trade; and we know little more of it to-day, than that its climate is as cold as that of Greenland; its navigation is difficult and often dangerous, and its coasts rocky and barren, and for ever incapable of cultivation. Hearne, in his very interesting travels, gives the only satisfactory account, and nearly all the information we possess, respecting its inhospitable regions. I endeavoured when in Canada, and since my return from America, to obtain information respecting the trade carried on by the Hudson Bay Company, but my enquiries have been fruitless. On no other subject of colonial trade have my researches been defeated.

* Note K.

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The stationary *habitans* of Lower Canada, have long fixed their attention to agriculture; and the quantity of wheat and pease each had to sell was small, but, when collected, it formed a prominent article of export. Barley and oats they had long neglected. To the culture of the first, their industry was directed by an enterprising gentleman, who established a distillery near Quebec. He gave the *habitans* barley-seed for nothing; and by agreeing to pay so much an acre for all they cultivated, he overcame their prejudices. As Upper Canada became settled, two commodities of important value were obtained, before the lands could be subjected to cultivation. These were timber and ashes. How the first is obtained and prepared, I have detailed in the second book of this volume.

The pot and pearl ashes of commerce require little art in their preparation. The common wood ashes, especially those of the hard woods, such as maple, beech, birch, oak, or elm, are put into vats or large casks, over which water is poured. The water afterwards drains off through holes at the bottom, and carries away the salts in solution. This liquor, or ley, is then boiled in large iron pots, which causes the water to escape by evaporation, leaving the salts behind in the form which constitutes them the potass of commerce. In this state their colour is a rusty red, which, by calcination, is turned into a pure white, and when thus refined, the salts are termed pearl ashes.

As the soil and climate are eminently adapted for

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the cultivation of hemp and flax, both these articles might become staple articles of great importance. Linseed, rape, and sunflower oil, might also be prepared in large quantities. Salted provisions, butter, and various other articles, are now exported; and the leading articles, such as timber, flour, wheat, pease, pot and pearl ashes, pork, beef, and butter, are all regularly inspected. The articles of import are the same as those enumerated in the first book of this volume.*

Excellent cider and ale are made in both provinces; and whisky, of the most abominable deleterious kind, is distilled in great quantities in Upper Canada, from rye, pumpkins, potatoes, turnips, and even rotten apples. The *habitans* in Lower Canada, make nearly as much maple sugar, as they require for domestic consumption; and in Upper Canada, a great part of the sugar used is made in the country. It is sometimes refined, and many prefer it to Muscovado, but it does not contain so much rich saccharine matter.

The extensive frontier boundary which separates Canada from the United States, will for ever defy the vigilance of revenue officers; and a contraband trade is carried on between both countries, to an extent which bids defiance to the late tariff. Vast quantities of British manufactures are smuggled into the United States, and French and East India goods find their way into Canada. Before the East India Company sent their annual ship with teas direct from

* See Note L for a detail of imports and exports.

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China to Quebec, the greater part of the tea used in the province was smuggled from the United States. The estimated value of the teas introduced in this way from the United States, reckoned at about half the price of tea in England, was about L.50,000, which kept gradually increasing until the arrival of the China ships.

As the navigation of the St Lawrence from and to the ocean is entirely restricted to British vessels; and as the importance of never throwing this intercourse with the sea open to the Americans, is an object of the first consequence to Canadian interests, and to British policy, it is to be hoped that all the abilities of American negotiation, will never induce his majesty's ministers to yield the navigation of the St Lawrence to their entreaties.

To encourage the admission of the produce of the United States into Canada, for the purpose of being exported in British vessels, is an object of judicious policy, from which our shipping interests, and home manufactures, derive great benefits; and American flour, potass, cattle, and timber, in large quantities, pass now to the sea through the Canadas, subject to certain stipulations.*

The imports of Canada in 1830, according to the customs' entries, amounted to L.1,771,345; and the exports, the value of which cannot be so well ascertained, to nearly two millions.

The ships entered from the United Kingdom were

* Note L.

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735, registering 205,018 tons, and navigated by 9800 seamen.

The value of their cargoes, calculated at the very lowest prices in England, without freight or charges on account of the *ad valorem* duty, was L.1,160,345.

The ships entered from the West Indies, the northern colonies, &c. were 341, registering 32,340 tons, and navigated by 1750 seamen.

The value of their cargoes was L.611,000.

The ships cleared at the customs were, to Great Britain, 785, registering 226,279 tons, and navigated by 9996 seamen.

To the West Indies, and other colonies, 268 vessels, registering 30,026 tons, and navigated by 1687 seamen, were cleared. So that the trade of Canada, without enumerating coasters, or fishing vessels, or the people employed in steam-boats, batteaux, or river and lake craft, employs about 1000 ships, registering about 220,000 tons, and navigated by 11,000 seamen. Twenty years ago, all the vessels of every description which arrived in Canada, amounted only to 341, registering about 52,000 tons; yet even this tonnage was considered, at that time, of mighty consequence.

The following recapitulation of the population, trade, and fixed and movable capital of the British colonies, calculated in round numbers, from customs and legislative returns, and from various estimates, may be considered as near the truth as such data will admit; and afford, when compared to the condition of the colonies at former periods, some idea of the

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rising importance of British America, and the political and commercial consequence of that part of the empire to the mother country.

There is now (in 1831) a population in our colonies, distributed nearly in the following order, and possessing, exclusive of money and movable property, the value of which cannot well be estimated, cattle and lands, much in the same quantity as in the annexed schedule, viz:—

	Inhabitants.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Hogs.	Sheep.	Acres Cultivated.
Canada, . .	880,000	96,000	540,000	550,000	620,000	3,500,000
NewBrunswick,	110,000	12,000	64,000	45,000	56,000	265,000
Nova Scotia, .	155,000	15,000	142,000	88,000	186,000	660,000
Prince Edward Island, . .	35,000	4,500	32,000	30,000	48,000	185,000
Newfoundland, and Labrador,	75,000	500	7,000	10,000	8,000	25,000
Total, .	1,245,000	128,000	785,000	723,000	918,000	3,635,000

Let the value be estimated of—

128,000 horses, at .	L.12 each,	L. 1,536,000	0	0
785,000 horned cattle, at	L.5 each,	3,925,000	0	0
723,000 hogs, at	20s. each,	723,000	0	0
918,000 sheep, at	10s. each,	459,000	0	0
5,635,000 acres land, at least worth 60s. per acre, ...		16,905,000	0	0
Estimated value of land and cattle,		L.23,548,000	0	0
Fixed capital, in mills and other property, required for carrying forward the timber trade, much under the estimated value in the colonies, .		2,100,000	0	0
Carry over,		L.25,648,000	0	0

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Brought over,	L.25,648,000	0	0
Fixed capital, connected with the cod and seal fisheries at Newfoundland and Labrador, at least, . . .	1,500,000	0	0
Fixed capital at the fishing establishments at Gaspè, Perce, Bonaventure, &c.	160,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the fisheries of New-Brunswick, within the Bay de Chaleur, Miramichi, and the Bay of Fundy, ...	75,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the cod, herring, seal, and whale fisheries of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, ...	180,000	0	0
Public buildings at Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, St John's, Newfoundland, and in the other towns and settlements in the colonies, together with churches and dwelling-houses, cost at least 30 millions—say, -	15,000,000	0	0
Lowest estimate value of fixed capital and cattle, exclusive of the cost of the extensive fortifications in Canada, and the maritime colonies, . L.	42,563,000	0	0

The estimated value of goods exported from the United Kingdom to the British colonies (in 1830,) will be found by the customs' returns to amount, under the lowest first cost, exclusive of the freight paid for their carriage to British ships, to nearly the following sums:—

To Canada, ...	L.1,166,345	0	0
Newfoundland, . . .	560,600	0	0
Carry over,	L.1,726,945	0	0

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Brought over,	L.1,726,945	0	0
Nova Scotia, ...	418,604	0	0
New Brunswick, ...	226,000	0	0
Prince Edward Island (which now receives its supplies principally through Halifax and Newfoundland), ...	15,000	0	0
	L.2,386,549	0	0

But this amount, as is well known, is much under the actual value of British exports to the North American colonies, being estimated below their worth, on account of the *ad valorem* duties.

The actual tonnage employed between Great Britain and her North American colonies, including Newfoundland, is apparently 469,098 tons, and actually about 400,000 tons, navigated by about 22,000 seamen.

The intercolonial trade* between the West Indies and the northern colonies, and between the respective northern colonies; and also, the whaling voyages, employ about 2500 vessels, of all sizes, requiring about 12,000 sailors to navigate them; exclusive of the number of sea-going men employed in the coasting trade, and in the cod, herring, and seal fisheries, amounting to about 32,000 men.

The aggregate register tonnage, therefore, of the shipping employed in the trade between Great Britain and her colonies, in the intercolonial trade, in

* See the details of the trade of the various colonies, in the respective chapters in which they are noticed.—See also Note L.

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the coasting trade, and in the fisheries, cannot be less than 780,000 tons; and the number of sailors and fishermen employed in consequence, are at least 65,000.

Let those, therefore, who think lightly of the British dominions in North America, reflect on these facts, and consider the multitudes of men, women, and children, British subjects, who are supported at home and abroad, by the operations of the North American colonial trade; and by Great Britain possessing those colonies; and let them also reflect that those countries are only yet in comparative infancy, beginning to develope their mighty resources, before they form conclusions that betray gross ignorance, or the absence of intellectual capacity.

Men, however, who can, with the minds of great statesmen, appreciate the present value of those colonies, will clearly anticipate, and justly estimate, their future grandeur, and their importance in maintaining the influence of England over the whole of the western world, and their consequence in preserving British power in Europe.

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NOTES TO BOOK III.

Note A, page 425.

It would appear that *seigneuries*, or *fiefs*, may be surrendered to the governor, who has then power to grant them, *with the advice of* the executive council, in free and common soccage. This, it is believed, would never be asked by the seigneurs, who prefer their present tenures to any other. The feudal tenures have many advantages; and the best proof that the censitaires are contented and happy under them, is, that they are not disposed to settle on the townships, where they can obtain lands in free and common soccage, as long as they can possibly find room in the seigneuries. The great evil connected with tenures in Canada, is the want of an office of record for registering deeds, as it is impossible to discover whether land be unincumbered with mortgages, unless it be purchased at a sheriff's sale. In each of the other colonies there are registry offices, where all tenures are by law recorded.

Note B, page 430.

The Crown has at last relinquished to the legislatures of Lower Canada the appropriation of the revenues claimed under the 14th George III., stipulating, however, for the payment of the civil list. Another difficulty has sprung up in consequence. The legislature contend for the right of fixing the salaries of the public officers, allowing the Governor-General L.4500 per annum, and reducing the salaries of all below him. In Upper Canada, some of the salaries are considered extravagantly high, and require revision. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the salaries are comparatively moderate, yet the legislatures consider them too much.

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Note C, page 437.

THE St Lawrence may certainly, including its lakes, tributaries, vast breadth, and the quantity of fresh water it discharges, be considered the largest river in the world. From Cape Chat, 100 miles above Cape Rosier, where its mouth may be deemed to commence, to the head of Lake Superior, the distance is 2120 miles. At Cape Rosier its breadth is eighty miles, and at Cape Chat forty miles; at Kamouraska, where its waters are perfectly fresh, its breadth is twenty miles, and its average depth twelve fathoms. The length of the Amazon from the Andes to the ocean is 2070 miles, and its greatest width at its embouchure is twenty-three miles.

Mr M'Taggart remarks, that "the great river St Lawrence discharges annually to the sea 4,277,880 millions of tons of fresh water; of which 2,112,120 millions of tons may be reckoned melted snow. The quantity discharged before the thaws come on being 4512 millions of tons per day at an average for 240 days; and 25,560 millions of tons per day for 125 days; the depths and currents, when in and out of flood, duly considered. Here we find, that if a ton of water be equal to fifty-five cubic yards of pure snow, this river frees a country of more than 2000 miles square (four million square miles,) covered with it three feet."

Note D, page 440.

VARIOUS names applied to local appearances, or peculiarities, are current in the common parlance vocabulary of the Americans, and introduced sometimes without explanation. Such as,

Vaults, which are deep steep glens in the forests.

Carraboo Plains, which are lands formerly laid waste by fire, or that from some natural causes produce little wood. They are also called *Barrens*.

Cedar Swamps, are deep mossy bogs, soft and spongy below, with a coating sufficiently firm to uphold small cedar or fir-trees,

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or shrubs. Such lands are more difficult to reclaim than any of our bogs in the United Kingdom.

Buffalo, or Deer Licks, are marshes or level grounds, over which salt springs flow.

Prairies are lands on which, from being overflowed during spring and fall, the growth of trees is prevented.

Intervales, or bottoms, are alluvial lands along the rivers or lakes.

Mammoth Caves are dens in which skeletons of the mammoth have been found.

Rattlesnake Dens are caverns in the basins of the Ohio and Mississippi, in which myriads of living rattle-snakes are said to abound, tangled among each other; of this circumstance we know but little, although the backwoodsmen will swear it is true.

Blazes, are marks made on the sides of trees, by chipping a small slice off with an axe, and continued in a line through a forest, for the guidance of travellers where there are no roads.

Sugarie is a plot of forest lands in which maple-trees abound, and where sugar is made from the sap.

Note E, page 472.

The Columbus was launched while I was at Quebec in August 1824. I went down the day before to the island of Orleans, on the west end of which that gigantic ship was constructed, to see her on the stocks. Although I was before aware of her extraordinary dimensions, I had no conception of the huge appearance of such a vast mass. Mr Wood, who superintended the building of the Columbus, very politely showed us all the preparations for launching, and the interior arrangements of the vessel, and we certainly beheld all with astonishment. The length of the Columbus on deck was about 320 feet, breadth something more than fifty, and extreme depth of the body about forty feet. There was then about 3000 tons put on board before launching. Every thing was on a gigantic scale; the launch ways were laid on solid mason work embedded in the rock; the chain and hemp cables, capstan bars,

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&c., exceeded the dimensions of common materials in the same proportion as the Columbus did other ships; yet this huge four-masted vessel was strongly framed, timbered, and planked, on the usual principles, and not put together like a raft, as many people imagined. We returned to Quebec in the evening; and early on the following morning we proceeded again in a steam-boat to the Isle of Orleans. The day was one of the most lovely I ever beheld; the St Lawrence, smooth as a mirror, reflecting a *fac-simile* of the surrounding sublimities, and of a sky the most serene and beautiful. Vast crowds were assembled on the eminences on each side the colossal ship, and on the south banks of the St Lawrence. Several magnificent steam-boats, filled with much of the beauty, fashion, and gaiety of Canada and the United States, were drawn up to the eastward. In one there was the band of the 70th regiment; in another that of the 38th; and in a third, a Highland piper, playing the wild martial music of the Grampians. There were, besides, innumerable boats, filled with people, drawn up in order on the river.

At eight o'clock, when all eyes were directed towards the Columbus, in silent, anxious expectation, the Leviathan ship appeared moving onward, gently increasing in speed until she glided into the St Lawrence with as much ease, grace, and majesty, as if my Lord Chesterfield himself had the will and direction of her movement. At this moment the bands struck up "Rule Britannia;" the spectators huzzaed; and the citadel of Cape Diamond rolled out its thunders. The momentum given to the Columbus carried her a mile from her birth-place before she was overtaken by the steam-boats, which followed, and towed her to the falls of Montmorency, at the mills of which her loading was completed.

The Columbus crossed the Atlantic, and arrived safely in the Thames, but was lost on returning to America. Another huge ship, the Baron of Renfrew, was built on the same spot as the Columbus, which, after arriving safely off the Thames, was wrecked near Gravelines.

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Note F, page 478.

THAT the nuns of Canada have a cure for the most inveterate cancer, is not to be denied; for the instances of cases, which in England would be deemed past all possible remedy, that have been cured by them, are very numerous. I have seen many of the persons whom they cured, particularly a surveyor of the name of Fox, whose case was considered desperate beyond any human remedy. The means adopted is by applying an astringent plaster, prepared from certain herbs, and said to have been communicated long ago to the nuns by an old Indian woman. They will not reveal the secret, except to their clergy; and concealing such a remedy from the world, is perhaps the only charge that can be made against them. They, however, freely undertake the curing of all who apply for relief.

Note G, page 563.

THE Recollets were the lowest and most contemptible religious order in Canada; they made vows of poverty, and were useless beggars, who were despised by the accomplished adventurous Jesuits. The Canadians had a proverb, "Pour faire un Recollet, il faut une hachette, pour un Prêtre un ciseau; mais pour un Jesuit il faut un pinceau."

Note H, p. 567.

THE charivari is a noisy tumultuous assemblage of people, who proceed at night after bedtime to the house of a newly-married couple, if there be any thing inconsistent in the marriage—such as a young girl marrying an old man for his money, or *vice versa*. Some are on horseback, some blow horns, some beat drums, some ring bells, and others shout, rattle, and beat tin kettles, continuing

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night after night until they receive a stipulated sum from the unhappy pair, for the church or for some charity.

Note I, p. 569.

The Abbè Raynal gives a much less favourable account of the Canadians before the conquest than he does of the Acadians. He observes, "that those whom rural labour fixed in the country, allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks and to other indispensable occupations during winter. The rest of the time was passed in idleness, at public houses, or in running along the snow and ice in sledges, in imitation of the most distinguished citizens. When the return of spring called them out to the necessary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially, without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest time.

"This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather, that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its increase to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

"The inhabitants of the towns, especially of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible of the beauties of nature or of the pleasures of the imagination. They had no taste for arts or science, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every charm except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm

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of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions.

"There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity; a higher sense of honour than real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case whenever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers."

Professor Kalm remarks, (in 1757,) "a girl of eighteen is reckoned to be poorly off, if she cannot enumerate at least twenty lovers. These young ladies, especially those of a higher rank, get up at seven and dress till nine, drinking their coffee at the same time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they be acquainted with him or not, they immediately lay aside their work, sit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent *double entendres*, and this is reckoned being very witty. One of the first questions they propose to a stranger is, whether he is married; the next how he likes the ladies of the country; and the third, whether he will take one home with him."

If these descriptions be correct, the Canadian ladies of that time were very different from those of the present day, for I believe them to be as modest and as industrious as those of any country. They are, it is true, more affable, and have more freedom of manners than in England.

Since writing the text, (see Chapter XV.) I have been informed that Government has agreed to the lands of the Jesuits being set apart for the support of schools.

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Note K, p. 581.

General View of the Imports and Exports of Canada, from 1754 *to* 1808, *in Sterling Money.*

Years.	No. of Vessels.	Imports & Exports.	Where from, and to.	Articles.	Separate Amount. L.	s.	d.	General Amount L.	s.	d.
1754	53	Imps.	France.	Merchandise, ...	157,646	5	0			
...	...	...	From W. Indies.	Wine, rum, brandy, &c.	59,123	7	0			
								216,769	12	0
...	52	Exps.	To France.	Furs, ...	64,570	2	6			
			Ditto..	Oil, ginseng, capillaire,						
...	...	...		timber, &c.	7,083	6	0			
...	...	...	Louisbourg, &c.	Fish, oil, iron, veget. &c.	3,906	19	2			
								75,560	7	8
				Balance against Colony, 1769.	.....			141,209	4	4
1769	34	Exps.	From Quebec....	Furs and sundries, ...	345,000	0	0			
...	...	...	.....	Oil, fish, &c. fm. Labrador	10,000	0	0			
								355,000	0	0
...	...	Imps.	From England..	Manufactured goods, and W. India produce, ...	.....			273,400	0	0
				Balance in favour of Col. 1786.	.....			81,600	0	0
1786	93	Exps.	From Quebec....	Furs and other Colonial						
...	...	...	.....	produce, ...	445,116	0	0			
...	...	...	.. ..	Fish, lumber, &c. from Labrador and Gaspè,	45,000	0	0			
								490,116	0	0
...	...	Imps.	From England..	Manufactured goods, and						
		...	.....	W. India produce, ...	.....			343,263	0	0
...	...	...	.....	Balance in favour of Col. 1808.	.....			146,853	0	0
1808	334	Exps.	From Quebec....	Furs and other Col. prod-	350,000	0	0			
...	...	...	.....	Wheat, biscuit, and flour,	171,200	0	0			
...			.....	Oak and pine timber,						
	...	...		staves, masts, &c.	157,360	0	0			
...	...	...	.....	Pot and pearl ashes, ...	290,000	0	0			
				New ships, 3750 tons—						
...	...	...	.....	L. 10 per ton, ...	37,500	0	0			
...	...	Ditto.	From Labrador							
...	..	...	and Gaspè.....	Fish, lumber, and oil, &c.	120,000	0	0			
...	...	Ditto.	To U. States per way of Lake Champlain. ...	Sundries, about	30,000	0	0			
...	...	Imps.	From England..	Manuf. goods, L. 200,000				1,156,060	0	0
...	...	...	.....	W. Ind. produce, 130,000						
					330,000	0	0			
...	...	Ditto.	From U. States.	Merchandise, tea, provisions, to-						
				bacco, &c.....100,000						
...	...	...	.....	Oak, pine tim-						
				ber, masts, &c.. 70,000						
...	...	...	.....	Pot & pearl ashes 110,000						
					280,000	0	0	610,000	0	0

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Note L, p. 583.

The following list of exports will best illustrate the resources which Canada affords.

EXPORTS IN 1830.

PORT OF QUEBEC.

TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Cleared 571 vessels, 169,046 tons, 7460 men, eight of which built this year, 2635 tons.

Masts and bowsprits, ps.	252	Bees wax, cask 1 lb.	6,775
Spars, ps. . .	1,458	Oil cake, tons, . .	111
Oak timber, tons, .	11,872	Castorum, casks, .	1
Pine do. do. .	115,777	Do. kegs, .	2
Ash do. do. .	1,514	Do. lbs. . .	145
Elm do. do. .	7,698	Capillaire, do. . .	70
Birch, maple, &c. tons,	834	Essence spruce, cask,	1
Stan. staves and heading, ps. .	1,133,473	Do. box, .	1
Pipe and pun. do,	1,809,426	Ind. curiosities, boxes,	6
Barrel do. ps. . .	21,625	Esquimaux boots, par.	1
Stave ends, ps. . .	19,293	Snuff-boxes, box, .	1
Deal, 3 inch, ps. .	829,525	Bark work, boxes, .	6
Boards and planks, ps.	79,325	Stuffed birds, do. .	6
Deal ends, ps. . .	43,006	Horses, . . .	1
Battens, ps. . .	41,856	Maple sugar, boxes, .	1
Batten ends, ps. .	335	Deer horns, do. .	7
Oars, ps. . . .	9,937	Do. casks, .	8
Handspikes, ps. .	19,781	Do. case, .	1
Lathwood, cords, .	801	Ovens, . . .	1
Firewood, cords, .	6	Hams and bacon, box,	1
Shooks, packs, . .	120	Live eagles, . .	2
Treenails, ps. . .	2,000	Bones, puns. . .	3
Boathook poles, ps. .	120	Do. hhds. . .	3
Shingles, ps. . .	3,000	Do. tierces, . .	4
Spruce knees, ps. .	24	Salted hides, . .	83
Pot ashes, cwt.	121,075 1 25	Feathers, bale, . .	1
Pearl ashes, cwt.	48,104 3 18	Leaf tobacco, hhds. .	15
Apples, bbls. . .	574	Do. and cwt. 42 qr. 1 lb. . . .	12
Flour, bbls. . .	35,836	Cranberries, bbls. .	17
Oatmeal, bbls. . .	256	Do. kegs, .	15
Wheat, minots, .	590,081	Honey, casks, . .	7
Pease, minots, . .	15,273	Do. kegs, . .	2
Oats, minots, . .	13,285	Goose wings, bale, .	1
Flax seed, minots, .	895	Do. bbl. .	1

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Goosewings, keg,	1
Canoes,	2
Minerals, boxes,	3
Trees & plants, boxes,	17
Balsam, kegs,	22
Cider, gals.	30
Sleighs,	1
Hickory nuts, bbls.	2
Onions, bbls.	3
Salmon, tierces,	270
Do. bbls.	122
Fish oil, gals.	8,094
Seal skins, puns.	10
Do. hhds.	2
Do. bale,	1
Tomb-stone,	1

Furs and Peltries.

Bear skins,	533
Martin do.	13,162
Minx do.	2,800
Cat do.	30
Beaver do.	10,650
Buffalo do.	27
Fox do.	1,669
Otter do.	1,538
Musk rat do.	34,403
Lynx do.	430
Fisher skins,	100
Racoon do.	141
Wolf do.	13
Wolverine do.	5
Deer do.	1,228
Beaver do. lbs.	32
Fisher tails,	163
Racoon do.	40
Fox do.	60
Martin do.	440

Imported Goods Exported.

Mahogany, ps.	17
Do. feet,	4,100
Brass guns,	2
Deton. alarms, case,	1
Cooking stove,	1
Quills, case,	1
Steel, do.	1
Do. bundles,	24
Iron kettles,	1
Blacking, bbls.	110
Merchandise, packages,	6
Wine, gals.	171
Anchovies, bbls.	9
Lime juice, cask,	1
Nutmegs, cask,	1

IRELAND.

Vessels cleared, 214; tons, 57,233; men, 2,536; two built this year, tons 548.

Masts and bowsprit, ps.	2
Spars, ps.	689
Oak timber, tons,	1,249
Pine do. do.	39,935
Ash do. do.	907
Elm do. do.	578
Birch, maple, &c. tons,	417
Stan. staves and heading, ps.	491,250
Pipe and pun. do. ps.	573,199
Barrel do. ps.	275,021
Firkin do. ps.	1,000
Stave ends, ps.	12,884
Deal, 3 inch, ps.	673,915
Boards and planks, ps.	38,072
Deal ends, ps.	13,285
Battens, ps.	16,786
Batten ends, ps.	1,311
Oars, ps.	1,353
Handspikes, ps.	2,022
Lathwood, cords,	343
Shooks, packs,	35
Pot ashes, cwt.	13,431 2 0
Pearl do. do.	2,766 2 0

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Pease, minots, . .	500	Deer horns, box, .	1
Apples, bbls. . .	39	Cigars, do. .	1
Trees, cases, . .	2	Minerals, do. .	1
Canoes, . . .	1		

JERSEY.

Vessel, 1; tons, 113; men, 7.

Stan. staves and heading, ps. . . .	9,486	Handspikes, ps. .	36
		Oars, ps. . . .	72

GIBRALTAR.

Vessels, 2; tons, 226; men, 14.

Oak timber, tons, .	3	Boards and planks, ps.	500
Birch do. do. .	5	Do. ps. , .	7,653
Stan. staves and heading, ps. . . .	10,773	A[illegible]se, .	1
Pipe and pun. do. ps.	1,200	[illegible] case, .	1

SPAI[illegible]

[illegible]1; tons, 1[illegible]

Oak timber,	54	Pi[illegible]es,	
Pine do.	3	De[illegible]	
Elm do.	1	Boa[illegible]s.	5
Stan. staves a[illegible]		Batt[illegible]	4
ing, ps. .	30		

TUGAL.

146;

Standa[illegible] ling p[illegible]

BRITIS[illegible] AN C[illegible]

Vessels, [illegible]

Bowsprits, ps. . .
Spars, ps. . .
Oak timber, [illegible]
Pine do.
Pipe and [illegible]
and head[illegible]
Barrel do. ps.
Staves, packs,
Drum staves, ps.
Puncheon shooks, p[illegible]

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Flour, bags,	136
Oatmeal, bbls.	10
Pork, bbls.	6,743
Do. half bbls.	289
Indian meal, puns.	50
Do. bbls.	1,072
Do. half bbls.	1
Beef, bbls.	2,517
Do. half bbls.	480
Hams, rounds, &c. lbs.	2,828
Rye, bbls.	40
Bran, do.	5
Oats, bushels,	18,630
Wheat, minots,	20
Pease and beans, do.	1,420
Barley, minots,	3,345
Potatoes, do.	240
Malt, do.	1,102
Hops, bags,	25
Acorns, do.	3
Apples, bbls.	260
Onions, do.	264
Linseed oil, gals.	654
Oil cake, tons,	48
Do. cwt.	9
Biscuit, do.	7,121
Crackers, lbs.	4,042
Lard, do.	26,599
Candles, do.	62,285
Do. boxes,	31
Soap, lbs.	81,367
Butter, do.	140,710
Cheese, do.	6,751
Pearl barley, cwt.	5½
Tobacco, lbs.	17,051
Snuff, do.	1,683
Cigars, boxes,	27
Do. lbs.	40
Ale and beer, gals.	2,460
Cider, do.	161
Do. dozens,	48
Peppermint, gals.	199
Vinegar, hhds.	3
Do. keg,	1
Tongues, kegs,	2
Fur caps & mitts, packs.	26
Leather, packs.	127
Hides,	10
Stoves and pipes,	240
Merchandise, packages,	44

Imported Goods.

Iron, tons,	10½
Chain cables,	2
Iron hoops, packages,	60
Shot, do.	55
Gunpowder, do.	42
Guns,	18
Paint, packages,	1,939
Blue, bbls.	10
Canvas, bales,	20
Do. bolts,	12
Window-glass, boxes,	132
Glass ware, casks,	8
Ale and beer, dozens,	49
Wine, gals.	1,114
Gin, do.	379
Brandy, do.	403
Olive oil, casks,	9
Do. boxes,	51
Do. half chests,	35
Almonds, packages,	10
Nuts, do.	20
Raisins, do.	579
Vermicelli, boxes,	23
Maccaroni, do.	17
Figs, packages,	130
Plums, package,	1
Currants, packages,	2
Pickles, do.	31
Rum, gals.	1,739
Shrub, do.	99
Molasses, do.	1,038
Muscovado sugar, cwt.	27
Ginger, lbs.	64
Tea, chests,	541
Rice, lbs.	1,517
Honey, do.	112
Tar, bbls.	8
Pitch, bbl.	1
Salt, minots,	2,606
Merchandise, packages,	258

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BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Vessels, 57; tons, 8,113; men, 453; built this year, 3; tons, 424.

Spars, pieces,	6	Butter, do.	10,759
Oak timber, tons,	10	Cheese, do.	421
Staves and heading, pa.	1,715,511	Soap, do.	2,033
Boards and planks, do.	20,223	Candles, do.	593
Staves, packs.	1,874	Apples, bbls.	128
Oars, pieces,	454	Onions, do.	371
Handspikes, do.	252	Tobacco, lbs.	1,410
Wood hoops, do.	128,710	Snuff, do.	200
Shingles, do.	53,040	Pearl ashes, half bbl.	1
Laths, do.	2,250	Maple sugar, case,	1
Boats,	6	Butter nuts, bbls.	27
Chairs, dozens,	3	Do. kegs,	20
Flour, bbls.	11,254	Do. minots,	18
Do. half bbls.	117	Essence spruce, cases,	3
Indian meal, do.	870	Pickles, kegs,	28
Do. puns.	3	Spirits turpentine, casks,	14
Oatmeal, bbls	2	Horses,	125
Pork, bbls.	4,454	Sheep,	50
Do. half bbls.	885	Hogs,	3
Beef, bbls.	1,606	Merchandise, packages,	5
Do. half bbls.	1,574	Cod fish, cwt.	11,922
Do. tubs,	12	Salmon, tierces,	82
Hams and rounds, lbs.	27,945	Do. bbls.	122
Tongues, half bbls.	16	Do. half bbls.	19
Do. kegs,	277	Do. boxes,	5
Do. lbs.	1,856	Do. kitts,	70
Mutton, bbls.	1	Herrings, bbls.	366
Do. half bbls.	15	Do. boxes,	122
Sausages, kegs,	24	Mackerel, bbls.	642
Oil cake, tons,	49	Do. half bbls.	7
Ale and beer, gals.	20,491	Alewives, bbls.	6
Cider, dozens,	567	Trout, do.	4
Raspberry vin. casks,	4	Cod sounds, kegs,	7
Do. boxes,	6	Fish oil, gals.	5,326
Cherry brandy, casks,	10		
Do. boxes,	6	*Imported Goods.*	
Barley, minots,	284	Rice, lbs.	26,490
Pease, do.	557	Leaf tobacco, lbs.	17,366
Oats, do.	3,651	Plug do. do.	173
Potatoes, do.	131	Spirits turpentine, bbls.	4
Biscuit, cwt.	822	Tar, do.	20
Crackers, lbs.	2,480	Pitch, do.	10
Lard, do.	4,826	Soap, lbs.	4,770

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Candles, lbs.	2,800	Grapes, jars,	14
Cheese, do.	347	Anchovies, kegs,	9
Salad oil, hhds.	22	Tea, chests,	2
Do. cases,	43	Wine, gals.	10,693
Castile soap, lbs.	222	Brandy, do.	620
Raisins, packages,	110	Merchandise, packages,	41

UNITED STATES.

Vessels with cargoes, 2; tons, 177; men, 9
Do. in ballast, 2; do. 255; do. 11

	4		432
Grindstones,	1,192	Bottles, gross,	234
Junk, tons,	2½	Lard, lbs.	6,900
Salmon, bbls.	4	Hops, bales,	23

FROM GASPÈ.

Vessels, 43; tons, 6,711; men, 351.

Pine timber, tons,	557	Cod fish, bbls.	171
Birch, do.	17	Do. kegs,	48
Maple, do.	3	Do. cwt.	35,216
Spars, pieces,	61	Salmon, bbls.	6
Deals & deal ends, do.	57,848	Fish oil, tons,	12
Staves and heading, do.	31,689	Do. gals.	3,793
Lathwood, cords,	24	Flour, bbls.	2
Shooks, bundles,	600	Old copper, lbs.	380
Knees, pieces,	30		

FROM NEW CARLISLE.

Vessels, 30; tons, 5,170; men, 289.

Pine timber, tons,	4,534	Pork, bbls.	15
Birch, do.	172	Flour, do.	226
Spars, pieces,	184	Indian meal, do.	8
Deals, do.	164	Pease, do.	19
Oars, do.	30	Oats, do.	3
Lathwood, cords,	148	Butter, lbs.	800
Cod fish, cwt.	20,034	Tobacco, do.	1000
Cod sounds, kegs,	47	Snuff, do.	150
Salmon, bbls.	4	Furs, casks,	1
Mackerel, bbls.	2	Old copper, lbs.	232
Herrings, do.	7	Salt, hhds.	110
Fish oil, gals.	3,368	Tea, lbs.	924
Beef, bbls.	30	Merchandise, packages,	3

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To give some idea of the amount of the St Lawrence trade with the United States, I copy some of the items in the list of American articles imported into the port of Montreal: 3,220 barrels pork; 317 firkins and kegs butter; 6,455 barrels pot and pearl ashes; 10,633 ditto flour; 1,080 ditto corn meal; 335 puncheons *ditto*; 103 barrels wheat; 4,133 bushels ditto in bulk; 1,633 bushels corn; 826 ditto rye; 133 bags ditto; 101 bushels peas; 70 barrels apples; 55 barrels beef; 79 ditto lard; 548 kegs ditto; 2,987 live hogs; 390 dead ditto; 203 pieces pig iron; 64 deer skins. At the port of St John: 1,267 barrels ashes; 325 barrels pork; 1,239 barrels Indian meal; 147,000 pounds butter; 163,930 ditto cheese; 78,700 fresh cod-fish; 5,100 pounds mutton; 72,173 ditto tallow; 4,825 ditto lard; 7,018 ditto hams; 57,961 ditto rice; 139,109 ditto leaf tobacco; 356,339 manufactured ditto; 245,659 cigars; 24,707 pounds hops; 121,600 ditto sole leather; 13,167 bushels apples; 4,528 head cattle; 6,582 living hogs; 6,762 sheep; 2,395 gallons sperm oil; 8,018 buffalo skins; 2,632 raw hides; 7,031 dressed peltries; 8,000 pieces lumber. At the port of Coteau du Lac, 10,494 barrels flour; 6,043 ditto ashes; 3,130 ditto pork; 6,809 bushels wheat.

The imports into the northern colonies from the United States were subject to certain duties fixed by the act of 6th Geo. IV. These duties were repealed, as far as respected American productions being imported into the northern colonies, and transhipping them to the West Indies, by a short act passed on the 22d April, 1831, which enacts, "that from and after the 15th day of April, 1831, so much of the said acts as imposes *any duty in any of the British possessions in America*, upon the importation or bringing in of corn, or of grain unground, or of meal, or of flour not made of wheat, or of bread, or biscuit, or of rice, or of live stock, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

"That so much of any of the said acts as imposes any duty in the provinces of *Upper* or *Lower* Canada, upon the importation or bringing in of wheat flour, or of beef, pork, hams, or bacon, or of wood, or lumber, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed That so much of the said acts as imposes any duty in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, or Prince Edward Island, upon wood or lum-

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ber, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed. That so much of the said acts as imposes any duty in the British possessions on the continent of South America, or in the West Indies, or in the Bahama or Bermuda islands, upon wheat flour, or upon beef, pork, hams, or bacon, or upon wood or lumber, when imported from any of the British possessions in North America, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed." Protecting additional duties of 11s. 3d. on staves imported by foreigners to the West Indies for three years, and of 7s. 3d. for three years further; and of 7s. per 1000 feet of one inch thick pine lumber for the first three, and of five for the following three years, are imposed by the same act.

The imports of British manufactures into the colonies during the year ending the first of November 1831, have exceeded the foregoing statements about 10 per cent.

56,000 emigrants have also arrived in the North American colonies during the summer and autumn of 1831.

The New Brunswick Company lately established at Liverpool is likely to afford great facilities to those who may emigrate to that province; to the government of which, Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, G.C.B., has lately been appointed.

The administration of this distinguished officer is likely, from the accounts I have received from Fredericton and St John since his arrival, to give great satisfaction to the inhabitants, and to promote the prosperity of the province.

THE END.

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